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ANNALS

OF

COMMERCE,

MANUFACTURES, FISHERIES, AND NAVIGATION,

WITH

BRIEF NOTICES OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES CONNECTED WITH THEM.

CONTAINING THE

COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE AND OTHER COUNTRIES,

FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS TO THE MEETING OF THE UNION PARLIAMENT IN JANUARY 1801;

AND COMPREHENDING THE MOST VALUABLE PART OF THE LATE MR. ANDERSON'S HISTORY OF COMMERCE, VIZ. FROM THE YEAR 1492 TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE II, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

WITH A LARGE APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE, TABLES OF THE ALTERATIONS OF MONEY IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND,

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PRICES OF CORN, &c and A COMMERCIAL AND MANUFACTURAL GAZETTEER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND;

WITH A GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

The Antient Part composed from the most authentic Original Historians and Public Records, printed and in Manuscript; and the Modern Part from Materials of unquestionable Authenticity (mostly unpublished) extracted from the Records of Parliament, the Accounts of the Custom-house, the Mint, the Board of Trade, the Post-Office, the East-India Company, the Bank of England, &c. &c.

By DAVID MACPHERSON.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

PRINTED FOR

NICHOLS AND SON, W. J. AND J. RICHARDSON, J. STOCKDALE, J. WALKER, WILKIE AND ROBINSON, SCATCHERD AND LETTERMAN, G. ROBINSON, WYNNE AND SON, DARTON AND HARVEY, CLARKE AND SONS, CADELL AND DAVIES, LACKINGTON ALLEN AND CO. J. MAWMAN, J HARDING, BLACKS AND PARRY, J. BOOKER, AND J. ASPERNE,

LONDON;

AND FOR MUNDELL AND SON, EDINBURGH.

1805.

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2005-2006
16 JUN 2005

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THE SECOND VOLUME CONTAINS

(PART II)

The commercial Transactions of the British Kingdoms and other Countries, from the Discovery of America in the year 1492 to the Union of England and Scotland in 1707, originally written by the late Mr. Anderson, and now re-edited with the Retrenchment of Superfluous Matter, with Additions, and with Amendments.

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ANNALS

OF

COMMERCE.

A. D. 1492.

IT is not our intention to tranſcribe all the relations, which have been ſo often publiſhed in every part of Europe on the ſubject of the diſcovery of America, nor to enter minutely into the motives which induced the Genoeſe navigator, Chriſtopher Colon (commonly called Columbus), to attempt ſo great an enterpriſe. The opinion of moſt authors is, that he founded his ſcheme *upon his knowlege of the ſtructure of the globe*, in which he certainly ſurpaſſed the navigators of his age. But others, with greater probability, tell us, that he was aſſiſted by the diſcoveries actually made by preceding navigators, and particularly by thoſe of Martin Behem of Nurenberg. It is aſſerted, that the whale-fiſhers of Biſcay had diſcovered the cod banks near Newfoundland about a century before the age of Columbus, of which he was informed. Canes, canoes, and dead bodies, reſembling none of the people of Europe, were found floating in the ſea, and were ſometimes driven on the ſhores of the Azores (or Weſtern iſlands) by ſtrong weſterly winds. It is ſaid, that Columbus met with a ſailor, who informed him, that having been driven by a ſtorm about 450 leagues to the weſtward of Cape St. Vincent, he had found a piece of timber floating on the water, curiouſly wrought, but apparently without the uſe of any tool made of iron; and that a Portugueſe veſſel had actually been driven on the coaſt of ſome part of America in the year 1484, the pilot of which afterwards lodged and died in the houſe of Columbus, who then lived in the Azores; and that from that man's converſation, and his charts and journals, Columbus found ſufficient aſſurance of the exiſtence of a weſtern land. At any rate, he

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was certain, that by perſevering in a weſtern courſe he ſhould arrive at the eaſtern coaſt of Aſia, if he did not fall in with any intervening land *.

His greateſt difficulty was, to find the means to make the attempt, he himſelf being a poor and obſcure perſon. He firſt propoſed to undertake the diſcovery in the ſervice of his native city of Genoa; but the ſenate treated it with ridicule. He next addreſſed himſelf to John II, king of Portugal, who, it is ſaid, kept him unfairly in ſuſpenſe, till a ſhip, he had ſecretly ſent to attempt the diſcovery, returned unſucceſsful, and then rejected his propoſal. He next applied to the court of Spain, where he ſolicited for eight years, during which time he ſent his brother Bartholomew on the ſame errand to the court of England. After many ignorant objections to his propoſal by the Spaniſh courtiers, he at length obtained three ſhips, with ninety men. In Auguſt 1492, he ſailed from Palos in Andaluſia, and in thirty-three days landed in one of the Lucay or Bahama Iſles, which he named St. Salvador (at preſent known by the name of Cat-Iſland), having ſailed 950 leagues directly weſtward from the Canaries. He ſailed thence to the weſtward, and at laſt diſcovered the great iſland of Cuba; but he no where found the riches he hoped for, there being neither gold, manufactures, nor product found among the ſimple and innocent natives; who had no poultry, oxen, ſheep, goats, ſwine, horſes, aſſes, camels, elephants, cats, nor dogs, excepting a dumb unbarking creature, reſembling our dogs. Neither had they any lemons, oranges, pomegranates, quinces, figs, olives, melons, vines, nor ſugar-canes; neither apples, pears, plumbs, cherries, currants, *gooſeberries, rice, nor any other corn* but maize, on which, and on caſſada and other wild roots, and on fiſh, they uſually fed, and occaſionally on worms and other vermin bred in rotten trees; neither knew they the comforts of fire-light, either by oil, wax, or tallow-candles; nor had they any iron inſtruments. Yet (ſuch are the almoſt marvellous effects of commerce and navigation, joined to a tropical climate) thoſe very iſles are, in our days, plentifully ſtocked with all ſuch conveniencies, (the vine only excepted, which does not uſually thrive ſo near the equator), which are long ſince naturalized to their climate. It is true, that on the middle continent of America (which was not diſcovered till the former part of the next century), the Spaniards found the natives of Mexico and Peru much more civilized than in any other part of America, whether iſlands or continent; they had better houſes and temples; they made a ſort of cotton cloth; they had wooden ſwords and ſpears, hardened by fire, and pointed with flint; and although they had no iron, yet in Peru they had copper tools, inſtruments, and veſſels.

* To find the way to the Eaſt Indies was undoubtedly the object of Columbus; and he was encouraged to expect the accompliſhment of it by the poſition of the eaſtern parts of Aſia in the maps of Ptolemy, who has extended them eaſtward to a prodigious diſtance beyond their true ſituation. *M.*

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Herrera, the great Spaniſh hiſtorian of America, expreſsly affirms, 'That 'neither on the continent, nor iſles of the Weſt-Indies, (the name the 'Spaniards uſually give to all America), were there either ſilk, wine, 'ſugar, olives, wheat, barley, or pulſe; all which, and many other 'things, have been tranſplanted thither from Spain.' Their own original productions were only tobacco, indigo, cochineal, cotton, ginger, cocoa, pimento, ſundry uſeful drugs and woods for dying, furniture, phyſic, and ſhip and houſe-building. Our Britiſh coloniſts have ſince found plenty of ironſtone, as alſo copper and lead mines. And it is from thoſe two countries of Spain and Portugal, that Europe has been ſupplied with that immenſe quantity of treaſure, which has ſo much enriched and improved it. From Peru and Mexico, as alſo from ſome Weſt-India iſles, Europe has been ſupplied with great quantities of excellent materials for dying, (and above all, with that incomparable one of cochineal, hitherto peculiar only to Mexico), drugs, gums, colours and minerals for painters, preſerved fruits of their own growth, ginger, Jamaica pepper (called pimento), tobacco; furs, ſkins, and many excellent timbers; all which were originally in thoſe countries, but which have, by the cultivation of the Europeans, been ſince improved in quality, and much increaſed in quantity: So that, upon the whole, it may be ſaid, that, even abſtracting from the gold and ſilver of America, there has really been a greater acceſſion of rich and uſeful materials for commerce introduced into it by the Europeans (their great improvements of American productions jointly conſidered) than all America afforded, before it was known to Europe; all which, through the benignity of the climate, and the fertility of the virgin ſoil of America, have long ſince repaid, and do ſtill continue to ſupply Europe with immenſe uſury. This, it is true, was alſo moſtly the caſe with reſpect to many of the colonies ſettled in ancient times by the Arabians, Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, though perhaps not in ſo eminent a degree as in the modern caſe of the plantation of America.

Columbus, in his way homeward, called at the great and fine iſland of Eſpanola (or Hiſpaniola), where he bartered bits of glaſs, ſmall hawks bells, and ſuch other trifles, with the natives, for plates of virgin gold, which they wore as ornaments, beaten into ſhape with a ſtone, and made without melting or refining the ore, of which they were totally ignorant. Here he loſt his beſt ſhip; and, leaving forty-nine of his men in a wooden fort, he returned to Spain, full of glory, having been no longer than ſix months and an half in making theſe diſcoveries, from his ſetting out to his return.

That America could not have been much longer hid from the Europeans ſeems at leaſt probable, by reaſon that the uſe of the magnetic needle in navigation was general, if not univerſal; more eſpecially after the Portugueſe went ſo far ſouthward in their diſcoveries on the weſt

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coaſts of Africa, which, lying ſo near to Braſil, any ſtrong eaſterly wind would have brought them on that coaſt, as was actually the caſe in the year 1500. There is alſo one part of our old continent which lies yet nearer to America than the moſt weſterly part of Africa does to Braſil, viz. the north part of Norway-Lapland, oppoſite to New-Greenland, which is now known to be a part of the American continent: But the iſland of Iceland, known and peopled from Norway many centuries prior to the diſcovery in queſtion, is yet nearer to another part of America.

Thus have we endeavoured, as briefly as conſiſted with perſpicuity, to exhibit the original grounds and actual accompliſhment of the diſcovery of America by Columbus.

1493.—Loaded with honours, titles, and applauſe, that now great man ſet out in the following year on his ſecond voyage to Hiſpaniola, which continued to be the principal colony of Spain in America, until Cortes conquered the kingdom of Mexico in the year 1519. Thither Columbus now carried fifteen hundred men in ſeventeen ſhips, with proviſions and ammunition in abundance, and alſo ſeeds of various kinds, horſes, cows, hogs, &c. implements of huſbandry, and tools for working ſilver and gold mines; commodities for barter, and many other neceſſary things. And as his forty-nine men, with their fort, were deſtroyed, he now built ſeveral new forts, and founded the preſent capital city of that iſland, which he named St. Domingo; but the numbers he brought with him now excited a jealouſy in the minds of the Indian caciques or princes, which engaged him in a bloody war with the numerous natives, a third part of whom were, it ſeems, deſtroyed by the Spaniards in three or four years. *By a tax of gold-duſt, to be gathered by the natives out of their rivers and brooks,* he amaſſed a good deal of treaſure, which he ſent home to his Catholic Majeſty; and he returned home in 1496, to anſwer the accuſations raiſed againſt him by the Spaniſh ſettlers at Hiſpaniola; which iſland, however, had not hitherto made Spain gainers upon the whole, by reaſon of the very expenſive embarkations to it, and the maintenance of garriſons, &c. Pope Alexander VI, upon application from King Ferdinand the Catholic, granted him the ſovereignty of this new world; and to prevent diſputes between Spain and Portugal, he particularly confirmed to the Spaniſh crown all the countries which they already had, or which they afterward ſhould diſcover, weſtward of a line drawn from pole to pole, at the diſtance of one hundred leagues weſt of the Azores and Cape Verd iſles; but the king of Portugal, objecting to that diviſion, it was this ſame year agreed between the two crowns, that the line of diviſion ſhould (according to Herrera, &c.) be removed 270 leagues farther weſt; and that all that ſhould be diſcovered eaſt of it ſhould belong to Portugal, and all weſt of it to Spain; thoſe two nations thus modeſtly claiming an excluſive right to both the Indies, and thereby effectually barring the reſt of Chriſtendom from all

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future hopes of making any new diſcoveries, eaſt, weſt, ſouth, or north, in the whole habitable world!

In the ſecond voyage Columbus viſited the conſiderable iſle of St. John de Porto Rico, where there was plenty of timber, but no European grain; their bread being chiefly caſſada root. There were ſaid to have been wild grapes, but they never made wine of them; they had alſo pimento and cotton. The Spaniards are ſaid to have deſtroyed moſt of the natives, very few now being left in that fine iſle, of late much neglected by Spain, although its ſituation be extremely happy, between Hiſpaniola on the weſt, the Virgin and Caribbee iſles on the eaſt, and Terra Firma ſouthward; and its productions, natural and naturalized, ſaid to be equal to any of the other iſles, were they equally cultivated.

From this year 1493, when they firſt began to bring home any conſiderable quantity of treaſure from America to Spain, to the year 1724, Uſtariz, an eminent modern Spaniſh author, aſſerts, that the gold and ſilver brought home amounted to five thouſand millions of dollars or pieces of eight, being above twenty-one and an half millions yearly on a medium, equal to upwards of five millions Sterling yearly: Yet as all this treaſure neceſſarily goes out every year to other European nations for their manufactures and product, with which Spain and its Indies are ſupplied in immenſe quantities, ſome have been of opinion, that it had been happier for Spain if ſhe had never planted in America, without ſhe had at the ſame time cultivated manufactures of all kinds, whereby ſhe might have not only kept much of her American treaſure within herſelf for the ſupport of her manufactures, but alſo thoſe manufactures would, by a neceſſary increaſe of people, have contributed to make up the loſs of the native Spaniards tranſplanted in great numbers to America.

Authors compute, that ſoon after the planting of Mexico and Peru, the quantity of money in Europe was doubled, in reſpect to what it was before; wherefore the rates or prices of all things were alſo doubled: which proportionably decreaſed the profits of Spain by her American colonies. Baron Monteſquieu is of opinion, that in about little more than 200 years, the ſpecie or money of Europe has been doubled five times; and that it is now, to what it was before the Indian treaſure came amongſt us, as 32 is to 1. Yet this computation will probably ſeem much exaggerated to many, who know that a very great part of the ſilver annually brought from America has been every year tranſported to Eaſt-India, from whence no part of it ever returns to Europe; neither do the advanced prices of proviſions, &c. at this time, bear any near proportion to that author's ſuppoſition. Before this grand diſcovery, the courts of princes in Europe had not the luſtre of modern times, though more crowded with attendants, who however were ſuſtained at a much ſmaller charge than could be done in our days. But when

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Spain poured into Europe thoſe American treaſures, Europe ſoon put on a new face; for Spain, having little product, and leſs manufacture of her own, could by no means keep thoſe treaſures to herſelf, but was obliged to diſperſe them among the more induſtrious nations of Europe, to pay for their own wants at home, and more eſpecially for almoſt the whole of their cargoes for America; inſomuch that it ſoon appeared that the far greater part of the treaſures of America centered in the manufacturing and trading countries of Europe.

The archduke Philip, ſovereign of the Netherlands, having made peace with France, ſeemed leſs regardful to keep due meaſures with Henry VII king of England, with reſpect to the encouragement given by the ducheſs dowager to the pretender called Perkin Warbeck. This provoked Henry to break off all commerce with the Netherlands, and to baniſh the Flemings out of England; whereupon the archduke baniſhed the Engliſh out of Flanders, which carried all the Engliſh trade directly to Calais; but this could not hold long, the trade being of equal conveniency to both parties.

This ſuſpenſion of a direct commerce with the Netherlands gave the German Steelyard merchants a very great advantage, by their importing from their own Hanſe towns great quantities of Flemiſh merchandize into England, to the conſiderable detriment of the company of Engliſh merchants-adventurers, who were wont to import ſuch directly from the Netherlands; whereupon the London journeymen, apprentices, and mob, attacked and rifled their warehouſes in the Steelyard; but thoſe rioters were ſoon ſuppreſſed, and duly puniſhed.

The manner of making preſents to ambaſſadors in thoſe times was different from the modern more elegant one, though probably more expenſive. We find the ambaſſadors of Denmark, at their audience of leave of king Henry VII, were ordered the following preſents, viz. To the chancellor of Denmark L. 100; to the doctor L. 40; to the chancellor's brother L. 20; to the herald L. 10.—[*Fœdera*, *V.* vii, *p.* 516.]

The ſame year the alliance between England and Spain was renewed; and the marriage-contract, made three years before, between Arthur prince of Wales and the infanta Catherine (with her portion of 200,000 crowns), was now alſo confirmed. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xii, *p.* 517.]

An act of the Scottiſh parliament, this ſame year, directs that ſhips and buſſes for the fiſhery be built in all ſea-ports, ſo as none of them be under 20 tons burden; and that they be provided with nets, &c. And that the magiſtrates of thoſe towns compel all idle perſons to ſerve in them.

1494.—The Hanſeatic hiſtorian Werdenhagen [*V.* ii, *part* 4, *p.* 10.] acquaints us, that the powerful dukes of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, having with a great force inveſted the city of Brunſwick, the Hanſeatic league

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ſo effectually ſupported that famous member of their confederacy, that they effected an amicable compoſition between both parties.

In this ſame year (according to Sir James Ware's *Annals of Ireland*, *p.* 29.) the Iriſh ſtatutes were firſt written in Engliſh; whereas the laws of former parliaments were in the old French tongue, and digeſted into rolls.

The Scottiſh parliament now made a law, obliging all workmen and tradeſmen to ſubmit to the regulations of the civil magiſtrates, with regard to the prices of things ſold by them, more eſpecially of eatables and drinkables. Another Scottiſh law of this year obliged all freeholders to put their eldeſt ſons to ſchools to learn Latin, and afterwards for three years to ſtudy philoſophy and law.

Toward the cloſe of this century, the excellent ſcience of algebraical arithmetic began to be known in Europe; a ſcience which has proved extremely uſeful in many parts of the mathematics, and in all calculations for intereſt, annuities for lives and terms, reverſions, diſcounts, &c. The earlieſt printed author on it was Lucas de Burgo, an Italian friar, whoſe work was printed at Venice this year. It is ſaid an Arabian, named Geber, was the inventor of this noble art, about the year 950; though ſome think that the Perſians, Indians, and Chineſe, had it much earlier; while others again aſcribe its invention to the Greeks, as far back as Plato's time.

King Henry VII, for the accommodation of ſuch of his ſubjects as ſhould trade to Italy with their ſhips and merchandize, appointed Benedict and Laurence Bomuci, jointly and ſeparately, to be conſuls and preſidents of the Engliſh merchants at Piſa, and the places adjacent in Italy, upon the ſame terms or allowance with former conſuls, viz. one-fourth part of a ducat upon every 100 ducats. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xii, *p.* 553.]

1495.—Upon the death of Don Juan, the heir of the crown of Caſtile, the people of all ranks clothed themſelves in white ſerge; which, (ſays Herrera) was the laſt time that white mourning was uſed in Spain.

Emanuel king of Portugal, about this time ordered all the Jews and Moors to leave his kingdom by a prefixed time, or elſe to be perpetual ſlaves. The Moors immediately withdrew into Africa; but from the Jews he took all their children under fifteen years old, and baptized them; and the old ones were ſo perpetually harraſſed, perſecuted, and deſignedly obſtructed in their journey out of that country, that, to avoid the perpetual ſlavery intended, they outwardly conſented to be baptized, but inwardly retained their old religion, and therewith doubtleſs an irreconcileable hatred to their perſecutors. [*Puffendorf's Introduction to the Hiſtory of Europe.*]

This year was auſpicious to the Britiſh empire by a treaty being concluded for a marriage between James IV king of Scotland, and the lady Margaret, daughter of Henry VII king of England, which laid the

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foundation of an happy union of the two kingdoms; yet the dowery and portion were not adjuſted till the year 1500, nor the conſummation till 1504. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 572.]

1496.—After many mutual complaints and differences, and a long ſuſpenſion of commerce between England and the Netherlands, during which, (ſays Lord St. Albans), the merchants-adventurers, being a ſtrong company at that time, and well underſet with rich men, held out bravely, taking off the commodities of the kingdom, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent, a new and ſolemn treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance, was concluded between king Henry VII and the archduke Philip, ſovereign of the Netherlands, which, for its excellency and importance, was dignified by the Netherlanders with the name of *intercurſus magnus*, both becauſe it is more complete than preceding ones, and alſo to dignify it from the treaty that followed in the 21ſt year of the king (1506), which they called *intercurſus malus;* in ſubſtance as follows.

I) Mutual liberty allowed on both ſides to trade to each others dominions, without aſking for licence or paſſport.—To carry all manner of merchandize, whether wool, leather, victuals, arms, horſes, jewels, or any other wares, either by land or water, from Calais, England, and Ireland, to the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Mechlin, and from theſe provinces to Calais, England, and Ireland; and that both parties may freely reſort to and unload at all the cuſtomary ports, and reload, and thence freely depart.

II) Merchants, mariners, &c. may, on both ſides, carry weapons of defence in their ſhips, and bring them on ſhore to their lodgings, where they ſhall leave their ſwords, daggers, &c. till they go onboard again.

III) The fiſhers on both ſides may freely fiſh on the ſeas, without any ſafe conduct aſked; and when driven into each others ports, by tempeſt or other neceſſity, they ſhall be ſafe there, and have free liberty to depart at pleaſure, paying the cuſtomary dues.

IV) Pirates, and ſhips of the enemies of either party, ſhall not be permitted to rob, or otherwiſe injure the ſubjects of either party in their reſpective havens and countries; nor to land nor ſell there the goods or ſhips taken from either party.

V) And to the end that captures of ſhips, perſons, and goods, may hereafter ceaſe between both parties, it is agreed, that ſecurity, to double the value of ſhip and goods, be given by ſhipmaſters ſetting out on a voyage, that they ſhall not commit any piracy or robbery on the ſubjects of the other party.

VI) The ſhips of either party, driven into the ports of the other party, by ſtorm, enemies, &c. ſhall remain there ſafely, and may depart again freely; but they ſhall not open nor unload their merchand-

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ize, without a viſible neceſſity, and without the preſence and conſent of the cuſtom-houſe officers.

VII) The merchants, mariners, &c. of both parties ſhall not import into the other party's country the goods of an enemy to that party.

VIII) If it ſhall happen, that a ſhip of either of the contracting parties be wrecked on the ſhores of the other party, though there ſhall not be found therein alive either man, woman, cat, dog, or cock *, yet the goods in the ſaid ſhip ſhall be preſerved, and laid up for a year and a day, by the proper officers of the place; within which time the proper owners may come and make out their claim, and receive the goods, paying the requiſite expenſes for recovering and keeping the ſame.

IX) The merchants of both parties ſhall have proper houſes for themſelves and their merchandize, in the ſeveral towns and cities of the other party, with the ſame privileges and immunities as have been cuſtomary before the laſt fifty years; and ſhall, in all reſpects, be as kindly treated as any other foreign nation reſiding there.

X) The officers in either country, appointed for ſearching for contraband goods, ſhall perform it civilly, without ſpoiling them, or breaking the cheſts, barrels, packs, or ſacks, under pain of one month's impriſonment. And when the ſearchers ſhall have opened them, they ſhall aſſiſt in the ſhutting and mending of them, &c. Nor ſhall they compel the owners to ſell or diſpoſe of the ſame againſt their own inclinations.

XI) If the Engliſh reſiding in the Netherlands ſhall ſuſpect a debtor there to intend an elopement, the debtor may be compelled to give ſecurity there for paying the debt; and the Netherlanders in England ſhall enjoy the ſame benefit.

XII) Upon any damage or violence done to the ſubjects of either of the contracting parties, the damaged party ſhall not immediately take out letters of marque or repriſals, nor arreſt either the perſon or goods of the accuſed party; but ſhall firſt warn and ſummon him before his reſpective prince, who alone ought to give redreſs to the injured party.

XIII) All letters of marque and repriſals ſhall be called in, and ſhall remain ſuſpended on both ſides, unleſs it ſhall be otherwiſe determined by a future congreſs of both parties.

XIV) And as it is forbidden to the Engliſh and others to enter the caſtle of Sluys in Flanders; it is now ſtipulated, that in caſe, through ignorance, or any other cauſe not appearing to be fraudulent, any merchants, or other ſubjects of the king of England, ſhall happen to enter the gate of the ſaid caſtle, they ſhall not, merely for that cauſe, be injured in their perſons nor goods.

* This is an enlargement of the former wreck-law in favour of the ſufferers.

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XV) The Engliſh ſhall freely bring bullion of gold and of ſilver through the Netherlands from other countries, in order to carry the ſame into England, provided they bring certificates from the proper officers of thoſe other countries, of the quantity of bullion ſo bought or otherwiſe lawfully acquired.

XVI) None but the public and anciently known and received weights ſhall be uſed in either country.

XVII) For conſervators of this peace and intercourſe of commerce, there were appointed by king Henry VII, on the part of England, ſundry lords therein named, and likewiſe the mayors and aldermen of London, York, Briſtol, Wincheſter, Canterbury, Rocheſter, Southampton, Sandwich (Zandwic), Dover, Lynn, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Hull, Winchelſea, Boſton, Yarmouth, and Berwick; who alſo bound themſelves to the archduke Philip, under the obligation of all their goods, preſent and future, to endeavour to the utmoſt of their power, that their ſovereign king Henry VII ſhould faithfully keep it inviolable in all its parts: And on the part of the archduke there were likewiſe bound ſeveral lords of his countries, and alſo the burgomaſters of Gaunt, Bruges, Ypres, Dunkirk, Newport, Antwerp, Bergen-op-zoom, Doort, Delft, Leyden, Amſterdam, Middelburg, Zirikzee, Terveer, Mechlin, and Briel, to ſee the ſaid peace and intercourſe of commerce faithfully kept.

Signed at London, 24th Feb. 1495-6; ratified April 1476.

Whereupon (ſays Lord St. Albans, in his *hiſtory of king Henry VII*), the Engliſh merchants returned to their manſion at Antwerp, where they were received with proceſſion and joy.

The reader, who knows the hiſtories of thoſe times, will, we apprehend, plainly perceive the reaſons for the Netherlanders ſtiling this treaty the *intercurſus magnus;* as it is, indeed, a very diſtinct and ample one for the prevention of all depredations and wrongs on either ſide, as well as for a free and undiſturbed fiſhery and commerce.

We need not here remark, that the ancient way of cautionary conſervators, both of nobility and cities, for the keeping of ſuch treaties, is long ſince laid aſide between princes and ſtates, as not anſwering any valuable end: Yet, in treating with the Hanſe towns, and other popular governments, ſuch conſervators might have poſſibly added ſome force to their treaties. For this very treaty is declared to be made not only between the ſovereigns of both countries, but alſo between the vaſſals, cities, and ſubjects; and that thoſe alone who ſhould do any injury ſhould be puniſhed, and none others; the peace, nevertheleſs, remaining in full force. And this treaty was not only ſigned by the plenipotentiaries of both princes, but was likewiſe ſigned and ſealed by the burgomaſters of the cities of the Netherlands above mentioned; all which is thereby declared to be for the greater ſecurity of amity and commerce.

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We now come to the firſt attempt by England for the diſcovery of unknown countries. King Henry VII, perceiving his error in neglecting the propoſal of Columbus, thought to retrieve it by his grant on the 5th of March 1495-6, to John Cabot (or Gabota), a citizen of Venice, then ſettled at Briſtol, and to his ſons, Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Sanches, authoriſing them to navigate all the parts, countries, and bays of the eaſtern, weſtern, and northern ſeas, under the Engliſh flag, with five ſhips, and as many men as they ſhall judge proper, at their own ſole coſts and charges, to diſcover the countries of gentiles or infidels, in whatever part of the world they may be ſituated, which have hitherto been unknown to all chriſtians *; with power to them, or any of them, to ſet up our banners in any town, caſtle, iſland, or continent of the countries ſo to be diſcovered by them: And ſuch of the ſaid towns, caſtles, or iſlands, ſo found out and ſubdued by them, to occupy and poſſeſs, as our vaſſals, governors, lieutenants, and deputies, the dominion, title, and juriſdiction thereof, and of the *terra firma* or continent ſo found out remaining to us; provided (ſays this wary king) that out of all the profits, emoluments, advantages, gains and produce ariſing from this navigation or expedition, the ſaid Cabot and ſons ſhall be obliged to pay us, for each voyage they ſhall ſo make, on their return to our port of Briſtol (to which port they are hereby abſolutely bound to ſteer), after all needful coſts and charges are deducted, one fifth part of the whole capital gain, either in merchandize or in money.—The ſaid Cabots to be free from all cuſtoms on the goods they ſhall ſo import.—The lands they ſhall ſo diſcover and ſubdue ſhall not be frequented nor viſited by any others of our ſubjects, without the licence of Cabot and his ſons, under forfeiture, &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xii, *p.* 595.]

Here was a ſufficient charter to the Cabots for taking poſſeſſion of all the continent of North America, had they had reſolution and means ſufficient for planting what they the following year diſcovered; or rather, had this king had ſpirit and generoſity enough to ſupport ſuch a plantation at his own expenſe, whereby the Engliſh would not only have been the firſt diſcoverers, but would have had the ſtart of all other nations, in being the firſt planters of the American continent. They ſet out (ſays lord St. Albans) with one Briſtol ſhip, and three from London, loaded with groſs and ſlight wares, and went as far as the north ſide of Terra di Labrador, in 67½ degrees of latitude.

Captain Fox, in his book called the North-Weſt Fox, printed in the year 1635, ſays he took the way towards Iceland from beyond the Cape of Labrador, until he found himſelf in 58 degrees and better; thence he ſailed ſouthward along the ſhores of America, as far as the iſle of

* King Henry evidently pays no regard to the Pope's diviſion of the undiſcovered parts of the world between Spain and Portugal.

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Cuba; and ſo returned back to England; where, king Henry VII being engaged in a war with Scotland, there was no inclination to any farther diſcoveries of the new world; ſo that Sebaſtian, the moſt active and ingenious of the Cabots, entered into the ſervice of Spain, and was inſtrumental in farther American diſcoveries. Hakluyt (in the dedication of the 2d volume of his voyages to Sir Robert Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate to Queen Elizabeth, 1599), aſſerts, with juſtice, that not only the principal Spaniſh writers, as Peter Martyr ab Angleria, Francis Lopes de Gomora, and the moſt learned Venetian, John Baptiſta Ramuſio, as alſo the French geographer Popliniere, &c. all acknowlege, with one conſent, that of the great tract of land, from 67 degrees northward to the latitude of Florida, was firſt diſcovered by England, as above. The preſident De Thou, or Thuanus, (l. xliv.) ſpeaking of the firſt diſcovery of Florida, about the beginning of the next century, which the Spaniards abſolutely claim to themſelves, has this expreſſion, viz. 'But 'what is more certain, and which very many affirm, long before this 'time, Sebaſtian Cabot, a Venetian navigator, not unſkilled in aſtro-'nomy, under the authority of Henry VII, king of England, and in 'emulation of Columbus (whoſe fame at that time was ſpread abroad), 'did, in the year 1496, firſt of any arrive in this province.' Herrera likewiſe, in his general hiſtory of America, ſays of Cabot's expedition, 'That he advanced as far as 68 degrees of north latitude, and finding 'the cold very intenſe, even in July, he durſt not proceed any farther; 'but that he gave a better account of all thoſe parts than any other had 'done.' How weak then are the pretenſions of France to the prior diſcovery of North America, alleging that John Verazzani, a Florentine, employed by their king Francis I, was the firſt diſcoverer of thoſe coaſts, ſeeing that king did not come to the crown till above nineteen years after Cabot's diſcovery of the whole coaſt of North America, between 68 degrees north and the ſouth end of Florida? So that, from beyond Hudſon's bay, (into which bay alſo Cabot then ſailed, and gave Engliſh names to ſundry places therein), ſouthward to Florida, the whole extent of North America, on the eaſtern coaſt, does, by all the right that prior diſcovery can give, belong to the crown of Great Britain; excepting, however, what our monarchs have, by ſubſequent treaties with other European powers, given up or ceded. Theſe authentic authors are a cloud of evidences, greater than which cannot perhaps be matched in hiſtory; and even Columbus himſelf ſaw not the continent of America till the year 1497: Yet, as ſundry new intereſts, claims, and encroachments have been made ſince the times in which they flouriſhed, the nations to which they belonged would not probably be ſorry that their teſtimonies were buried in eternal oblivion. The main end of the above attempt of Cabot's from England was ſaid, by the writers of and near thoſe times, to have been to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to the

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Indies or ſpice-iſlands, or China, then called Cathaya, whither ſome travellers had gone over land in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries. Cabot having ſailed as far north as 67½ degrees, the land which he firſt ſaw was the country between the mouth of the river of Canada and Hudſon's Strait, and which he therefore named Prima Viſta [*i. e.* firſt ſeen] which name it ſoon loſt, and next got the name of Corterealis from a Portugueſe, who, from Liſbon, fell in with that coaſt in the year 1500, calling alſo the north part of it Eſtotiland. After the French had ſettled in Canada, they called the whole country New France. Laſtly, from the Engliſh diſcoveries on the north parts of that country, deep into the bay of Hudſon, it was called New Britain; though the Portugueſe, in ſome of their maps, call it Terra di Labrador, its only product hitherto being peltry, furs, and feathers *.

The firſt ſtatute made in England, giving any particular directions concerning impotent beggars [11. *Hen. VII*, *c.* 2.] directs, that every beggar not able to work, ſhall reſort to the hundred where he laſt dwelt, is beſt known, or was born; and ſhall there remain, upon pain of being ſet in the ſtocks three days and three nights, with only bread and water, and then ſhall be put out of town. A poor relief this for thoſe impotent people! Yet as there were monaſteries and nunneries every where, which had good incomes and warm kitchens, the poor had then a much better chance than if they were now to be referred only to ſuch precarious relief.

Foreigners reſiding in England, having frequently been made denizens by letters-patent from the king, whereby they had the ſubſtantial benefit of paying no higher cuſtoms, &c. than natural born ſubjects, they greatly abuſed that privilege, by colouring the merchandize of other foreigners or merchants-ſtrangers, by entering their merchandize at the cuſtom-houſes as their own proper goods.

To obviate this fraud, a law was made [11. *Hen. VII*, *c.* 14.] that all merchants-ſtrangers, made denizens by letters-patent or otherwiſe, ſhould hereafter pay ſuch cuſtoms and ſubſidies for their goods and

* As Mr. Anderſon builds ſo much upon the priority of the diſcovery of the continent of America by Cabot in the ſervice of England, it is a pity that authors do not agree in the date of it. But, without repeating the diſcordant authorities of thoſe who date it in 1496, 1498, and 1499, we may depend on the contemporary teſtimony of alderman Fabian, who ſays, that he ſailed in the beginning of May, in the mayoralty of John Tate (i. e. 1497), but returned in the ſubſequent mayoralty of William Purchaſe, with three *ſalvages* from Newfoundland. Fox alſo quotes the following inſcription, engraved near Newfoundland, in a map publiſhed by Sebaſtian, the ſon of John Cabot.

'A. D. 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and 'Sebaſtian his ſon, with an Engliſh fleet, ſet 'ſail from Briſtow, diſcovered that iſland, which 'before that time no man had attempted, on 'the 24 of June.'

This date (1497) has accordingly been adopted by the judicious authors, Raynal, Forſter, Henry, Robertſon, &c.

Without paying any attention to priority of diſcovery, the Engliſh could found their right, at leaſt to a very great part of their territories in America, on the much more honourable title of a purchaſe from the aboriginal proprietors. *M.*

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merchandize, inward and outward, as they ſhould have paid if ſuch denization had never been granted them.

This year (or the beginning of the year 1497) Columbus arrived at the port of Venezuela; but not being then certain that it was a part of the continent of South America, and Americus Veſpucius going ſoon after on that coaſt, he (ſays Herrera) artfully gained the glory of the diſcovery of the continent; although, when Columbus came again on that coaſt, he made it appear that it was the ſame he had diſcovered before.

An act of parliament [11. *Hen. VII, c.* 4.] gives directions for making weights and meaſures, as a public ſtandard all over England, to be taken from thoſe in the exchequer, and to be lodged in the principal cities and towns; from which ſtandards other weights and meaſures were to be made, ſealed, and marked, for private uſe. Thoſe cities and towns were the ſhire-towns, and moſt frequented places in each county, and therefore needleſs to be here particularized, as being the ſame as at this time.

1497.—The Portugueſe, ſince the diſcovery of Africa as far ſouth as the Cape of Good Hope, ſeem to have contented themſelves with what they had already done, till the year 1497, when king Emanuel determined to puſh his inquiries farther. He therefore ſent out Vaſco de Gama with three ſhips and a tender, who, in five months time, got to the northeaſtward of that famous promontory, and at Mozambique (where they ſpoke Arabic) he got a Mooriſh pilot for Quiloa and Mombaza on the ſame coaſt, where he found large ſhips from Arabia and India; and here he found the Moors poſſeſſed of ſea-charts, quadrants, and even of the compaſs; and at Melinda he got a Guzerat pilot for Calecut in India, which he found to be a large and populous place, where there were above 1500 ſail of ſhips, ill built, and worſe ſupplied with proper tackling, &c. for long voyages; neither had they as yet there got the uſe of the compaſs; but they carried on a great trade in ſpices and other Indian merchandize; and here he found ſome Mooriſh merchants and one Italian. Thence he returned back to Melinda, and ſo home, in about twenty-ſix months, to Liſbon. So here was a ſurpriſing new theatre for commerce opened for Portugal to act on, which we ſhall ſee they for a long time improved to good purpoſe, till riches brought on pride, prodigality, and effeminacy amongſt the people, whereby a door was opened for other nations to ſtrip them of their large poſſeſſions and trade in India.

We have an act of parliament [12. *Hen. VII, c.* 6.] intitled 'Every 'Engliſhman ſhall have free recourſe to certain foreign marts, without 'exaction to be taken by any Engliſh fraternity;' which very much helps to clear up the diſputes which took up ſo many pages of pamphlets, and even of entire books, from this time downward for near 200

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years, between the ſeparate merchants-adventurers * or traders, from many parts of England, on one ſide, and a ſelect company of merchants, which had exiſted for 200 years, and about theſe times began to give themſelves the pompous title of the Company of Merchants-Adventurers of England, though they were not dignified by royal charter with this title till the year 1505. The preamble to this ſtatute, of which we here give the ſubſtance, ſets forth (by way of petition to the Houſe of Commons, from the merchants-adventurers reſiding in divers parts of England out of the city of London), That whereas they trade beyond ſea with their goods and merchandize, as well into Spain, Portugal, Bretagne, Ireland, Normandy, France, Seville, Venice, Dantzic, Eaſtland, Friſeland, and many other parts †; there to buy and ſell, and make their exchanges, according to the laws and cuſtoms of thoſe parts; every one trading as ſeems moſt to his advantage, without exaction, fine, impoſition, or contribution, to be had or taken of them, or any of them, to, for, or by any Engliſh perſon or perſons: And in like ſort they, before this time, have had, uſed, and of right ought to have and uſe the like commerce into the coaſts of Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and other adjacent parts, under the obedience of the archduke of Burgundy; in which places are uſually kept the univerſal marts or fairs, four times in the year; to which marts all Engliſhmen, and divers other nations, in time paſt, have uſed to reſort, there to ſell their own commodities, and freely to buy ſuch merchandize as they had occaſion for; till now of late, that the fellowſhip of the mercers, and other merchants and adventurers, dwelling, and being free within the city of London, by confederacy amongſt themſelves, for their own ſingular profit, contrary to every Engliſhman's liberty, to the liberty of the ſaid mart there, and contrary to all law, reaſon, charity, right, and conſcience, have made an ordinance among themſelves, to the prejudice of all other Engliſhmen, that no Engliſhman, reſorting to the ſaid mart, ſhall either buy or ſell any merchandize there, unleſs he ſhall have firſt compounded and made fine with the ſaid fellowſhip of merchants of London, at their pleaſure, upon pain of forfeiture to the ſaid fellowſhip of ſuch their ſaid merchandize: Which fine, impoſition, and exaction, at the beginning, when firſt taken, was demanded by colour of the fraternity of St. Thomas Becket; at which time it was only an old noble Sterling: And ſo, by colour of ſuch feigned holineſs, it hath been ſuffered to be taken of a few years paſt. It was afterwards increaſed to 100 ſhillings Flemiſh; but now the ſaid fellowſhip of London take of every Engliſhman or young merchant, being there, at his firſt coming, L.40 Sterling for a fine, to ſuffer him to buy and ſell his own goods. By reaſon

* A merchant-adventurer was one who adventured his merchandize to foreign countries.
† The old acts of parliament are often very inaccurate in their recital of foreign countries.

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whereof, all merchants, not of the ſaid fellowſhip, do withdraw themſelves from the ſaid marts, whereby the woollen cloth of this realm, which is one of the greateſt commodities of the ſame, as well as ſundry other Engliſh commodities, are not ſold nor got off as in times paſt, but are, for want of ſale thereof, in divers parts where ſuch cloths are made, conveyed to London, and there ſold at an undervalued price, even below what they coſt the makers. Moreover, the merchandize of thoſe foreign parts, imported by the ſaid fellowſhip, is ſold to your complainants and other ſubjects, at ſo high a price, that the buyers cannot live thereupon; by reaſon whereof, all the cities and towns of the realm are fallen into great poverty, ruin, and decay, and the king's cuſtoms and ſubſidies, and the navy of the land, greatly decreaſed. It was therefore now enacted, That all Engliſhmen from henceforth ſhall and may freely reſort to the coaſts of Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and other parts adjoining, under the obedience of the archduke; and at their marts or fairs there, ſell their merchandize, and buy and make exchange freely, without exaction, fine, impoſition, or contribution, taken or received of any of them by the ſaid fraternity or fellowſhip, excepting only the ſum of 10 merks (L. 6 : 13 : 4) Sterling, on pain of forfeiting L. 20 Sterling for every time they take more, and ſhall alſo forfeit to the party ſo impoſed on, ten times ſo much as contrary to this act is taken of him.

By this memorable law we are informed of the extent of the foreign commerce of the Engliſh merchants at this time; and we are acquainted with the gradual ſteps of the ſociety of London merchants-adventurers, for increaſing their freedom-fines from 6*ſ* 8*d* to L. 40 Sterling. Theſe freedom-fines are now, by act of Parliament, fixed at L. 6 : 13 : 4. Nevertheleſs, as this fine was hereby permitted to be demanded and taken by the London ſociety of merchants-adventurers, who ſoon after aſſumed the appellation of the merchants-adventurers of England, it was thereby in effect eſtabliſhed by law, although the fine was thereby thus limited, which, in ſome meaſure, claſhes with the preamble of this ſtatute.

A ſupplemental treaty of commerce was concluded between king Henry VII and the archduke Philip, ſovereign of the Netherlands, whereby it was ſtipulated,

I) That the new duty of one florin on every Engliſh woollen cloth, and alſo whatever other new impoſition had been laid thereon, ſhould now be abſolutely annulled; and Engliſh cloth be freely imported and ſold in all the archduke's countries, Flanders only excepted *, free of that duty of one florin, and of all the other new impoſitions.

II) And in caſe at any time the archduke or his ſucceſſors ſhall

* This exception was in favour of the vaſt woollen manufactures of Flanders.

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again lay on the duty of one florin on Engliſh cloth, or any other new impoſition, then it ſhall be free for the king of England either to keep or to break this and all former treaties or intercourſes of commerce with the Netherlands.

III) As to the duty of one mark per ſack of wool, which the Netherlanders are obliged to pay at the ſtaple of Calais, that point ſhall be duely conſidered at the enſuing diet or congreſs, to be held at Bruges, between the two contracting parties. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xii, *p.* 654.]

1498.—In the year 1498, Louis XII king of France, ratified and confirmed the treaty made by his father Charles VIII with Henry VII king of England, wherein it had been ſtipulated, that ſhipmaſters, or owners of ſhips, ſhould give ſecurity to double the value of ſhip and cargo, not to commit piracy, nor to moleſt the ſubjects of the other party; and ſundry other ſtipulations were now made for preventing pirates from ſelling their ſpoils in the ports of either party, &c. All which ſtipulations between England and other nations plainly ſhow, that in thoſe times there muſt have been much robbing and violence on the ſeas, even whilſt peace exiſted between nations in general. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xii, *p.* 690.]

This year the city of Riga, as a free and independent ſtate, entered into a treaty with Henry VII, whereby, I) The mutual intercourſe of commerce was renewed.

II) The Engliſh, trading to Riga and its territory, were to pay no cuſtom, duty, or toll whatever.

III) But Riga traders, with their ſhips and merchandize brought from Riga, coming to England, were to pay the ſame duties, &c. as the merchants of the Teutonic Hanſe towns do; and for merchandize from other parts the ſame duties as other merchants-ſtrangers pay.

IV) Laſtly, Riga hereby remits all former claims of money due to her from England, or for which England was any way engaged to the maſter-general and knights of the croſs of Pruſſia; particularly the ſum of 10,637 gold nobles, [2*ſ* 2*d* Sterling each] the written obligation for which is hereby promiſed to be delivered up into the hands of the maſter of the ſociety of Engliſh merchants reſiding at Antwerp or Bruges *. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xii, *p.* 701.]

1499.—It ſeems to have been about the middle, or perhaps nearer to the beginning of this century, that the Scots began to have a conſiderable fiſhery for exportation to foreign markets, which their Parliaments continued for ſome time to encourage by well-judged laws, although their corporation-towns were ſtill deſirous to confine it to themſelves. The forty-ninth act of the fourth parliament of king James IV, now takes notice of the vaſt riches ſtill loſt to Scotland for want of a ſufficient number of convenient ſhips and buſſes to be employed in the fiſhery.

* Though this treaty may ſeem ſcarcely worth notice in the preſent ſtate of affairs, it may convey ſome information to ſtateſmen or merchants.

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Wherefor, on account of the great advantage which thereby might be had, and to cauſe idle men and vagabonds to labour for their livings, for the common profit and univerſal welfare of the realm, the Parliament appointed, that fiſhing ſhips and buſſes, of twenty tons burden or upwards, ſhould be made in all [ſea-port] towns of the realm, in proportion to their ability.

Such regulations brought their fiſhery, and conſequently their naval ſtrength, as well as ſeveral other improvements, to a conſiderable height; but their ſubſequent ill-judged laws of reſtraint and prohibition threw all things retrograde. For, by the 98th act of the ſeventh Parliament of king James V, 1540, they enacted, that none ſhould ſend any white fiſh beyond ſea; but that ſtrangers be permitted to come and buy them of merchants and freemen of burghs with ready gold and ſilver or merchandize. And the 60th act of the 4th Parliament of king James VI, enjoins all fiſhers of herring, or other white fiſh, to bring their fiſh to free ports, there to be ſold, firſt in common to all ſubjects, and afterward the remainder to freemen; that the king's own ſubjects may be firſt ſerved; and that if abundance remain, they may be ſalted and exported by free burgeſſes, under forfeiture of ſhip and goods. How much wiſer would thoſe law-makers have been, had they permitted the fiſh to be immediately exported by any perſons whatever, as it ſeems had formerly been practiſed, and without any particular regard either to free ports or freemen? Thus the Scots now entirely loſt to the Netherlanders their former exportation of fiſh, which imprudence was firſt begun by the reſtraining by-laws of what they call their royal burghs about 70 years before, which they now at length got confirmed by Parliament.

King Henry VII now concluded a new commercial treaty or intercourſe with the archduke Philip, ſovereign of the Netherlands; in ſubſtance as follows, viz.

I. That, for twelve years to come, a duty of only half a merk (inſtead of one merk as hitherto) ſhall be paid by the Netherlanders, on every ſack of wool ſold to them at the ſtaple at Calais; unleſs it ſhall at any time happen that there may be a great mortality amongſt the ſheep in England (of which certificates, properly vouched upon oath from England, ſhall be produced), in which caſe the whole duty of a merk ſhall be taken.

II. On the other ſide, the archduke remits, in favour of the Engliſh merchants, the one florin per Engliſh woollen cloth imported into the Netherlands.

III. The Engliſh ſhall not, as formerly, be obliged to bring all their woollen cloth to the ſtaple of Antwerp or Bruges, and no where elſe, there to be ſealed before removed; but they ſhall now be at full liberty to carry their cloth, and to ſell it in every part of the archduke's dominions, Flanders alone excepted.

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IV. The chief of the Engliſh merchants at the fairs of Antwerp and Bruges, called the court-maſter, ſhall not, as formerly, fix a ſet price on the merchandize they are to buy at thoſe fairs.

The other articles relate to the packing of wool in England, wherein we find the mayor and conſtables of the ſtaple at Weſtminiſter for the ſouth parts of England, and the like officers at the ſtaple at Boſton for the north parts of England, were to be judges and certifiers of the package of wool to be brought to the ſtaple at Calais. Other articles related to the recovery of debts in both countries, and to the effects of perſons dying inteſtate, &c. All which (the half merk per ſack of wool excepted) were to remain in force during the joint lives of both contracting parties, and one year after the death of the firſt. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xii, *p.* 711.]

Americus Veſpucius, a Florentine, in the ſervice of Spain, now ſailed from Port St. Maries in Andaluſia, and made ſome diſcovery on the coaſt in South America; and as this was by Spain deemed the firſt diſcovery of the continent, that whole country had its name from him, who did very little towards any material diſcoveries, and undoubtedly was not the firſt diſcoverer of that continent, as we have abundantly ſhown under the year 1496.

1500.—Emanuel king of Portugal, encouraged by the ſucceſs of the firſt voyage to Eaſt-India, ſent out Cabral with 13 ſhips and 1200 men, to make a ſettlement there; but a violent ſtorm drove him on the coaſt of Braſil, of which he immediately advertiſed his king, by a veſſel ſent home on purpoſe; and there he left two Portugueſe to explore that country *. Every one knows that this noble province has ever ſince proved an almoſt inexhauſtible fund of riches to Portugal, and that all parts of Europe, which have any commerce with that kingdom, do, in ſome meaſure, reap the benefits of this fortuitous diſcovery. In another ſtorm near the Cape of Good Hope, they loſt ſeveral ſhips, and with only ſix remaining, they arrived at the town of Sofala on the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of Africa, which they took poſſeſſion of, and fortified. They afterwards poſſeſſed themſelves of the iſland of Mozambique on that coaſt, where they built and fortified, and where they alſo refitted, and went thence to Quiloa and Melinda, farther north-eaſtward on that coaſt. Travellers obſerve, that there is ſuch plenty of gold along part of the coaſt of Africa, that it is juſtly ſuppoſed to have been the Ophir of Solomon: Beſides, this coaſt affords ſilk, ambergreaſe, ivory, and ſlaves; and Mozambique has ever ſince proved a ſeaſonable port for the Portugueſe ſhips to refreſh and refit in their voyages to and from India. Thence Cabral ſailed to Calecut, and having contracted friendſhip with

* Thus, as has already been obſerved, America could not poſſibly have long remained unknown after the Portugueſe began to navigate the ſouth part of the Atlantic ocean.

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the kings of Cochin and Cananor, he at length returned home, loaded with the richeſt Indian merchandize, to Liſbon, now crowded with commerce. Portugal was now, indeed, in its meridian glory; ſo that it was ſaid the golden age was revived in the reign of Emanuel; which proſperous ſtate continued to the year 1578, when the fatal death of their romantic king don Sebaſtian turned their fortune very much to the reverſe, and it has never yet recovered that moſt proſperous ſituation it was in before that period.

The ſucceſs of Spain, in diſcovering America, occaſioned about this time ſundry attempts from different countries for farther diſcoveries. One Cortereal diſcovered a coaſt in upwards of 50 degrees of north latitude, ſouth of the entrance into that ſince called Hudſon's Bay, which country the Engliſh afterward named New Britain, and the French would fain have included in New France; but in the firſt maps it is called Corterealis. Other voyages of diſcovery were, at different times, made from France, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark on that bleak coaſt, from whence the various names of Eſtitoland *, Terra di Labrador, Eſkimaux, &c. are given to it, or to ſome part of it, by the maps of different nations; but finding no kind of wealth, but what could be got nearer home, viz. by the fiſhery (nor a paſſage that way to India), they all ſeemed to have no farther inclination for ſo inhoſpitable a coaſt.

In the treaty for the marriage of Arthur prince of Wales with the king of Spain's daughter, there is a renewal of the intercourſe of commerce between England and Spain, wherein there is nothing particular, but a clauſe in thoſe days much uſed in treaties of commerce (not much to the credit of that age), viz. That the ſhipmaſters of both nations ſhould thenceforward give ſecurity, on their ſetting ſail for foreign parts, in double the value of ſhip and cargo, not to commit depradations, nor any kind of violence nor injuſtice, againſt any of the ſubjects of the other contracting party. It was hereby alſo in general ſtipulated, That ſpecial care ſhould be taken of the merchandize of ſhips wrecked on the ſhores of either party, to be ſaved and kept for the right owners. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xii, *p.* 741.]

1501.—Emanuel king of Portugal, fluſhed with the ſucceſs of the diſcoveries of India and of the ſouth continent of America, now ſent out three ſhips to India. In their way they diſcovered the iſle of Aſcenſion, lying eight degrees ſouth of the line, and other iſles on the ſouth coaſt of Africa. On their return from India they diſcovered the uninhabited iſle of St. Helena (in ſouth latitude 16°, and about mid-way between Africa and America), which has ſince been long and moſt uſe-

* Eſtotiland is mentioned in the middle of the fourteenth century by Zeno, whoſe voyage was publiſhed in Ramuſio's Collections, and is alſo related and illuſtrated in *Forſter's Hiſtory of Voyages, &c. in the North.* M.

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fully in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, as a refreſhing place for their ſhips returning homeward. The Portugueſe ſtored it with hogs, goats, and poultry; and for many years after this, they were wont to ſtop at it in their homeward-bound Eaſt-India voyages, to ſupply themſelves with thoſe proviſions and freſh water; but it is very difficult to find in their outward-bound voyages, becauſe of the trade winds. The next year Vaſco de Gama was ſent to India with ten ſhips, and was the firſt who croſſed over directly from Mozambique to India and Soderias, with fifteen ſhips. The following year they built a fort at Cochin, ſubdued the king of Mombaza and others on the eaſt coaſt of Africa, and ſent ſhips to cruiſe at the entrance of the Red Sea againſt the Moors, who were their greateſt enemies in India. In brief, they puſhed on ſo numerous and great conqueſts in commerce to India, that a viceroy was ſoon eſtabliſhed there; and afterward, under the conduct of their great general Albuquerque, they became maſters of the iſle of Ormus in the Perſian gulf; of Goa, and many other ports on the coaſts of Malabar and Cormandel, and alſo the coaſts of the iſle of Ceylon, where the beſt, and almoſt the only true, cinnamon is produced; they alſo maſtered the peninſula of Malacca; and, to complete all, the famous Moluccos, or ſpice-iſlands, were ſubdued: Inſomuch that the princes of India began to court their favour. Thus was Portugal, from a very moderate condition, in a very few years greatly exalted and enriched, by the ſole enjoyment of the commerce to India, which that nation then probably flattered themſelves they were never to be rivalled in.

1502.—Whilſt ſuch great acquiſitions were making by Portugal in the eaſt, Columbus and Baſtidas were making many uſeful diſcoveries in the Weſt Indies for the future benefit of Spain.

We ſhould here alſo note, under this year 1502, that Cabral, the Portugueſe admiral, in his return from India, ſettled factories at Melinda, Quiloa, Mombaza, and Quirimba, on the Zanguebar coaſt. On the coaſt of Ajan alſo, the Portugueſe reduced moſt of the princes to be their tributaries; inſomuch that they ſoon became maſters of the whole ſouth-eaſt coaſt of Africa, as far as the entrance into the Red Sea. Before the Portugueſe came thither, the Arabians carried on a great commerce on this coaſt, upon which they had made many ſettlements; but how long they had been there does not appear. They alſo had traded thence to Perſia and India; but the Portugueſe ruined that commerce, and got it all into their own hands.

About this time alſo, Emanuel king of Portugal turned his arms againſt the Moors of Barbary; on which coaſt he took and garriſoned ſundry ports, ſuch as Magazan, Agadir (called alſo Santa Cruz by the Europeans), Azamor, &c.; moſt of which places, and thoſe they had before on that coaſt, they have long ſince loſt or abandoned. Neither

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did Portugal ever reap much advantage from thoſe port-towns, in point of commerce, any farther than they helped to curb the Mooriſh pirates; whom, however, neither they nor Spain have ever been able effectually to ſuppreſs.

In this year was finally concluded the moſt auſpicious marriage of Margaret, eldeſt daughter of king Henry VII of England, to king James IV of Scotland. The lands aſſigned by James for her dowery of L.2000 per annum, in earldoms, lordſhips, manors, foreſts, with the palaces and caſtles of Linlithgow and Stirling, are at this time probably more than ten times their value at that time.

A treaty of friendſhip and intercourſe of commerce was concluded between king Henry VII of England, and Maximilian king of the Romans, &c. where it is in general terms ſtipulated, 'That the merchants on both ſides may freely reſort and trade to each others dominions.'

In another treaty, in this ſame year 1502, between thoſe two princes, there is a grant of L. 10,000 Sterling from king Henry VII to Maximilian, for enabling him to make war againſt the Turks on the ſide of Hungary, where at this time they were puſhing on their conqueſts; on which account the popes laboured to excite all Chriſtian princes to contribute. And it muſt be owned, that, conſidering the character of king Henry VII, this was a large contribution for thoſe times. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xiii, p. 6, 9.]

King Henry VII, by a charter, licenſed Hugh Elliot and Thomas Aſhhurſt, merchants of Briſtol, John Gunſalus and Francis Fernandus, natives of Portugal, to ſail with ſuch ſhips and mariners as they ſhall judge proper, under Engliſh colours, into all the parts and countries of the eaſtern, weſtern, ſouthern, and northern ſeas, in order to diſcover any iſlands, coaſts, and countries of heathen and infidel parts of the world; and to erect king Henry's banners and enſigns at whatever town, caſtle, iſland, or continent, they ſhall ſo diſcover, and to hold the ſame (ſays the king) for our uſe, as our lieutenants there: Provided they do not concern themſelves with, nor offer to moleſt ſuch heathen and infidel countries as are already diſcovered, and reduced to the obedience of the king of Portugal, or of any other prince our friend or confederate.

Whenever any diſcovery ſhall be made, it is our will that men and women from England be freely permitted to ſettle therein, and to improve the ſame under the protection of theſe grantees, whom we hereby empower to make laws, &c. there.

The ſeven remaining clauſes relate to the ſettling, ſailing, and trading to ſuch ſuppoſed, and to be diſcovered country; the cuſtoms to be paid, and the reſtrictions of the trade thither to his own ſubjects, &c. And he thus concludes:

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And whereas we have, by other letters-patents of the 16th year of our reign [*i. e.* two years before, but not to be found in the Fœdera], granted to Richard Ward, John Thomas, and John Fernandus, together with the four grantees herein named, a licence to go and diſcover new countries and iſlands; yet we will not have the ſaid three firſt named perſons to attempt or meddle with any ſuch new diſcoveries, without a licence from the four grantees of this preſent charter *. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xiii, *p.* 37.]

At this time there were differences between John king of Denmark and the Hanſe Towns; the latter, like true merchants, ſtriving to have commerce wherever they could obtain it; the former being driven out of Sweden by Steen-Sture the regent, inſiſted that the Hanſe-Towns ſhould forbear trading to Sweden; in which (ſays the Hanſeatic hiſtorian Werdenhagen, *Vol.* I. *par.* iii. *cap.* 17.) king John was ſeconded by the ambaſſador of his uncle James IV king of Scotland (who alſo, according to Meurſius's Hiſtoria Danica, ſent John an aid of two ſtout ſhips of war), at a general aſſembly of the deputies of the Hanſeatic league at Lubec: Yet the general aſſembly at length convinced the Daniſh king of the unreaſonableneſs of that demand, as it would be very unreaſonable that they, who had great concerns in Sweden, ſhould be obſtructed in their commerce by the quarrels between Denmark and Sweden.

King Henry VII of England now cauſed the chapel of the Virgin Mary, and a tavern adjoining, at the eaſt end of the abbey-church of Weſtminſter, to be taken down; on the ſite whereof he erected the preſent moſt beautiful and magnificent chapel which goes by his name, at the expence of L.14,000, which at this time would probably at leaſt coſt five times that ſum.

1503.—In Scotland, the 70th act of the ſixth parliament of king James IV confirmed that of 1406, and directed that none ſhall beg, but lame, ſick, and impotent people, under a penalty on the magiſtrates ſuffering any others to beg.

By another Scottiſh law of that ſame year, all lords and lairds (landed gentlemen) were enjoined to have parks with deer, alſo ſtanks (fiſh-ponds), conningares (rabbit-warrens), dove-cots, orchards, and hedges, and to plant at leaſt one acre of woodlands, where already there are no great woods or foreſts. The wars with England had occaſioned their woods to be deſtroyed, ſo that they were in great want of timber and firewood; they had alſo much neglected incloſures and parks. Some

* Here, again, Henry pays no regard to the pope's preſumptuous diviſion of the world between Spain and Portugal. And he equally neglects giving any pecuniary aſſiſtance to the adventurers, who in thoſe days ſeldom had abilities and patience to accompliſh ſuch enterpriſes. This expedition, therefore, ſucceeded no better than Cabot's.

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of theſe points were pretty well proſecuted; but others of them, and the moſt important too, very much neglected, though enforced by many ſubſequent laws.

The ſame year we firſt find mention, in a Scottiſh act of parliament (c. 81), of the office of conſervator of that nation's mercantile privileges in the Netherlands, though the office was apparently of an earlier date than this time; when it was now enacted, that for the well of merchants, and becauſe of the great exorbitant expenſes made by them upon pleas in parts beyond the ſeas, the conſervator of this realm ſhall have juriſdiction to do juſtice between the ſaid merchants (being the king's ſubjects) in the parts beyond the ſeas. But the conſervator ſhall have ſix, or at leaſt four, Scottiſh merchants to ſit, and determine all matters jointly with him; and that no Scottiſh merchant beyond ſea ſhall ſue another Scottiſh merchant there before any other judge than the conſervator. By another act of the ſame year (c. 82), the conſervator is directed to come home yearly to Scotland, or elſe to ſend his reſponſible procurator to anſwer for his conduct in his office beyond ſea. This office of conſervator nearly reſembles that of the Engliſh conſuls in foreign ports; and although in neither of the above-quoted acts the place of his reſidence be mentioned, yet it is well known that he always did, and ſtill does reſide in the Netherlands, where the principal foreign commerce of Scotland had always centered. And in a Scottiſh act of parliament, anno 1535, which confirms certain former laws, prohibiting petty merchants from going beyond ſea to France, Flanders, &c. with leſs than half a laſt of merchandize, he is called the conſervator of the nation in Flanders, and is thereby directed to ſend home the names of all merchants going thither in every ſhip, contrary to the tenor of this act.

Under this year we may tranſiently remark, that the acceſſion of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria, by a marriage at this time, paved the way for great alterations in the commercial as well as in the political ſyſtem of Europe; which conjunction had like to have been an over match for all the reſt of Chriſtendom, had not England and France been vigilant on the oppoſite ſide.

According to Moriſot [*Orbis Maritimus*, *L.* ii, *c.* 13, *p.* 410.], there arrived two Zealand ſhips at Campveer, loaded with ſugars, the produce of the Canary iſlands. As yet no ſugar-canes were produced in America; they were tranſplanted ſoon after this time from the Canaries. We have already ſeen, that the firſt ſugar-canes, weſt of the Mediterranean ſea, were planted at the iſle of Madeira, which had them from Sicily, from whence, or elſe from the coaſts of Africa, they might be brought to the Canaries. 'The boiling and baking of ſugars,' (ſays Dr. Heylin in his Coſmography, whoſe firſt edition was printed anno

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1624), 'as it is now uſed, is not above 200 years old*; and the refining of it more new than that firſt found out by a Venetian in the days of our forefathers, who got 100,000 crowns by the invention. Before which art of boiling and refining it, our anceſtors made uſe of it rough as it came from the canes. But they moſt commonly uſed honey inſtead of it.'

1504.—It was not till the year 1504, that any French ſhip arrived on the coaſts of North America, even according to their own accounts; which was eight years later than the Engliſh diſcovery thereof by Cabot, &c.; but it was not till two years later that one Denis diſcovered the entrance into the river of Canada or St. Laurence. So that the priority of diſcovery is undoubtedly on the ſide of England for all North America; and conſequently England, beyond all the other nations of Europe, had the beſt claim to the whole, until ſhe gave up part of it by her ſucceeding treaties with other European nations.

The renowned city of Antwerp was at this time arrived very near to the ſummit of its wealth and glory, which it had acquired by the two following conſiderations, viz.

I.) By the grants of free fairs for commerce, made formerly by the ſovereigns of the Netherlands (two of which fairs laſted each time ſix weeks), whither merchants reſorted from all parts of Chriſtendom with their merchandize, cuſtom free. At theſe fairs vaſt concerns were managed, not only in merchandize, but in bills of exchange, with all parts of Europe.

II) But what more immediately and ſuddenly brought about the wealth, grandeur, and renown of Antwerp, was when Portugal now brought home, in immenſe quantities, the ſpices, drugs, and other rich productions of India, firſt to Liſbon, and thence to Antwerp, as to an entre-port or half-way port, between the north and ſouth parts of Europe. This drew the German and other merchants to ſettle at Antwerp, which brought great riches to it; and the merchants of Bruges alſo removed thither, after the archduke Maximilian had, about the year 1499, reduced their city.

Louis Guicciardin (in his judicious deſcription of the Netherlands), was of opinion, that the ſpices alone, brought from Liſbon to Antwerp, one year with another, amounted to above a million of crowns yearly. In thoſe days the people of Europe were much fonder of the uſe of ſpices in their cookery, &c. than they have been in later times.

An Engliſh act of parliament (19. *Hen. VII, c.* 21.), for the advancement of the ſmaller ſilk manufactures in England, prohibited the im-

* It appears by the *accounts of the chamberlain of Scotland*, publiſhed from the originals in the exchequer by John Davidſon, Eſq. that, ſo early as the year 1329, *loaves of ſugar* were ſold in Scotland at the price of 1 *ſ* 9½ (above an ounce of ſtandard ſilver), by the pound. So Dr. Heylin is ſurely miſtaken at leaſt in the date of the invention of ſugar-baking. *M.*

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portation of any manner of ſilk wrought either by itſelf, or with any other ſtuff, in ribbands, laces, girdles, corſes, and corſes of tiſſues or points, upon pain of forfeiture of the ſame. Alſo (on the other hand), it was made lawful for all perſons, as well foreigners as Engliſh, to import all other kinds of ſilks, as well wrought as raw and unwrought, the above excepted. The reader here may plainly ſee, that at this time there was no broad manufacture of ſilk made in England, as my lord Bacon alſo notes, in his hiſtory of king Henry VII under this ſtatute.

Another ſtatute paſſed (*c.* 23), for confirming to the merchants of the Hanſe in Almain, having the houſe in the city of London, commonly called Guilhalla Teutonicorum (*i. e.* the German merchants of the ſteelyard), all their ancient liberties, privileges, free uſages, and cuſtoms, granted either by the kings of England, or by authority of parliament; and annulling all acts, ſtatutes and ordinances, made in derogation of their ſaid liberties, &c. The Engliſh merchants, increaſing in their foreign commerce, had probably occaſioned the Hanſeatics to procure this confirmation of their ancient privileges, for which, poſſibly, they might gratify the avarice of the monarch.

In another ſtatute made in this ſame year (*c.* 17), for regulating the company of ſhearmen of the city of Norwich, it is (*inter alia*) remarked, that in Norwich, time out of mind, there had been uſed a certain craft called ſhearmen, for ſhearing as well worſteds, ſtamins, and fuſtians, as alſo all other woollen cloth, &c. This ſtatute ſhows us a general liſt of their woollen manufactures, which were even then ſo conſiderable (eſpecially the thinner ſorts), that we find more ſtatutes hitherto for regulating the manufactures in Norwich, and its neighbourhood of Norfolk and Suffolk, than of any other part of England.

The by-laws made by corporations or fellowſhips of crafts, guilds, and fraternities, were, at this time, found to be many ways againſt the king's prerogative, the common law of England, and the liberty of the ſubject, being (ſays lord Bacon) fraternities in evil: Wherefore an act of parliament (19 *Hen. VII*, *c.* 7), reſtrains the maſters or wardens of ſuch fellowſhips from making any new by-laws or ordinances concerning the prices of wares and other things, for their own ſingular profit, until firſt examined and approved of by the lord chancellor, lord treaſurer, or king's juſtices, on pain of forfeiting £40 for every ſuch offence.

An Engliſh act of parliament paſſed this ſame year (*c.* 5), for preventing gold and ſilver coins from being carried into Ireland, and Iriſh money from being brought into England *, and for calling all clipped and diminiſhed money into the mint. Neither (ſays lord Bacon in his hiſtory of king Henry VII) was it a ſmall matter that the mint (*i. e.* the

* They had then a mint in Ireland.

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king) gained by thus recoining the groats and half-groats (being, it ſeems, as large as our modern ſhillings and ſixpences, which ſurely they could not be, if they were not of baſer allay than the old Sterling fineneſs). His lordſhip here likewiſe recounts many other ways which that king had of getting vaſt ſums into his coffers, even in time of profound peace; ſuch as extorting 5000 merks from the city of London for confirming their privileges; his ſubſidies, benevolences, and caſualties; the marriage portion from Spain, &c. but theſe are foreign to our ſubject.

1505.—We have remarked, under the year 1497, that the ſtatute which reduced the exorbitant freedom-fines of the company of merchants-adventurers did, at the ſame time, by a ſtrong implication, legally eſtabliſh that company, though they were not then preciſely ſo called; yet in fact they were, and had long before been, what this king made them by his new charter. But now king Henry VII, in the 20th year of his reign, confirmed by charter 'to the merchants trading in woollen cloth 'of all kinds to the Netherlands their former privileges.' And in this new charter of confirmation they were firſt properly ſtiled the fellowſhip of merchants-adventurers of England. They had alſo hereby authority given them to hold courts and marts at Calais; provided, however, that they exacted no more (as by the act of parliament of 1497) than ten marks of any merchant whatever for his freedom in their fellowſhip, for trading to Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zealand, and the countries adjacent, under the archduke's government; hereby enjoining all merchants-adventurers to come into the freedom of this fellowſhip. Wheeler, ſecretary of this fellowſhip, in his vindication of it, under the title of a Treatiſe of Commerce (4to, 1601), acknowleges, that at this time we are now upon, as well as in the reign of king Henry IV, (as alſo in his own time) the like complaints were made by the clothiers, wool-growers, dyers, &c. againſt this fellowſhip, viz. that they obſtructed the free courſe of commerce by reſtraints. Yet, adds he, after due examination of the complaint, the iſſue procured great favour to the company, and occaſioned the enlarging of their former charters, with an expreſs reſtraint of all ſtragglers and intermeddlers (*i. e.* ſeparate traders). And whereas the Eaſterlings (the German merchants of the ſteelyard) at this time had entered into the ſame trade, king Henry VII not only ſtrictly prohibited them from the ſame, but likewiſe obliged the aldermen of the ſteelyard in London to enter into a recognizance of 2000 merks, that the ſteelyard merchants ſhould not carry any Engliſh cloth to the place of reſidence of the merchants adventurers in the Low Countries. Nevertheleſs, the complaints againſt the merchants-adventurers' monopoly grew afterward louder as the manufacturers increaſed, and the general trade of the nation became more enlarged.

In this 20th year of king Henry VII a few ſilver ſhillings or twelvepences were coined, being about the fortieth part of a pound weight of

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ſilver, fair and broad pieces. Theſe were the firſt real ſhillings in England, the ſhillings of former ages being merely ideal, as the pound is now. They are now only to be found in the cabinets of the curious.

The Portugueſe now firſt landed on the iſland of Ceylon, where they were ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Moors, who had long before been ſettled there, and had ſupplied all Europe with cinnamon by the way of Alexandria: Yet, in the end, the Portugueſe got the better; and having fortified the principal ports of that iſland, they, in their turn, totally engroſſed the cinnamon trade till the year 1639, when they were ſupplanted by the Hollanders. This ſpice was well known to the ancients, ever ſince the commerce from Egypt to India was practiſed; whereas the ſpices from the Moluccos, and more eſpecially the places producing them, were not generally known ſo early.

1506.—King Philip of Spain and his queen, on their voyage from Flanders to Spain, being, by ſtreſs of weather, driven into Falmouth, were invited by Henry VII to Windſor and London, where they were entertained with much feaſting and ſplendour. King Henry on this occaſion concluded a new commercial treaty with king Philip for his dominions in the Netherlands, which treaty the Flemings termed intercurſus malus, for that there be ſome things in it (ſays lord Bacon) more to the advantage of the Engliſh than of them; eſpecially for that the free fiſhing of the Dutch upon the coaſts and ſeas of England, granted in the treaty of the year 1496, termed by the Flemings intercurſus magnus, was not by this treaty confirmed.

This new treaty follows, in ſubſtance, viz. That whereas the Engliſh, reſiding in and trading to the Netherlands, had made grievous complaints of new and unprecedented tolls and duties laid on their merchandize there, contrary to treaties ſubſiſting; and that there were prohibitions of ſelling Engliſh cloth in many places there; alſo that there were ſeizures made of ſhips and merchandize, and the impriſonment of their perſons, &c.

For redreſs therefor of all grievances on both ſides, it was now ſtipulated,

I) That former treaties be confirmed, particularly thoſe of 1495 and 1499 (that of 1496 being artfully omitted), except ſo far as altered by this treaty, and all new tolls and exactions utterly aboliſhed.

II) The Engliſh merchants may freely reſort to Bruges in Flanders, as alſo to all the other provinces of the Netherlands, with their ſhips, cloth, and other merchandize, freely to buy and ſell. But, in the province of Flanders (and there only), they ſhall not ſell their cloth by retail, or in a ſmaller quantity than an entire piece; neither ſhall they be permitted either to dreſs or to dye their cloth in the ſaid province of Flanders.

And III) For prevention of all impoſitions for the future, a table of

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all the duties, ſubſidies, tolls, and other payments, which may be legally demanded in either country, ſhall be affixed on the doors of the cuſtomhouſes of London, Bruges, Antwerp, Berg (Mons), and Middleburg. [*Fœdera, V.* xiii, *p.* 132.]

King Henry VII moſt unjuſtly (and probably for his own private profit) granted a licence to Auguſtini Chigi, a merchant of Sienna in Tuſcany, to import from Flanders or elſewhere, 1300 quintals of alum, and prohibited all others to import any, until he ſhould have ſold off all his ſaid quantity; provided, however, that neither he nor his factors ſhould ſell the alum at a higher price than £1 : 6 : 8 per hundred weight. [*Fœdera, V.* xiii, *p.* 159.]

In this year the ever-famous Chriſtopher Columbus died. About this time ſugar-canes, brought from Braſil and the Canaries, were planted in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, where (ſays Herrera) many ſugar-mills were gradually erected.—Leave alſo was granted to all native Spaniards to ſend merchandize to the Weſt Indies;—and even foreigners were permitted to trade in partnerſhip with native Spaniards, in Spaniſh bottoms only.—The contratacion-houſe lately erected at Seville, for the management of all the American commerce, was now enlarged and its conſtitution ſettled. The Spaniards alſo, at this time, improved their pearl fiſhery at the iſle of that name, and other parts of the Weſt-Indies. Before the Braſil ſugar was brought into Europe, that commodity was very dear, being only uſed in feaſts and phyſical neceſſities; honey being, till then, the general ingredient for ſweetening meats and drinks.

1507.—King Henry VII remitted to ſix Venetian merchants, and to all other ſubjects of that republic, all forfeitures, tranſgreſſions, and offences committed by them before the firſt day of March in this year 1507, againſt any acts of parliament or orders of council, &c. alſo all manner of uſuries, corrupt bargains, buying, ſelling, and bartering of wool, tin, lead, cloth, &c. alſo all illegal entries at the cuſtomhouſes; all payments of gold againſt law, &c. all deceptions in the manufacture of woollen cloth, and in ſtretching the ſame; all exportations and importations of the before-named and other commodities againſt law; all changes, exchanges, and rechanges (cambia, excambia, et recambia), between the ſaid Venetians and others;—as alſo miſpriſions, confederacies, riots, &c.—all condemnations, pains of death, and all other pecuniary and corporal pains which they may have incurred, &c.—And granted them his ſecure peace: as alſo all goods and chattels they might have formerly forfeited, and which were in the cuſtody of his officers, &c. to be reſtored to them, without their rendering any account, provided that the ſaid Venetians be not forgiven any debt to the king, for which there were written ſecurities.

The king alſo granted licence to the Venetians to buy and ſell, at London and elſewhere, in England, Ireland, and Calais, woollen cloth,

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lead, tin, leather, &c. with the Engliſh, Genoeſe, Venetians, Florentines, Luccans, Spaniards, Portugueſe, Flemings, Hollanders, Brabanters, Burgundians, German Hanſeatics, Lombards, and Eaſterlings, and all other foreigners, as well as natives, for ten years to come.

Moreover, the king granted the like privileges, pardons, &c. to all other ſtrangers in England dealing with the Venetians there. And if all this ſhould not be judged ſufficient by the Venetians, they ſhould have other more ample letters-patent for that effect, provided that the Venetians, &c. under colour of this grant, do not, within the ſaid term, import into England any goods from the dominions of the archduke of Auſtria. This proviſo was in favour of the merchants-adventurers privileges*. [*Fœdera, V.* xiii, *p.* 161.]

By the whole tenor of this patent, we ſee how many different nations then traded to or reſided in England, the French and Scots excepted.

The diſputes about the new tolls exacted in the Netherlands, from the Engliſh trading thither, ran ſo high, that the commerce between the two nations was, in a manner, quite interrupted, to the very great damage of both; to remedy which, Maximilian, king of the Romans, jointly with Charles his grandſon (afterward emperor, by the ſtile of Charles V), granted a proviſional charter, whereby all the new tolls were aboliſhed; and made a declaration, that the Engliſh ſhould enjoy all the privileges of commerce in the Netherlands, and the Netherlanders in England, Ireland, and Calais, as ſtipulated in the intercourſe of 1495. [*Fœdera, V.* xiii, *p.* 168.]

The Portugueſe, under Albuquerque, fortified the famous iſle of Ormus in the Perſian gulf, commodiouſly ſituated for the trade between Turkey, Arabia, and Perſia, on the one hand; and India and China, on the other; there being two caravans yearly between Aleppo and Ormus, for exchanging the carpets, camlets, drugs, dried fruits, pearls, horſes, &c. of the three firſt named countries; for the ſpices, cotton cloths, precious ſtones, &c. of India and China; which commerce centered with the Portugueſe at Ormus till the year 1622, as will hereafter be ſeen.

1508.—Although the numerous wars in Europe during this century are not properly within our cognizance, yet, for the glory of the illuſtrious commercial republic of Venice, we cannot avoid briefly to commemorate its great deliverance from the famous league of Cambray, being a confederacy of the greateſt part of Europe, viz. the emperor Maximilian I, Louis XII of France, Ferdinand king of Spain, and pope Julius II, by whoſe inſtigation this league was ſecretly projected for the deſtruction of the republic. Thoſe powers, in conjunction, eaſily ſtrip-

* Great and illegal grants having been made to thoſe Venetian merchants for the king's private emolument, to the injury of the native traders, of which the people made loud complaints, it was thought neceſſary to grant them this charter of indemnification to ſcreen them from proſecutions.

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ped the Venetians of all that they poſſeſſed on the continent of Italy; yet, with all their power, they were not able to conquer the noble capital city of Venice. And, in fine, the pope being brought (or bought) over, and the reſt of the confederacy disjointed, the republic ſoon recovered much of her former territories: To the pope, however, they were fain to leave Ravenna; to Spain, the five towns which the republic had till now poſſeſſed in Calabria; and to the emperor, Trieſte and Friuli.

Aubart, a Frenchman, firſt ſailed up the great river of St. Laurence to the country of Canada, from whence he brought home to France ſome of the Indian natives.

Although the marriage agreed on between Mary, the daughter of king Henry VII of England, and Charles, grandſon of the emperor Maximilian, did not take place; yet it is ſomewhat curious to ſee the formality of thoſe times for ſecuring the lady's dowery, and her marriage portion of 250,000 gold crowns: For many lords were ſolemnly bound for the ſame, as were alſo the following cities and towns on Maximilian's part, viz. Bruſſels, Antwerp, Bruges, Ypres, Courtray, Nieuport, Dort, Leyden, Amſterdam, Middleburg, Zirickzee, and Mechlin; and on the part of Henry, the cities and towns of London, Coventry, Norwich, Cheſter, Worceſter, Exeter, York, Briſtol, Southampton, Boſton, Hull, and Newcaſtle upon Tyne *. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xiii, *p.* 173.]

From the Fœdera [*V.* xiii, *p.* 216] we learn what king Henry VII made by his office of change, exchange, and rechange (cambii, excambii, et recambii) of money, paid by all perſons going, or ſending money, to foreign parts, and from thence back to England. Henry now grants this office to Peter Corſy, a Florentine, for one year, who, by the king's authority, was to take 3*d* for the exchange and rechange of every gold ducat. For this office Corſy was yearly to pay the king L. 250 Sterling. The record calls this office 'the cuſtody' [*et appruamentum*, poſſibly written by miſtake inſtead of *aperiamentum*, or opening] 'of the increaſe of the change, exchange, and rechange.'

Sir Robert Cotton [*Remains*, *p.* 197.] ſpeaking of the antiquity and uſe of this *cambium regis*, or office of exchange, in a curious and judicious treatiſe, intitled, 'The manner and means how the kings of England have from time to time ſupported and repaired their eſtates,' written in the year 1609, ſays, 'It is as ancient as before the time of king Henry III, and continued in uſe till the middle of king Henry VIII's reign, the profits of it being now (in 1609) engroſſed among a few goldſmiths, and would yield above L. 10,000 yearly to the crown, would he erect it

* We thereby alſo learn, which were then eſteemed the moſt important cities and towns in the dominions of the contracting princes; and that in thoſe days, the faith of trading communities was held at leaſt equal to that of ſovereigns. *M.*

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again, and then ſhould the king himſelf keep his mint in continual work.' Of this we have no very diſtinct conception in modern times.

Herrera, the Spaniſh-American hiſtoriographer, relates, that in or about this year, the gold brought from the iſland of Hiſpaniola in one year, amounted to 460,000 pieces of eight; by which, together with the cotton, ſugar, ginger, &c. and the ſhipping employed between Spain and America, the Weſt-Indies now began to promiſe ſome recompenſe to Spain for the great charge of the firſt ſettlement, and the loſs of ſo many lives. They had, it ſeems, by this time found that the miſerable Indian natives, whom the Spaniards had compelled to work in their mines and fields, were not ſo robuſt and proper for thoſe purpoſes as negroes brought from Africa; wherefore they, about the ſame time, began to import negroes for that end into Hiſpaniola from the Portugueſe ſettlements on the Guinea coaſts, and alſo afterward for their ſugar works, as already obſerved.

The Portugueſe in India, ſtill under their great commander Albuquerque, took the town and port of Goa on the coaſt of Malabar; and although its prince Hidalcan ſoon recovered it, yet Albuquerque retook it in the year 1510. The commodiouſneſs of its ſituation, and goodneſs of the country, induced Albuquerque to fortify it ſtrongly, and to make it the capital of the Portugueſe dominions in India, its walls being ſaid to have been twelve miles in compaſs, and many of its ſtructures magnificent; but it is long ſince much decayed, both with reſpect to wealth and number of inhabitants, which, ſome ſay, are reduced to 20,000, of all nations and religions. Albuquerque, in order to breed up ſoldiers, very wiſely got the Indian maids made chriſtians, and married them to Portugueſe, that they might not always ſtand in need of freſh ſupplies of men from Portugal.

It is not our province minutely to particularize all the Portugueſe conqueſts in India, whereby they gained immenſe riches and great glory to that crown and nation. It is ſufficient for our purpoſe in general to obſerve, that they went on from year to year in diſcovering more countries, even as far eaſtward as China and Japan; and ſouthward to the great archipelago of iſlands in the Indian ocean. They ſubdued the kingdoms of Decan, Cambaya, and Guzaratte, with the forts of Diu, Suratte, and Cambaya, and many other places and iſlands for 200 miles along the Malabar coaſt, and on that of Cormandel, and in the kingdom of Bengal, Macaſſar, and Malacca, and alſo the iſles of Timor and Solor, with the famous Molucco and ſpice iſlands, beſide the great iſle of Ceylon already mentioned. Their conqueſts and ſettlements (already noted) on the north-eaſt ſhores of Africa, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, were alſo very profitable to them, where they traded with negro nations for much gold, brought from the far inland countries to the Portugueſe ſettlements on the coaſt. In Arabia Felix they once got poſ-

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ſeſſion of Maſcate; alſo of ſundry iſles in the Perſian gulf, and the important town and port of Balſora at the upper end of that gulf. They, in brief, were become very formidable to all the princes of India, many of whom they made tributary; and as their fleets were very powerful and numerous, ſo was their dominion on the Indian ſeas extremely arbitrary, inſomuch that no ſhip whatever could ſail thereon without their permiſſion; and if any did preſume ſo to do, they ſeized on ſhips and goods, and impriſoned their ſailors: Likewiſe, they almoſt every where committed great cruelties and maſſacres on the conquered people at land, and thought to expiate all their crimes and enormities by building a great number of churches and monaſteries wherever they were maſters. This great proſperity they held throughout all the ſixteenth century, and were conſtantly increaſing in power, fame, and riches; yet whoever well conſiders the preſent ſtate of the ſmall kingdom of Portugal, will be almoſt apt to marvel how they got to ſuch a pitch of grandeur and power both by ſea and land, and to hold it for near a century and an half, in ſpite of the emulation of their European neighbours; on which point, though we do not here undertake to enlarge, we may, however, curſorily obſerve, 1. That Portugal was then much more populous than at this day, and that their preſent feeble ſtate (for want of manufactures) is owing to the draining of their people to colonize Africa, India, and Braſil. 2. That the Portugueſe conqueſts were made partly over effeminate Aſiatics, in warring with whom they had great advantages, and no European rivals, and partly over the miſerable ſavages of Braſil and Africa, utterly unacquainted with fire artillery, iron, warlike weapons, and the European art of war. But when the Hollanders once got to India, we ſhall ſee how pitifully thoſe mighty Portugueſe conquerors defended their numerous conqueſts there and in Africa.

1509.—Ruſſia was now aggrandized and ſtrengthened by the conqueſt of the city and territory of Pleſkow (hitherto an independent lordſhip), by the great duke, or czar, Baſilius IV, who alſo conquered from the Poles the ſtrong frontier town of Smolenſko. As Ruſſia had long before this time fallen under the ſubjection of the Crim-Tartars, and had been divided into many petty principalities, whoſe princes were tributaries to the Tartars, this czar, Baſilius IV, by reducing and uniting many of thoſe principalities, and by his other ſucceſsful wars againſt the Tartars, has occaſioned chronologers to commence the ſucceſſion of the czars of Ruſſia or Muſcovy from him.

This year is alſo remarkable for the death of Henry VII king of England. How differently ſoever his conduct or character may be animadverted on by various authors, it is enough for our preſent purpoſe to conſider its conſequences in a politico-commercial view. We may, therefore, juſtly remark, that ſeveral laws made in his reign, and by

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his influence, were very conducive to the advancement of agriculture and commerce, as particularly,

I) By an act for the encouragement of huſbandry, in the year 1489.

II) By gradually reducing the exorbitant power of the nobility, who had lately raiſed ſuch ſtorms in the nation, particularly againſt himſelf. Leave was granted to all freeholders, who went with the king in his wars, to alienate their lands at pleaſure, without fines for alienation, which was a good means to make landed eſtates change proprietors the more eaſily and frequently, as the commerce and wealth of the nation gradually increaſed. He wiſely conſidered the old maxim, *Dominium ſequitur terram*, and that king John's barons were often too hard for him, becauſe moſt of the lands were poſſeſſed by them or by their vaſſals; and that, as he himſelf had been raiſed by the nobles, he might poſſibly be caſt down by them. This act was renewed or confirmed by one of the third year of king Henry VIII, *c.* 4.

III) By an act of his 19th year, *c.* 14, directing a penalty for all givers or takers of any livery, or for any perſons retaining or being retained with another, during that king's life, the nobility were deprived of their great retinues. This law was, indeed, but a more extenſive confirmation of the laws againſt retainers (more properly to be called retained) of great men, made in the reigns of king Richard II, Henry IV, and Edward IV; for, by the great numbers of men (as well knights and eſquires as yeomen or common men) who wore the liveries and hats of the nobility, and were at their devotion in thoſe idle and leſs opulent times, became formidable to the crown, and formed the beſt of the Engliſh cavalry in the wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, ſo jealous a prince as Henry VII would, therefor, naturally lay hold of ſuch means to break the ſtrength of the nobles; and this law anſwered the end very well, ſince we hear very little of retainers and liveries from this time. In this only ſenſe, therefor, may he be ſaid to have altered the balance of the nation (as ſome authors phraſe it), viz. in depreſſing the nobility, and enabling the commons freely to purchaſe their lands. But it is an almoſt univerſal miſtake of our hiſtorians, to aſcribe to him a kind of total revival of our woollen manufacture, as if, according to them, it had been gradually ſunk and neglected ever ſince king Edward III's time; the contrary whereof is apparent, from ſo many acts of parliament, and ſo many treaties with foreign princes in the intermediate reigns, in favour of that manufacture, which not only proſpered at home, but was conſtantly exported beyond ſea in all thoſe reigns before his time.

IV) Foreſeeing the bad conſequences of the noble and great province of Bretagne being annexed to France (in a great meaſure owing to his avarice and puſillanimity), he had love enough left for his country (and for his own credit in ſucceeding times), to induce him now and

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then, in his parliamentary ſpeeches, earneſtly to recommend matters of commerce to his people. This good prince (ſays Hall's Chronicle), by his high policy, marvelouſly enriched his realm and himſelf, and left his ſubjects in high wealth and proſperity, as is apparent by the great abundance of gold and ſilver yearly brought into the realm, in plate, money, and bullion, by merchants paſſing and repaſſing, to whom the king, 'of his own goods, lent money largely, without any gain or pro-'fit, to the intent that merchandize, being of all crafts the chief art, 'and to all men both moſt profitable and neceſſary, might be the '*more plentifuller* uſed, haunted, and employed in his realms and do-'minions *.'

Lord Herbert, and all other hiſtorians, agree, that this king left a treaſure of L. 1,800,000 Sterling † in ſpecie, in ſecret places of his palace at Richmond, he himſelf alone keeping the keys. 'This,' ſays that noble Lord, 'was doubtleſs a greater ſum than any king of this 'realm before had in his coffers, and ſuch as might be thought effect-'ively quadruple to ſo much in this age,' [*i. e.* in the time of king Charles II.] Which computation of his lordſhip's is extremely moderate, when we have ſeen and conſidered the rate of living at that time, when the uſual price of wheat [*anno* 1504] was but 5*ſ* 8*d* (*i. e.* 8*ſ* 6*d* of our money) per quarter, and ale not quite 3*d* per gallon.

Laſtly, it is ſaid by ſundry authors, that there were very few brick buildings, and fewer of ſtone in England till this king's reign, excepting the palaces of the prime nobility, cathedral, and pariſh churches, and the greater monaſteries; the reſt were either the mud-walls of the cottagers, leſſer farmers, and villagers, the timber and lath buildings in cities and towns, or houſes built with ſtrong oaken poſts, interlaced with bricks and mortar, of ſuch ſubſtantial duration as (fire excepted) generally laſted ſeveral hundred years, and of which ſome have remained to our own days.

In this firſt year of king Henry VIII, we have a ſtill plainer account of the now improved royal office of exchange between England and foreign parts, in the king's grant of that office to ſir Thomas Boleyn (the father of the unfortunate queen Anne Boleyn), in the terms following, viz. 'We grant to him the cuſtody of our exchange at Calais, 'and alſo the cuſtody of our exchange in England towards foreign 'parts, he to take and receive of every perſon going to Rome or other 'foreign parts, (either for devotion or for buſineſs, or who ſends his

* This eulogium is merely a tranſlation from Polydore Virgil.

† Others have eſtimated his treaſure ſo high as L. 5,300,000, a ſum, conſidering the value of money in thoſe days, which, notwithſtanding every allowance we may be diſpoſed to make for the king's parſimony, and the national opulence, we may almoſt venture to pronounce incredible. After the importations of Spain and Portugal had made the precious metals comparatively plenty in Europe, ſir William Petty eſtimated the whole money of England only at ſix millions. *M.*

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'agents or attorneys thither, or who may ſend moneys for payments to be
'made), all ſuch ſums of money as they are minded to ſend, and to de-
'liver to them ſufficient letters (*bills*) of exchange to the ſaid parts, as
'is cuſtomary, making ſuch agrements for the ſaid bills as conſcience
'and the various circumſtances of diſtance, and other hazards, require,
'and to receive ſuch ſums out of the ſaid exchangings as are due to us,
'he paying anually to us £ 30 : 6 : 8, and no more.' [*Fœdera, V.* xiii, *p.* 258.]

We find frequent orders made by the crown againſt making exchanges any where but at the ſaid royal office; yet the frequent repetition of theſe orders ſufficiently ſhows that they had been frequently evaded.

Admiral James Columbus (ſon of the great Chriſtopher) now ſettled and planted the iſland of Jamaica. The next year they fixed at Nombre de Dios in Darien, the firſt place where they got permanent footing on the continent. In 1511, they ſettled on the great iſland of Cuba, and in 1512 they landed on Florida, In 1513, they croſſed the iſthmus of Darien, near where Panama was afterward built, and now firſt diſcovered the great South ſea. In 1515, John Dias de Solis landed at Braſil, and loaded his two ſhips with Braſil wood for Spain. In 1516, the Spaniards ſettled at Panama, and with incredible labour carried thither, over land, from the bay of Darien, the timber, iron-work, and rigging of two brigantines, which produced the ſubſequent diſcovery of Peru, &c. In 1517 and 1518, the Spaniards diſcovered, on the coaſts of Yucatan and Mexico, many ſtructures built with lime and ſtone; and it is ſaid that Montezuma king of Mexico, had ordered his officers to treat the Spaniards kindly, who already began to trade with them for gold, &c. All theſe matters, for the ſpace of about ten years, we have curſorily thrown together, as being very little material to be enlarged on; for as, in their many attempts to make new ſettlements, they met with various loſſes from the native Indians (whom they often treated cruelly), as alſo from ſtorms, and the change of climates, ſo, upon the whole, it may be truely ſaid, that, until the year 1519, when they maſtered the empire or kingdom of Mexico, and thereby gained an immenſe fund of treaſure to old Spain, all their expeditions and ſettlements were rather promiſing, than immediately profitable to Spain.

It is well worthy of remark, how much England has improved in gardening, fruits, roots, and pot-herbs, within the two laſt centuries. In the former part of king Henry VIII's reign, it ſeems there were no ſort of what we uſually call ſallads to be found in England, nor any carrots, cabbages, turnips, or other ſuch edible roots, but thoſe roots were brought from Holland and Flanders. This we find in ſundry authors, how much ſoever ſome moderns may be ſurprized thereat. And [according to the author of a laboured ſcheme (printed at London *anno* 1723, in 8vo,) for relief of the poor, and for paying old debts without

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new taxes], even queen Katharine herſelf could not, at this time, have a ſallad for dinner, until the king ſent over to the Netherlands for a gardener, to cultivate thoſe herbs and roots here, where we are now better ſupplied therewith than perhaps any other part of Europe.

1510.—In this year we find, by Meurſius's Hiſtorica Danica [*L. ii, part* 3,] that the Baltic ſea was much frequented by ſhips from France, England, and Scotland; for king John of Denmark's dominions being, at this time, invaded by a ſquadron of ſhips from Lubeck, which burnt ſeveral towns on his coaſts, he, in his urgent neceſſity for getting ready the beſt fleet he could, preſſed all the ſhips of thoſe three nations into his ſervice. But the Swedes joining the Lubeckers, and king John thereby finding himſelf ſtill inferior at ſea to the Hanſeatics, purchaſed ſhips of England, France, and Scotland, his allies, at a great expenſe; ſo that, in the year following, his fleet, now ſuperior to that of the Lubeckers and Swedes, ranged over the Baltic, took all the Hanſeatic ſhips they could meet with, burnt the ſuburbs of Travemund (the port of Lubeck), and would have deſtroyed all the ſhips there, had not the Lubeckers, in good time, drawn them farther up into the town. Next, the Daniſh fleet boldly invaded the haven of Wiſmar, burnt its ſuburbs, and carried off fourteen of their ſhips. After this they deſtroyed Warnemund, and burnt many villages belonging to Roſtock and Straelſund, &c. So great was the loſs of the Hanſe towns in the ſpace of one year, by this great diligence of the Daniſh king. The Hollanders alſo are (by other accounts) ſaid to have ſent ſhips to the aſſiſtance of the king of Denmark againſt the Lubeckers, who had taken eight of their ſhips; and, in this war, the province of Holland loſt fifty ſhips, according to Penſionary De Witt's Intereſt of Holland.

So great a plenty or cheapneſs of proviſions was there in this year, 1510, in the province of Zealand, 'That the eighth part of a meaſure 'of wheat, a fat gooſe, a pound of butter, and a pot of Poictou wine, 'were altogether ſold for ſix ſtivers.' [*Meterani Hiſt. Belg. L.* i, *p.* 8, *ed.* 1597.] An inſtance of plenty of proviſions, or of ſcarcity of money, ſcarcely to be paralleled in hiſtory in ſo late an age.

A new treaty of peace and friendſhip was concluded between Henry VIII and Louis XII of France. All that relates to commerce therein is,

I) That all impoſts or tolls laid on merchants or others, in either country, within the laſt 47 years, ſhould be utterly aboliſhed.

II) That all merchants, even Venetians, Florentines, and Genoeſe, might freely navigate the ſeas, armed or unarmed, either with their own ſhips, carracks, and gallies, or with thoſe of other nations; and that the Venetians might freely and ſafely reſort to England, and depart thence at pleaſure, during the term of this treaty, which was for the lives of both kings, and one year after him who ſhall firſt deceaſe:

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Alſo the Florentines and Genoeſe might hereby freely reſort either to France or England; provided the Venetians did no injury to the ſubjects of either king, in their going or returning.

III) That no letters of marque or repriſal ſhould be iſſued from either country, but ſolely againſt the principals themſelves and their effects, and this not till juſtice had been manifeſtly denied. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xiii, *p.* 270.]

About this time flouriſhed the famous and eminent philoſopher and aſtronomer, Nicholas Copernicus, of Thorn, in Poliſh Pruſſia, who travelled to Rome and other parts of Europe, to converſe with the moſt famous men of the age, on the true knowlege of the appearances, poſitions, and motions of the planets, fixed ſtars, &c. ſo uſeful to navigators and coſmographers; and introduced ſuch a new and excellent ſyſtem of aſtronomy, as, with ſundry great improvements ſince made, remains univerſally approved of by all nations to this day. He was born in the year 1473.

1511.—Whilſt the Lubeck fleet (ſays Meurſii Hiſtoria Danica) was flying from the ſuperiority of the Daniſh one, a Dutch fleet, homeward bound from Livonia, conſiſting of 250 merchant-ſhips, and four ſhips of war, appeared in ſight of the Lubeckers; who, it ſeems, thought this a fair opportunity to be revenged of the Hollanders for invading the commerce of the Eaſt ſea, which the Vandalic towns ſtill imagined they ought entirely to engroſs to themſelves, as they had, indeed, done for ſeveral centuries paſt; for the old controverſies between them and the Hollanders, concerning the rights of commerce in thoſe ſeas, ſtill ſubſiſted. So vaſt a prize then allured thoſe monopolizers of commerce to fall on the Dutch fleet, many of which they took, and others they burnt; the reſt fled to Bornholm, where the victorious Daniſh fleet then lay; and the Hollanders imploring their aſſiſtance to revenge the injury juſt done by the Lubeckers, the Danes readily complied, and purſued the Lubeckers, who, to avoid falling into their hands, were forced to let go ſome of the ſhips they had taken from the Hollanders, and were glad to eſcape into their own port of Travemund, with a few of the Dutch prizes; the reſt, which the Danes had recovered from the Lubeckers, they reſtored to the Hollanders, who nevertheleſs loſt a good part of this large fleet. This ſhows how early the Hollanders had a conſiderable commerce in the Baltic ſea, and, at the ſame time, how inſolent it was in thoſe Vandalic Hanſe towns, who were alſo under the protection of the German empire, to attack the ſubjects of the emperor Maximilian in ſo outrageous a manner; no wonder, therefore, their downfall was now approaching; for the Danes, at this time, rode triumphant in the Baltic, and ſeized the Vandalic ſhips every where*.

* A valuable Scottiſh ſhip, commanded by John Bartan, had been taken in the year 1476, on her return from Sluys in Flanders, by two Portugueſe armed ſhips, in ſight of a Portugueſe fleet, which

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King Henry VIII having it much at heart to revive the claims of his predeceſſors on the kingdom of France, it will, we apprehend, be no very bad entertainment to an Engliſh reader, to learn how early ſome clear-ſighted perſons at court ſaw the ill tendency of the pernicious ſchemes of England making conqueſts on the continent, in ſubſtance (from lord Herbert) as follows, viz. If, when all Guienne, Anjou, Touraine, and (for a long while) Normandy was ours, and when the duke of Bretagne was our friend, and the houſe of Burgundy an aſſured ally and confederate, we yet could not advance our deſigns in France, what hope is there now to attain them? Let it be even granted, that as many battles as we fought againſt the French were almoſt ſo many victories, what was this kingdom the better for them? Had we ever a more glorious time than that of king Edward III, and was yet the country then ever more poor or weary of the wars?—You will (in our records and hiſtories) find, that the kingdom was then much exhauſted of its treaſure (he might have added alſo of its men), and ſhall we truſt now to better days? What though, with our 12,000 or 15,000 men, we have often defeated their armies of 50,000 or 60,000, ſtands it with reaſon of war to expect the like ſucceſs ſtill? eſpecially ſince the uſe of arms is changed, and for the bow (proper for men of our ſtrength) the caleever (or hand-gun) begins to be generally received; which, beſides that it is a more coſtly weapon, requireth a long practice, and may be managed by the weaker ſort. Let us, therefore, in God's name, leave off our attempts againſt the terra firma, as the natural ſituation of iſlands ſeems not to ſuit with conqueſts of that kind. —Or, when we would enlarge ourſelves, let it be that way we can, and to which, it ſeems, the eternal providence has deſtined us, which is by ſea.—The Indies are diſcovered, and vaſt treaſure brought from thence every day; let us therefore bend our endeavours thitherwards; and if the Spaniards or Portugueſe ſuffer us not to join with them, there will be yet region enough for all to enjoy.——

had juſt ſailed from the ſame port. After a repreſentation of the injury to the king of Portugal, James III had granted letters of repriſal to the ſons of the injured commander: but no active ſteps were taken to proſecute the affair till the reign of James V, when the letters of repriſal were renewed, and many rich prizes were taken from the Portugueſe, whoſe ſhips were at this time by far the moſt valuable of any upon the Weſtern ocean. The vindication of their own, and the nation's wrongs, thus committed to the Bartans as a private patrimonial inheritance, was perhaps found too profitable to be willingly relinquiſhed; and there is reaſon to apprehend, that the retaliation was purſued after ſufficient ſatisfaction was obtained, and at laſt degenerated into piracy. The Bartans are even accuſed of plundering Engliſh veſſels, on pretence of ſearching for Portugueſe property; and Edward Howard (afterwards admiral of England) was thereupon ſent out with two armed ſhips againſt the Scottiſh cruiſers. In the Downs he fell in with Andrew Barton returning to Scotland in his ſhip the *Lion*, attended by a ſmall veſſel called the *Little Jenny* (June 1511). An obſtinate engagement enſued, wherein Bartan was mortally wounded; and both his veſſels were carried into the Thames. The Lion was taken into the ſervice of the king of England, who till now had only one ſhip of war belonging to himſelf (or to the public), called the *Great Harry*: and thus by the acceſſion of the Scottiſh *Lion* the royal navy of England was doubled. [*Epiſt. regum. Scot.* V i, *pp.* 91, *et ſeqq.*—*Leſly*, *pp.* 336, 340.—*Herbert's Hiſt. of Hen.* VIII, *p.* 15.] The capture of theſe veſſels interrupted the amity and commercial intercourſe, which had ſubſiſted between the Britiſh kingdoms ſince the marriage of James IV with the daughter of Henry VII. *M.*

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The great and fine iſland of Cuba, in the Weſt Indies, was not entirely ſubdued by the Spaniards till this year, when it is ſaid, they had, by various cruelties and tortures, totally deſtroyed the numerous natives; and as it never could be repeopled in any reaſonable degree by Spain (being 660 miles in length), it ſtill remains, in a great meaſure, a deſert to this day, unleſs it be in and near the few towns they have in it, which likewiſe are but poorly inhabited, excepting the famous town and port of Havannah, which may poſſibly contain near 5000 Spaniards (excluſive of negroes), being about half the white inhabitants of this great iſland; inſomuch that it would probably be totally deſerted by Spain, were it not for its important ſituation; more eſpecially for its moſt important haven of the Havannah, near the weſt end of it, commanding the entrance into the gulf of Florida, through which their treaſure fleets muſt neceſſarily ſail home to Spain. And as the Havannah has always been, and muſt ever be, the general rendezvous of their fleets homeward bound, both from new Spain and from Vera Cruz, Carthagena, and Porto Bello, it is juſtly called the key of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies. This noble iſland produces tobacco much eſteemed, ſugar (though in no great quantity, for want of hands), ginger, long pepper, and many uſeful drugs, copper mines, excellent fruits and vines, timber of various kinds, vaſt multitudes of black cattle, brought originally from Spain,—but there not being people ſufficient to eat them, the Spaniards employ their negroes to kill them (as they alſo do in Paraguay, &c.) purely for their hides, which they ſend over to Spain in great quantities.

We find, by the moſt laborious and judicious Hakluyt, in his ſecond volume, that there was ſome commerce from England, and in Engliſh ſhips, up the Mediterranean ſea, as far as Scio, in the Levant, even as early as this year, chiefly from London, Briſtol, and Southampton.

King Henry VIII of England and king Ferdinand the catholic, of Spain entered into a league againſt France, &c. wherein they ſtipulated to maintain a maritime force ſufficient for protecting the commerce of both nations, viz. each king 3000 men, armed and equipped for naval war; and king Ferdinand was to ſend his quota of 40 ſhips, ſome of which were to be of 300 tons burden, and the reſt ſmaller, down to 100 tons, to rendezvous at Southampton, where Henry's forces were to embark, though his quota be not therein ſpecified. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xiii, *p.* 311.]

1512.—The next year we have a very particular indenture (in Engliſh) between king Henry VIII and his admiral ſir Edward Howard, which affords us great light into the manner of ſetting out fleets for war in thoſe times, viz.

I) Beſide the 3000 men (as in the preceding year above related) armed for ſea war, there were to be 700 ſoldiers, mariners and gunners in

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king Henry's ſhip, named the Regent. The above 3000 men conſiſted of the 18 captains of the Engliſh ſhips, 1750 ſoldiers, and 1232 mariners and gunners.

II) The admiral to have, for the maintenance of himſelf in diet, and for wages and reward, 10*ſ* daily pay during the voyage; and each captain 1*ſ* 6 per day.

III) The ſoldiers, mariners, and gunners to have, per month of 28 days, 5*ſ* wages, and 5*ſ* more for victuals.

IV) The admiral undertakes to manage this armament for theſe allowances, he receiving three months expenſe always beforehand. *Item*, for the coat of every captain and ſoldier 4*ſ*, and of every mariner and gunner 1*ſ* 8.

V) For the dead ſhares of the ſaid 18 Engliſh ſhips, the admiral was to have as follows, viz.

For the Regent, being of 1000 tons burden, 4 pilots, &c. 50 dead ſhares.

— the Mary Roſe	500	34½
— the Peter Pomegranate	400	28
— John Hopton's ſhip	400	(Dead ſhares needleſs to be named).
— the Nicholas Reede	400	
— the Mary George	300	

The reſt of the ſhips were, one of 200 tons, three of 160 tons, one of 180 tons, two of 140 tons, three of 110 tons, one of 100 tons, and one of 70 tons. Moreover, for re-victualling and watering the ſhips, the admiral was allowed two crayers, one of 65 tons, and the other of 55; in the former 12 mariners and a boy, in the latter 10 and a boy, beſide their commanders; each of the maſters and mariners to have 10*ſ* per month (as before) for wages and victuals.

VI) All the ſoldiers and ſailors to have 6*d* per day for conduct-money, allowing a day's journey to be twelve miles only.

And foraſmuch as our ſovereign lord, at his coſts and charges, victualleth the ſaid army and navy, the ſaid admiral ſhall therefore reſerve for the king the one half of all gains and winnings of the war, which he and the fleet, or any of them, ſhall fortune to obtain in the voyage, either on land or water; and alſo all priſoners being chieftains, and one ſhip-royal of 200 tons or upwards, with the ordinance and apparel of every prize to be taken by them. [*Fœdera, V.* xiii, *p.* 326.]

This Engliſh fleet was, by agreement, to guard the ſeas from the channel to the ſtreights-mouth of Gibraltar; and king Ferdinand's fleet was to do the like in the Mediterranean. It was about this time that ſhips firſt began to be reckoned by guns and tonnage jointly; gunners being now for the firſt time mentioned in the *Fœdera*.

In this ſame year, king James IV of Scotland equipped a fleet, which he intended to ſend into France, under colour of preſenting it

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to queen Anne, wife of Louis XII. But this fleet, in which was the largeſt ſhip that had yet been ſeen on the ſea *, was loſt or diſabled by a ſtorm, and the admiral's *ill conduct*.' King James's real intent was to aid the French king againſt his brother-in-law, king Henry VIII of England.

Whoever will attentively conſider the gradual increaſe of the trade, manufactures, and people of England, muſt at the ſame time acknowlege, that from ſome of the old acts of parliament it appears that the true condition and increaſe thereof were far from being fairly or juſtly ſtated, and often egregiouſly miſrepreſented either in the preamble, or in the main bodies of ſuch ſtatutes; ſometimes probably to ſerve the temporary and ſiniſter purpoſes of men in power, and perhaps ſometimes only from mere inadvertency and ignorance of the true ſtate of the time compared with elder times; proceeding alſo from a humour, at all times more or leſs prevailing, of unreaſonably depreciating the preſent, and exalting former, times. Of this we have ſurely a pregnant inſtance in a ſtatute [3 *Hen. VIII, c.* 8.], intitled, 'Of the aſſizing of the price of victuals when a victualler is chief officer,' (i. e. in a corporation), which proceeds thus:

Whereas, by a ſtatute [12 *Edw. II, c.* 6.] in the year 1319, intitled, 'No officer of a city or borough ſhall ſell wine or victuals during his office,' it was enacted, that no officer, who, by virtue of his office, was bound to keep the aſſizes of wines and victual, ſhould, during his office, ſell wines or victuals, either by wholeſale or retail; 'Now, ſince the making of which ſtatute, many, and the moſt part, of all the cities, burghs, and towns-corporate within this realm of England, be fallen in ruin and decay, and not inhabited with merchants and men of ſuch ſubſtance as they were at the time of the making of the foreſaid ſtatute; for at this day the dwellers and inhabitants of the ſame cities and burghs be moſtly bakers, brewers, vintners, fiſhmongers, and other victuallers; and few or no other perſons of ſubſtance be within many of the ſaid cities and burghs at this day able to bear office within the ſame, and to content, anſwer, and pay unto the king's grace his fee-farm, wherewith they (i. e. the cities and burghs) be charged †. It is now enacted, for the eaſe, comfort, and relief of the foreſaid poor cities, burghs, and towns-corporate, that whenſoever, and as often as any

* This vaſt ſhip deſerves more particular notice, becauſe ſhe was not indeed the largeſt that ever had been ſeen, but larger than any veſſel (that we know of) that ever was built ſince the days of Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt. Her length was 240 feet, and her breadth 36 feet within and 56 without; her ſides, which were proof againſt ſhot, being 10 feet in thickneſs. As yet ſhips carried guns only on the upper deck, and this prodigious ſhip carried only 35 great guns, 16 on each ſide, 2 in the ſtern and 1 in the bow; beſides which, ſhe carried 300 ſmall artillery, called myand, culverins, double-dogs, &c. Her complement, beſides officers, conſiſted of 300 ſeamen, 120 gunners, and 1000 ſoldiers. [*Pitſcottie's hiſt. p.* 167. *ed.* 1778.—*MS. Harl. No.* 4687.—*Epiſt. reg. Scot. V.* 1, *pp.* 39, 137, 214.—*MS. Cott. Calig.* B. vi. *f.* 70 a.] *M.*

† How abſurd are theſe words, as if the bulk of a city ſhould conſiſt of ſuch trades, the reſt being repreſented as perſons unable to ſupport thoſe trades!

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victualler is choſen to bear any office which ſhould have the aſſizing and correction for the ſelling of victuals, that then two diſcreet and honeſt perſons of the ſame city or burgh, not being victuallers, ſhall be choſen by the commonalty of the ſame city or burgh; which two perſons (jointly), with the ſaid officer, ſhall be ſworn to ſet the aſſizes or prices of victuals during the ſaid victualler's office; and then it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid victualler in office to ſell wines and victuals by wholeſale and retail.'

' —— Provided that this act ſhall not extend to diſcharge any miniſter (aforeſaid) of the cities of London, York, and Coventry, for any wine or victual to be ſold by retail within the ſaid cities.'

Now, will any one ſeriouſly believe, that 200 years farther backward, and prior to the reign of king Edward III (who firſt gave the great and moſt advantageous turn to the Engliſh commerce and manufactures), the cities and towns of England were richer, or indeed near ſo rich, as at this time, when the exports of the native product and manufactures of England were greatly increaſed, an infallible mark of increaſing riches, and that the moſt part of the cities and towns of England were fallen into ruin and decay ſince the 12th year of king Edward II? Certainly quite otherwiſe. It is rather to be ſuppoſed that ſome other latent reaſon produced this law; but whether it was intended for the eaſe of the other more wealthy inhabitants of the ſaid cities and burghs, to bring back the magiſtracy to the victuallers, and perhaps alſo for ſome other political purpoſe, or for what other reaſon, we ſhall not abſolutely determine, any more than why York and Coventry, and not Briſtol, Norwich, &c. (though ſuperior to them) are (with London) the only places excepted out of this act.

And we have ſufficient demonſtration of the truth of what we have advanced by another ſtatute [c. 7.] ' for reſtraining the exportation of ' woollen cloths before they be fully manufactured;' wherein we find, that the cloths called veſſes, rayes, ſailing cloths, &c. which in the time of king Edward IV ſold for 40*s*, were now ſold for four merks (and two years after were ſold at five merks), and that the prices of wool and workmanſhip were conſiderably advanced in about fifty years, purely occaſioned by the increaſe of commerce and people.

In this ſame year, king Henry VIII built the greateſt ſhip ever known in England before, at Woolwich, which is ſaid to be oldeſt royal dock of any place in England. This is the ſhip called the Regent, of 1000 tons, already mentioned to be this year fitting out againſt France.

An expired ſtatute [3 *Hen. VIII, c.* 1.] merits remark. Its title is, ' Every perſon that ſhall carry over the ſea any money, plate, jewels, &c. ſhall forfeit the double value.' Plate and jewels are in our age deemed as much a commodity as any other merchandize, and ſo are foreign coin and bullion. And in fact, the only ſolid reaſon for proni-

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biting the exportation of our own coin is, when (like our crown-pieces at preſent) it happens to be too weighty; for it would be impracticable to be continually altering our coins, in order to keep pace with the current prices of gold and ſilver on the continent. Moreover, notwithſtanding this prohibition, we know that our crown-pieces are melted down, and carried beyond ſea, ſo that few or next to none are to be ſeen current; which ſhows that it is the intrinſic value alone of our coins which is at all times regarded, and not their nominal value.

From this year we may properly date the commencement of what may be called an Engliſh royal navy, i. e. a number of ſtout ſhips for war, actually belonging to, and permanently kept on foot by the crown for national defence; king Henry VIII being the firſt Engliſh king who effectually purſued this plan, and for that end firſt eſtabliſhed a navy-office, with commiſſioners, &c. nearly as at preſent. He certainly employed great ſums of money on his marine affairs, as well for the conſtruction of ſhips of war, as of docks, yards, wharfs, ſtorehouſes, &c. Before his time there was no fixed and permanent royal navy, but, on ordinary occaſions, the Cinque-Ports ſupplied the crown with a determined number of ſuch ſhips as they had in thoſe times; and on great emergencies, we have alſo ſeen that all the maritime towns of the kingdom were bound, on due notice, to ſend their quotas of ſhips and mariners for a determined time, commanded either by the king or his admiral; ſuch as was the fleet of king Edward III at the ſiege of Calais in the year 1347, and other capital expeditions.

Biſhop Gibſon, in his additions to Cambden's Britannia, obſerves, that king Henry VIII, in the fourth year of his reign, for the advancement of navigation and commerce, eſtabliſhed a corporation for examining, licenſing, and regulating pilots, and for ordering and directing beacons, lighthouſes, buoys, &c. which is ſtiled 'The corporation of the trinity-houſe of Deptford Strond', and has proved of great benefit for accompliſhing the valuable ends of its foundation. Another ſociety, for the like good purpoſes, he afterwards eſtabliſhed at Hull, by the name of the trinity-houſe at Hull; and alſo another at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, in the year 1537; which three eſtabliſhments (ſays Hakluyt) were in imitation of that which the emperor Charles V had erected at Seville in Spain, who, obſerving the many ſhipwrecks in the voyages to and from the Weſt Indies, occaſioned by the ignorance of ſeamen, eſtabliſhed, at the contractation-houſe, lectures on navigation, and a pilot-major for the examination of other pilots and mariners; he alſo directed books to be publiſhed on that ſubject for the uſe of his mariners. The king, by his charter, confirmed to the Deptford trinity-houſe ſociety all the ancient rights, privileges, &c. of the ſhipmen and mariners of England, and their ſeveral poſſeſſions at Deptford; whereby it is plain they had

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been a ſociety long before, though no where recorded how long. This corporation (whoſe powers, &c. have been ſince confirmed and augmented by ſucceeding kings) have alſo the power of appointing pilots for the king's ſhips, and for examining and fixing their wages, and certifying their qualifications, and thoſe of the maſters of ſhips of war; alſo for clearing and deepening the Thames by ballaſt-hoys, with which ballaſt they ſupply the ſhipping. They have alſo the examination of the forty mathematical boys of Chriſt's Hoſpital; they have likewiſe power to hear and determine complaints of officers and ſailors in the merchant ſervice; ſo that this corporation is eminently uſeful to the nation.

That finery, or gaiety of apparel, was much increaſed with the increaſe of commerce in England, appears plain from an act of parliament of this year [c. 6,] reciting part of an act of the 12th of Edward IV (not printed), whereby the cuſtom-houſe officers are prohibited to take any thing whatever for ſtamping imported cloth of gold and cloth of ſilver, vaudekin, velvet, damaſk, ſatin, ſarcenet, tariton, camlet, and other cloths of ſilk, and of ſilk and gold and ſilver. It is in this new act ſaid, 'That many times the merchants import, in one ſhip only, three or four thouſand pieces of thoſe merchandize, which (ſays this act) amounts to L. 30 or L. 40 to thoſe officers, thus againſt law ſtill extorting 2*d* for ſealing each piece.'

John de Solis, ſailing from Spain, along the coaſt of Braſil, ſouthward, firſt diſcovered the great river which they named Rio de la Plata, in 35 degrees ſouth of the equator, in the country of Paraguay.

1513.—King Henry VIII, bent on war againſt France (ſays lord Herbert, p. 30. in his life of that prince), thought fit, in the firſt place, to clear the ſea from the French navy. He therefore ſent out his fleet toward Breſt, conſiſting of 42 ſail, beſides leſſer barks, without ſpecifying (as the preceding year, unleſs indeed they were the identical fleet of that year) their tonnage, or their guns, or rates; neither indeed, with reſpect to the laſt, can we conceive that it (viz. the rate of the ſhip) had been as yet, nor even long after this time, brought into uſe any where in Europe: And his lordſhip probably would have given poſterity the tonnage, and number of guns on the French ſide alſo, had they been left upon record; but either ſo incurious, or elſe ſo negligent, were the hiſtorians of thoſe times, that they have too often neglected ſuch matters, which in our times would be reckoned unpardonable, whilſt they often, with the greateſt exactneſs, entertain us with a tedious detail of a public entry, or other trifling ſhow or cavalcade. Burchet, however, in his naval hiſtory, acquaints us, that the largeſt of king Henry's ſhips, named the Regent, grappled (before Breſt) with the largeſt of the French ſhips, named the Cordelier, which being ac-

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cidentally ſet on fire, both ſhips were conſumed, with all their crews *; the ſight of which ſo terrified the reſt of the French fleet, which had juſt come out of Breſt, to the number of 39 ſhips, that they all retired again into that port, and ſo put an end to this marine campaign; though others give a very different account of this matter, and repreſent the French to have been ſuperior to the Engliſh fleet, which (after loſing their admiral Howard) was forced to retire home.

Under the year 1511, we have obſerved (from Hakluyt), that the Engliſh began to have ſome commerce in the Levant ſea. We now find king Henry VIII appointing one Juſtiniano to be maſter, governor, protector, or conſul, of all the merchants and other Engliſh ſubjects, in the port and iſland of Scio, or Chios, in the Archipelago, ſtill poſſeſſed by the Genoeſe, with powers to govern them, and receive the profits of his office. This iſland is celebrated for the drug called maſtic. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xiii, *p.* 253.]

The ſame year king Henry VIII farther confirmed the privileges of the company of merchants-adventurers of England, with reſpect to their exportation of Engliſh woollen cloths, &c.

On the very next page of the Fœdera, we find king Henry VIII entering into a league with the emperor Maximilian, king Ferdinand of Spain, and pope Leo X, againſt king Louis XII of France, under the ſcarcely-ſpecious ſhow of defending the pope and the church, and agreeing to allow 100,000 gold crowns for ſupporting this ſham holy war. And in the ſame year (*p.* 381), he ſtipulates to pay 200,000 crowns to Maximilian, for keeping up 4000 horſe and 6000 foot in the Netherlands for the ſame purpoſe; as alſo for enabling Henry's garriſon of Tournay to defend that place from the French.

A magazine and ſtorehouſe for the royal navy was now firſt erected at Deptford, near London, which has ſince become a large town, more populous than many corporation-towns, occaſioned by the noble royal docks, ſtorehouſes, dock-yards, wharfs, &c. ſince erected there.

King Henry VIII, conſidering how much the river Thames was expoſed to inſults from foreign enemies, now erected a platform of cannon at Graveſend, and another oppoſite to it on the Eſſex ſhore, where Tilbury fort was afterwards built.

The king, to repair the loſs of his fine ſhip, named the Regent, cauſed another to be built (ſays Hall's chronicle), ſuch an one as had never before been ſeen in England, and named it the Henry Grace de Dieu!

1514.—Guicciardin, in his deſcription of the Netherlands, acquaints us, that the city of Antwerp being, by its vaſt commerce, greatly enlarged with new buildings, was now ſurrounded alſo with a new and

* In the Engliſh ſhip 700 men, and in the French one 900, periſhed. It is probable, therefor, that the French ſhip was ſtill larger than the Regent. [*Stow's annales*, *p.* 822, *ed.* 1600.] *M.*

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more extenſive wall, being the ſecond wall that had been built round that city.

Notwithſtanding the preparations made in the preceding year for a confederate and pretended religious war againſt king Louis XII of France, a treaty of peace was concluded between king Henry VIII and him, for both their lives, comprehending alſo an intercourſe of commerce; whereby it was ſtipulated,

'I) That all duties or burdens on commerce, in both countries, impoſed within the laſt 52 years, ſhall be abſolutely repealed.

'II) And that all foreign merchants, and particularly the Venetians and Florentines, ſhould be at full liberty to ſail to either kingdom, armed or unarmed, with their ſhips and merchandize.

'III) No letters of marque or repriſal to be iſſued by either of the contracting parties againſt any but the principal delinquents, and their effects and abettors, and not even againſt thoſe until juſtice has been denied, after being formally demanded.

IV) In another article of this treaty, the two kings engaged mutually to aſſiſt each other with land and ſea forces; the aſſiſtance by ſea, on either ſide, being ſtipulated to be 5000 armed men, with ſhips fit for war, cannon, gunpowder, ſtones (for they had not as yet fallen into the uſe of iron bullets), darts, proviſions, arms, and other neceſſaries for war, ſuitable to the number of men above ſpecified, at the expenſe of the party demanding ſuch aſſiſtance. But here is no ſpecification of the preciſe number, or of the burden of the ſhips.

'V) Louis obliged himſelf to confirm to the Engliſh, trading at Bourdeaux, all the privileges and immunities granted either by himſelf or his predeceſſors kings of France.' [*Fœdera, V.* xiii, *p.* 412.]

The portion of Mary, ſecond daughter of the late king Henry VII, to be married to king Louis XII of France, was fixed at 400,000 gold crowns; of which ſum it was agreed that one half ſhould go towards the lady's equipage, gold and ſilver plate, jewels, clothes, &c. and the other half was to be deducted out of a million of crowns, which Louis, by another treaty with Henry, of this ſame year, ſtipulates to pay him for deſerting the confederacy; although the plauſible pretence for this ſtipulation was expreſſed to be for ſundry old claims of the crown of England on that of France. [*Fœdera, V.* xiii, *pp.* 428, 433.]

In this year alſo, we ſee the form of a manumiſſion granted by king Henry VIII to two perſons, viz. 'Whereas, originally God created all men free; but afterward the laws and cuſtoms of nations ſubjected ſome under the yoke of ſervitude. We think it pious and meritorious with God, to make certain perſons abſolutely free from ſervitude, who are at preſent under villenage to us. Wherefore we do now accordingly manumit and free from the yoke of ſervitude, Henry Knight a tailor, and John Erle a huſbandman, our natives (i. e. our ſlaves), as being

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born in our manor of Stoke-Clymmyſlande, in our county of Cornwall, together with all their iſſue born, or hereafter to be born, and all their goods, chattels, and lands already acquired, or hereafter to be acquired by them; ſo as the ſaid two perſons, with their iſſue, ſhall henceforth be deemed by us and our heirs free, and of free condition.' [*Fœdera, V.* xiii, *p.* 470.]

1515.—Meurſius [*Hiſtoria Danica, L.* iii.] obſerves, that the Danes had for a long time complained of the arbitrary proceedings of the Hanſe towns in commercial matters; and particularly that when they carried their merchandize to thoſe towns for ſale, they were not permitted to aſk what price they thought fit for the ſame; but the magiſtrates of thoſe Hanſe towns aſſumed a power of arbitrarily ſetting a price thereon; and thoſe magiſtrates, being generally merchants themſelves, took great advantage thereof, whereby the Danes were frequently obliged to ſell at a loſing price, they not being permitted to re-export their merchandize from thoſe towns, after they had once expoſed them to ſale; but at beſt, if not compelled to ſell them at the price firſt fixed or offered, they had no other remedy but to lodge them in the citizens warehouſes till the prices ſhould change in their favour. The great quantity, moreover, of corn, butter, fiſh, &c. thereby carried out of Denmark, rendering proviſions much dearer, and diſtreſſing to the poor, king Chriſtiern II therefor directed, that for the future all thoſe merchandize ſhould be expoſed to ſale only at Copenhagen, whither alſo he brought the richeſt merchants from other parts of his dominions. Thus this prince (though in other reſpects a cruel tyrant) brought Copenhagen to be the emporium or ſtaple for all Daniſh merchandize, to the great detriment of Lubeck, Wiſmar, Roſtoc, Straelſund, Stetin, &c. This was one great blow to the commerce of the Hanſe towns, whoſe arbitrary proceedings put other princes and ſtates upon the like meaſures; and as men grow wiſer by experience, it alſo put them upon manufactures and other branches of commerce at home, which gradually brought on the farther decay of thoſe Hanſe towns.

In England new meaſures were projected for the farther prevention of frauds in the manufacture of woollen cloths; and by two ſtatutes [*cc.* 8, 9] the weight of thoſe cloths is directed to be aſcertained, and orders made to prevent ſtretching in their meaſure, as alſo ſhrinking; and other regulations touching the wool, yarn, &c. And Blackwell-hall is firſt named therein, though doubtleſs of a much longer ſtanding, as a repoſitory for woollen cloths.

A new treaty of peace and commerce was concluded between Henry VIII and Francis I, in nearly the ſame terms as the former one in the year 1514, with Louis XII, now dead, viz. for both their lives; and one year after (the common manner of treating in thoſe times), with an additional clauſe, prohibiting the privateers of either nation to ſet

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ſail, without giving ſecurity not to injure any of the ſubjects of the other contracting party, and to prevent them from ſelling their booty in the ports of either party, or receiving ſupplies of proviſions. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xiii, *p.* 476.]

Henry VIII having complained to the ſenate of Genoa againſt the new duty laid on the merchandize of his ſubjects in their iſland of Scio, they, in the year 1517, informed him, that the heavy annual tribute which they were obliged to pay to the grand ſignior for the iſland, obliged them to impoſe the duty which his ſubjects complained of: Wherefore they humbly hoped his Majeſty would not any more liſten to the complaints of his ſubjects there, ſince they were no higher taxed than the other inhabitants; adding, that by that grievous tribute to the Turks, they contracted a debt of 120,000 ducats, which they could no otherwiſe diſcharge but by thoſe new duties. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xiii, *pp.* 493, 589.]

A new treaty of peace and intercourſe of commerce was concluded between Henry VIII and Ferdinand the Catholic, for himſelf as king of Arragon, and alſo as adminiſtrator of the perſon and dominions of his daughter Joanna, queen of Caſtile, &c. which is much the ſame with former treaties with Spain; with this addition, that in caſe the ſhips of either party ſhould be wrecked on the coaſts of the other party, the magiſtrates ſhould ſecure and ſequeſtrate the goods, &c. of ſuch wreck for the proprietors, if within twenty months they ſhould make out their claim, and periſhable merchandize ſhould be ſold for the benefit of the owners: But if no claim were made within twenty months, then the laws of the country, where ſuch wreck ſhould happen, ſhould take place. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xiii, *p.* 520.]

1516.—In this year king Ferdinand the Catholic died at Madrid, which place (ſays Guicciardin, in his Hiſtory of the wars in Italy) was then but an obſcure village. Spain, before the union of its ſeveral kingdoms, had as many different capitals as kingdoms; but Madrid being the uſual reſidence of Ferdinand's ſucceſſors (though ſtill an open town without walls) is become a very large city.

Hakluyt [*Voyages*, *V.* iii, *p.* 498.] mentions a voyage made in this year by ſir Thomas Port vice-admiral of England, and Sebaſtian Cabot, from England to the coaſts of Braſil, and other parts of South America, by order of king Henry VIII; yet he gives us no particulars of it.

In many different periods we find the Hanſeatic hiſtorians almoſt conſtantly complaining (and particularly the Lubeckers) of the violences committed by the Danes: For inſtance, in the year 1507, the king of Denmark, juſt after having concluded a peace with the Hanſe towns, ſeized on nine Lubeck merchant ſhips, richly laden, from Riga. On the other hand, the Daniſh hiſtorians paint the Hanſe towns, and eſpecially Lubeck, in very odious colours, and as being ever the

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implacable enemies of Denmark: But as at this diſtance of time we are not well able to judge of the grounds of many of their quarrels, ſince both ſides ſet off their reſpective cauſes plauſibly, we ſhall not determine thereupon, any farther than hiſtorically to note, that the ſeizure produced an eight years war between them, till this year 1516; during which ſpace the city of Hamburgh alone carried on a trade with Norway and Denmark, without any regard to Lubeck and the other Vandalic cities at war with that crown; whereby, and by their trade with England and the Netherlands, Hamburgh marvellouſly increaſed in wealth. [*Werdenhagen, reſp. Hanſ. V.* i, *part* 3, *c.* 17.]

The commercial intercourſe between England, and Charles, ſovereign of the Netherlands, was renewed for five years to come; when it was farther ſtipulated,

I) That the Engliſh, carrying their merchandize to Antwerp, which is in the province of Brabant, ſhall not there be obliged to pay the tolls of Zealand; neither when they carry their merchandize to Bergen-op-zoom *, or to Middleburg, ſhall they be obliged to pay the tolls of Brabant, but ſolely thoſe of Zealand.

II) That the merchants of either country ſhall not make by-laws and ſtatutes amongſt themſelves, for agreeing not to buy the goods of certain towns or perſons of the other country; neither ſhall either ſide ſet a fixed price on the merchandize of the other ſide, at their fairs and markets, but all perſons ſhall be free on both ſides, to buy and ſell as they beſt can.

Laſtly, Within one year from the date hereof, a formal congreſs ſhall be held, for terminating all complaints of the ſubjects of both princes, either general or particular, relating to tolls, cuſtoms, the ſtaple, &c. [*Fœdera, V.* xiii, *pp.* 533, 539.]

Thus were the traders of England and the Netherlands perpetually complaining and treating about grievances; and yet both parties ſtill found it their intereſt to go on trading with each other.

This year put an end to the famous monarchy of the Mamelucs in Egypt, after it had laſted upwards of 300 years. It ſeems that Campſon Gaurus, their fifteenth monarch or ſultan, had, about or ſoon after the year 1501, unhappily joined with Iſmael, ſophy of Perſia, againſt Selim I, the Turkiſh emperor, who proved too hard for them both, and found means to dethrone and kill Tonombeius, the ſon of Campſon Gaurus. The Mamelucs, however, made reſiſtance to the power of Selim for ſome years after; yet he at length reduced, firſt, the port-towns of Syria, as Tripoli, Sidon, &c. and next the city of Damaſcus. Laſtly, he reduced the entire country of Egypt, after taking the vaſt city of Cairo, in the year 1516. This was a great blow to the balance of power

* In the original *Berghes*, which may perhaps be the Dutch name of Mons.

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in the East, by throwing two such noble countries as Syria and Egypt into the scale of the Turkish empire, already too ponderous; whereby the sultans were enabled to give the law in the Levant seas, and to distress the commerce and territories of Venice and Genoa in those parts, as they soon effectually did. It also gave them the dominion of both sides of the Red sea, and on the coast of Africa without that sea, and south-east on the Arabian shore. It likewise gave the Turks the means of going by sea to East-India, to the great annoyance of the Portuguese in those parts, as may be seen in the histories of their Indian conquests.

The city of Antwerp constantly increasing in wealth and commerce, and the city of Bruges as constantly declining, such foreign merchants as had not before left the latter, removed in this year to Antwerp. The English had removed thither in the preceding year: So there now only remained a few Spaniards at Bruges; yet the staple for English wool was not as yet removed thence.

1517.—Four Portuguese ships, attended by four Malayan ships, sailed from Malacca for China, with an ambassador to the Chinese emperor, who travelled from Canton to Pekin, all the way over land.

The first account we have of the grand cod-fishery on the banks of Newfoundland was in this year, when an English ship of 250 tons arrived at the island of Puerto Rico, pretending she came with another to discover a passage to Cathay, and had been at Newfoundland, where there were fifty Spanish, French, and Portuguese ships on the fishery. Thence she sailed for Hispaniola, but being fired at from the castle, returned to Puerto-Rico, and departing thence, was never heard of more. [*Hakluyt's Voyages*, *V.* iii, *p.* 499. Hererra dates it two years later.]

So great an event, and so fraught with interesting consequences, as was the reformation of a great part of Christendom from popery, cannot altogether be passed over in silence for sundry obvious reasons; yet, as ecclesiastical history is not our province, it will suffice that we briefly observe, under this year 1517, that Pope Leo X, being, or seeming to be, alarmed at the conquest of Syria and Egypt from the Mamelucs, by Selim the grand signior, published a croisade against the Turks; and, for that seeming end, dispersed his indulgences all over Christendom, which were so shamefully disposed of in Germany, that the benefit of those indulgences were even to extend to the dead, whose souls, upon payment by their heirs, &c. of a sum of money, were immediately to be redeemed out of purgatory; and Guicciardini, in his wars of Italy, relates, that those powers for releasing souls out of purgatory were openly played for in taverns: which scandalous proceedings excited Martin Luther, a monk, and professor of divinity at Wirtenberg in Saxony, to attack the papal power, wherein being supported by Frederick elector of Saxony, &c. a reformation of religion was graddally

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brought about in ſeveral kingdoms and ſtates of Europe. That great event has proved very beneficial to thoſe countries wherein proteſtantiſm has been firmly eſtabliſhed; ſince, by ſuppreſſing the idle drones in the convents, and putting a ſtop to the great ſums annually remitted to Rome, and carried to other parts for pilgrimages, &c. their people are more increaſed and more profitably employed for the general benefit, and their money, before ſo unworthily diſſipated, is now employed in trade and commerce. Much more might be ſaid on this ſubject, to ſhow the many benefits which have accrued to thoſe ſeveral countries which embraced the reformation of religion; but as theſe general remarks may be ſufficient for our preſent purpoſe, we ſhall leave our readers to ſupply the reſt, as their ſeveral inclinations ſhall direct them.

1518.—On May-day 1518, there was a ſhameful riot (ſays Hall in his life of king Henry VIII, *p.* 62.) committed by the London apprentices, ſervants, watermen, and prieſts, againſt foreigners, by pulling down, and rifling their houſes, &c. The complaints againſt them were, 'That there were ſuch numbers of them employed as artificers, that the Engliſh could get no work: That the Engliſh merchants had little to do, by reaſon the merchants-ſtrangers bring in all ſilks, cloths of gold, wine, oil, iron, &c. that no man almoſt buyeth of an Engliſhman: They alſo export ſo much wool, tin, and lead, that Engliſh adventurers can have no living: That foreigners compaſs the city round about, in Southwark, Weſtminſter, Temple-bar, Holborn, St. Martin's (le Grande), St. John's ſtreet, Aldgate, Tower-hill, and St. Catherines; and they foreſtal the market, ſo that no good thing for them cometh to the market, which are the cauſes that Engliſhmen want and ſtarve, whilſt foreigners live in abundance and pleaſure: That the Dutchmen bring over iron, timber, and leather ready manufactured, and nails, locks, baſkets, cupboards, ſtools, tables, cheſts, girdles, ſaddles, and painted cloths *.' Dr. Bell's Spital ſermon on Eaſter-Tueſday, had greatly increaſed the people's jealouſy of foreigners. I ſaw, ſaid John Lincoln (the chief inſtigator of the people), on a Sunday this Lent, 600 foreigners ſhooting at the poppinjay with croſsbows. This riot was over by dawn of day, called Evil May-day. Several of thoſe rioters were hanged, and the king pardoned the reſt. The pretended crimes of thoſe foreigners were probably their working cheaper, and being more induſtrious than our own people, whoſe excluſive privileges within the city kept the foreigners in thoſe out-parts above named out of the freedom; thereby getting much of the trade, &c. from the freemen †.

A treaty was now concluded between king Henry VIII and Francis I,

* Theſe accuſations throw ſome light on the commercial condition of London at this time.

† A very circumſtantial account of this great riot is given by Stow, who dates it in 1517, in his *Annales*, *p.* 848, *ed.* 1600; *Survey of London*, *p.* 151, *ed.* 1618. *M.*

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the French king, for the marriage of Mary, Henry's daughter, with the dauphin of France; wherein Henry ſtipulates to pay 330,000 crowns, of 35 ſols Tournois each, as the lady's portion; but it did not take place. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xiii, *p.* 632.]

And in *p.* 642 we have a treaty, whereby Henry ſtipulates do deliver to Francis the city and territory of Tournay, with Mortagne and St. Amande; for which Francis ſtipulates to pay him 600,000 crowns, of 35 ſols Tournois each, at ſundry diſtant payments.

By a commercial, or rather maritime treaty, between king Henry VIII and king Francis I, the title of which is *Tractatus Depredationis*, it appears there were in thoſe times many violences, robberies, and piracies committed on the ſeas of Europe. For the prevention whereof it was now ſtipulated,

'I) That at London, the admiral, vice-admiral, and maſter of the rolls, for England, and at Rouen, the like officers for France, ſhould reciprocally be the judges of ſuch enormities.

'II) Theſe curity which maſters and owners of ſhips gave (by former treaties), on their ſetting ſail, not to injure the ſubjects of the other contracting party on the ſeas or in the port, was by this treaty made general, viz. That they ſhould not injure any nation whatever.

'III) Ships, on their return home, were to undergo a ſtrict examination, and to give a juſt account how they came by any ſhips, merchandize, or priſoners, which they might bring home as booty.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xiii, *p* 649.]

Since all the powers of Europe keep up a ſtanding maritime force even in times of peace, ſuch piratical violences amongſt nations in amity have ceaſed, becauſe they would be ſo eaſily detected, and ſo ſpeedily puniſhed.

And here it may be proper to remark, that in almoſt all the general treaties between England and France, for about 100 years backward from this time, England (along with ſuch other powers as are comprehended by her in thoſe treaties) generally has comprehended, and now expreſsly comprehends, the community and ſociety of the Teutonic Hanſe.

We may alſo note, that king Henry VIII was the firſt king of England that had any correſpondence with the Swiſs cantons, whom he therefore generally comprehends in his treaties, under the title of the Helvetic Lords ('*Domini Helvetii, ſive Suetenſes.*')

In this year, according to Thuanus [*L.* li.], 'fourteen of the Hanſe towns were cut off from their general confederacy,' (for irregularities, doubtleſs, in their conduct.) Who adds, that there ſtill remained, unto his own time, 66 cities in that confederacy, viz. 6 Vandalic cities, 8 of Pomerania, 6 of Pruſſia, 3 of Livonia, 13 Saxon cities, 10 of Weſtphalia, 7 of Cleves or Marck, 3 of Overyſſel, 7 of Guelderland, and 3

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of Friſeland. By this account, there muſt have been in all 80 Hanſe towns in that confederacy; yet their hiſtoriographer Werdenhagen, makes but 64 cities who ever paid annual contributions for the expence of that confederacy.

The Scottiſh parliament paſſed an act, with proper penalties, againſt thoſe who neglected to plant woods, hedges, and fences; though this, like former laws for the ſame purpoſe, has never been well executed, even to the preſent times: But they are in our days ſetting effectually, though but gradually, about what their own ſtatutes long ſince enjoined them to do.

1519.—The Spaniards went on with their diſcoveries on the continent of America, and particularly on the coaſt of what is called Terra Firma, Darien, &c. although (as elſewhere obſerved), what with ſtorms and ſhipwrecks, and the reſiſtance of the native Indians, it may be thought doubtful whether, upon the whole, they were hitherto really gainers until after the year 1519; when the emperor Charles V, king of Spain, received news of the diſcovery and commencement of the conqueſt of the famous Indian empire of Mexico by Hernando Cortes; who ſailing, in the year 1518, from the iſle of Cuba, with about 400 foot ſoldiers, 7 ſmall cannon, and 15 (ſome ſay 50 horſemen) laid the foundation of a very great dominion for Spain in America, by the immenſe treaſures which to this day are annually brought from America into Spain, more eſpecially after they had from Mexico invaded Peru, Paraguay, and Chili, ſouthward, and New Mexico northward. The mention of this particular (ſays Mr. Rapin de Thoyras judiciouſly, in his hiſtory of England) is the more neceſſary, as it was the gold and ſilver wherewith the new world furniſhed Spain, that contributed moſt to render Charles V ſo powerful, as he will hereafter appear; beſide, money growing more plenty by the trade carried on by other countries with Spain, the reader muſt not be ſurpriſed hereafter to find more numerous armies, greater magnificence in princes courts, and the doweries of princeſſes much larger than before.

Ferdinand Magellan, who had ſerved under Albuquerque, the great Portugueſe commander in Eaſt-India, having (through ſome diſcontent) entered into the ſervice of Spain, now ſignified to the emperor Charles V, King of Spain, that by the imaginary line of diviſion or partition, which king John of Portugal had agreed on with King Ferdinand and Queen Iſabella, all the Banda and Molucco iſles muſt fall to the ſhare of Spain; of which rich iſles he propoſed to him to make a complete diſcovery, by a bold, and till then unheard-of, navigation weſtward. The emperor joyfully embraced his propoſal, giving him five ſhips and 300 men for its execution; yet, through ſtorms, ſcarcity of proviſions, &c. he did not get through that famous ſtrait (to which his name was thereupon given) till November 1520; thence ſailing by the Ladrones

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iſles, he arrived at the iſles which he called the Philippines, where he loſt his life in a ſkirmiſh; but the ſhips ſailed on for Tidore, one of the Molucco iſles, where they arrived in the 27th month after their firſt ſetting out from Spain, and where (contrary to what the Portugueſe had given out, to deter others from coming thither) they found the ſea 102 yards in depth, though the Portugueſe had (as ſome write) ſpread reports of its being ſo ſhallow, that there was no navigating it, beſide continual darkneſs, rocks, &c. Here the Spaniards firſt taſted the ſpices at their fountain-head, and traded with the king and people of Tidore for them, in exchange for their own cargo of cloth, glaſſes, &c. to a vaſt profit; thence they returned home, with only one of their ſhips, by the Cape of Good Hope (one ſhip being taken by the Portugueſe, and the other left leaky) and arrived at Seville in September 1552; being the firſt who had ever ſailed quite round the globe.

There having probably been ſome difference, before this time, between England and Genoa, on account of commerce, or perhaps partly for the partiality of the Genoeſe to France, under the protection and vaſſalage of whoſe kings they had for ſome time paſt put themſelves, the French king, amongſt his other titles, now ſtiling himſelf lord of Genoa, matters were in this year accommodated; and we accordingly meet with king Henry VIII's paſſport or ſafe-conduct to Luke Spinola, ſtiled maſter of the ſociety of merchants of Genoa reſiding in England, and to all other Genoeſe merchants and their factors, &c. together with their carracks, galleys, and ſhips, to reſort to any part of England and its territories, there freely to ſell their merchandize, and to buy wool, woollen cloth, tin, lead, &c.; provided they do not export any merchandize of the ſtaple of Calais to any port but to Calais, unleſs it be through the Straits of Morocco; any letters of marque, or repriſals, againſt the community, dominion, and city of Genoa, their vaſſals or ſubjects, &c. to the contrary notwithſtanding. Laſtly, this ſafe conduct was to continue for five years, even although it ſhould happen in the interim that war ſhould break out between England and France. [*Fœdera, V.* xiii, *p.* 700.]

According to Sandoval's hiſtory of the civil wars of Spain, in the beginning of the reign of the emperor Charles V, when almoſt all the cities of Spain, in this year 1519 (et ſeq.), made inſurrections, on account of the exorbitant exactions of that emperor's Flemiſh favourites, and their carrying much money out of Spain into Flanders, &c. we find mention made of ſundry clothworkers amongſt thoſe rebels, whoſe army had drawn up articles or conditions to be agreed to by the emperor: Some of them are as follows, viz.

I) That the cloth imported from other countries ſhall be of the ſame ſize and goodneſs as the cloths wrought in theſe kingdoms (of Spain.)

II) That the merchants and clothiers of the kingdoms (of Spain),

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may take, (ſeize) to work and ſpend therein, one half of all the wools bought, either by natives or by ſtrangers, to be ſent out of the kingdoms, paying the ſame price as they had done for them. And that the officers of juſtice may take the ſaid wools either from the ſhepherds or from the buyers, and deliver them to be manufactured, as above.

Hence it is plain, that there was once a conſiderable manufacture in Spain *, though it was afterwards neglected, chiefly owing to the influx of gold and ſilver from America, very ſoon after this time, whereby the nation grew lazy with their riches, and careleſs of the labour required in manufactures; and to the temptation of getting ſuddenly rich, which allured ſuch numbers of people to emigrate to America, that there were not induſtrious hands enough left in Spain to carry on ſuch manufactures.

Spain has ſince made ſeveral unſucceſsful efforts for the revival of that manufacture; and ſuch meaſures are in our days purſuing by his preſent Catholic Majeſty, as are very likely to reſtore it in ſome conſiderable degree, though the country ſtill labours under the great misfortune of a want of induſtrious hands: ſo extremely difficult it is for a nation to recover a neglected and loſt manufacture.

1520.—The commercial treaty, named by the Netherlanders *intercurſus magnus*, concluded in 1495-6, was now renewed between king Henry and the emperor Charles V, ſovereign of the Netherlands, for five years certain. [*Fœdera, V.* xiii, *p.* 714.]

King Henry iſſued a commiſſion for a congreſs at Bruges in Flanders, to treat with commiſſioners from the Hanſe towns, concerning the abuſes, unjuſt uſes, extenſions, enlargements, interpretations, and reſtrictions, made by the Hanſeatic merchants, concerning the ſeveral privileges at any time granted to the Hanſeatic league by the king or his predeceſſors, and to remove all the ſaid abuſes; alſo to demand and receive whatever ſums of money, and how large ſoever they may be, due to him on that account. And finally, to renew and conclude an intercourſe of commerce between England and the ſaid Hanſe-league; but the iſſue of this congreſs does not appear. [*Fœdera, V.* xiii, *p.* 722.]

The Genoeſe obſerving the various ways of eſſaying to get to Eaſt-India, beſides the common way by the Cape of Good Hope; as that now by Magellan's ſtraits, the ſuppoſed north-weſt paſſage, that ſuppoſed from New-Spain, and the hoped-for north-eaſt paſſage, every nation ſeeking to excel in induſtry in this age of diſcoveries; they, becauſe not ſo much accuſtomed to voyages in the ocean, ſent Paul Conterano to the czar of Muſcovy, with a propoſal for carrying the merchandize of Eaſt-India overland into Ruſſia; but the difficulties of this under-

* The treaty between Charles V king of Spain, and Francis I king of France, which will be found under the year 1526, affords a better evidence of the exiſtence of woollen manufactures in Spain. *M.*

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taking were so many, that the czar rejected their proposal. [*Monson's Naval tracts*, *p.* 480.]

According to Nicholson, [*English historical library*, *p.* 6, *ed.* 1696.] 'since the beginning of King Henry VIII's reign, our eldest general 'geographer or antiquary is said to have been Thomas Sulmo, a Guern-'sey man, who died at London, anno 1545; the year following, a 'much greater man of the profession, Sir Thomas Elliot, one of King 'Henry's ambassadors, and of Sir Thomas Moore's friends, died also. 'Contemporary with those two, was George Lilly (son of William the 'famous grammarian), who lived some time at Rome with Cardinal 'Poole, and published the first exact map that ever was till then drawn 'of this island.'

1521.—The great success of the Turks at this time justly alarmed the princes of Europe; for in the year 1521, the sultan Solyman the Magnificent not only took the fortress of Belgrade from Louis king of Hungary, but likewise soon after, the city of Buda, the capital of that kingdom. In the year following he assaulted the famous isle of Rhodes, so long possessed by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem; and although the city of Rhodes had but 6000 Christians in garrison, they held out six months against the whole power of the Turks, who lost 64,000 men before they were able to take it. Solyman also, out of the Black Sea and other parts, having got together near 600 galleys, &c. attempted the isle of Corfu, and ravaged the neighbouring coasts and isles, proving too hard for the united fleets of the emperor, Venice, and the pope. This proved a great detriment to the naval commerce of England in the Levant seas, where, till now, those zealous knights of St. John had been the common protectors of all Christian ships, and a great obstruction to the Turkish depredations. When those knights got away from Rhodes, with 50 of their galleys, they carried much riches with them, and many people; yet, (that we may not any more recur to this article) in about eight years following, during which they moved about between Candia, Naples, Sicily, Villafranca, &c. their numbers and riches were much diminished; until the year 1530, when the Emperor Charles V bestowed on them the isles of Malta and Goza in the Sicilian sea: Here they again soon became the terror of the Mahometans, as they still continue to be. Captain Morgan acquaints us, that the naval force of Malta, in his time, consisted of seven stout ships of war, none carrying fewer than 50 guns, beside galleys and privateers of all sizes, with which they are perpetually harassing the coasts of Barbary, and bringing home prizes to Malta. [*Hist. of Algiers*, *V.* i, *p.* 315. *ed.* 1728.]

In those times, when commerce was but in its childhood, there was too much of a monopolizing spirit throughout all Europe. The city of Hamburgh pretended (and partly still pretends) to an exclusive dominion on the river Elbe. This had been connived at in the early days

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of commerce, when they even claimed a right to exclude all the other towns lying between it and the ſea from a free navigation on that great river, by virtue of grants from ſundry emperors; which, they alſo alleged, enabled them to oblige the ſubjects of Daniſh Holſtein to import their merchandize no where elſe but to Hamburgh, for which, it was ſaid, they were to take what price the Hamburghers pleaſed to allow them. King Chriſtiern II of Denmark, in the year 1521, oppoſed their exorbitant claims, in reſentment of which oppoſition, Hamburgh, in the year 1523, actually declared war againſt Denmark; yet King Chriſtian III, being of a mild diſpoſition, permitted Hamburgh to keep up thoſe claims during his whole reign, which ended in the year 1558, after which we ſhall trace thoſe diſputes farther.

There being at this time a great decay of huſbandry in England, by reaſon of the many incloſures, which, within the preceding fifty years, had turned much arable land into paſture, thereby leſſening the number of huſbandmen, &c. moſt capable of defending the country, whereby alſo towns and villages were depopulated, and both wool and fleſh meat were enhanced, becauſe engroſſed by the nobility and gentry, who were not neceſſitated to ſell; King Henry VIII therefore now iſſued out his commiſſions to the magiſtrates for putting in execution the laws againſt incloſures.

In the ſame year was firſt introduced the uſe of hand-guns or muſkets, whereby, in little more than 100 years later, the practice of bows and arrows in war was quite laid aſide.

In the ſame year there was a great breach from the ſea in the dikes or ſea-walls of Holland, whereby 72 villages, and upwards of 100,000 people, were ſaid to be drowned; but we dare not aſcertain this for fact without more authentic vouchers of time, place, &c. than merely a general report.

King Henry (by his favourite Cardinal Wolſey) acted as mediator at the treaty of Calais between the two great rivals for power, the Emperor Charles V and King Francis I of France. What relates to commerce is as follows.

Whereas the fierce war carried on between thoſe two princes had occaſioned many maritime depredations, to the grievous damage of the innocent ſubjects on both ſides, and it being now the proper ſeaſon for the herring-fiſhing,—to prevent thoſe depredations, it was now ſtipulated,

That the fiſhers, both of the emperor and France, may freely fiſh for herrings, &c. from the date hereof (11th October 1521) to the end of January following, even though the war ſhould go on between thoſe princes, and they may return home in ſafety.

It was alſo ſtipulated (much for the honour of King Henry), that during the war between Charles and Francis, none of their ſubjects ſhould,

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in the harbours, bays, rivers, or mouths of rivers, roads or ſtations for ſhipping, and particularly the ſtation called the Downs, nor in any other maritime places belonging to the juriſdiction of the king of England, take, ſpoil, rob, or plunder any ſhip or merchantman, loaded or unloaded, armed or unarmed, of whatſoever burden or nation they may be; nor rob any ſuch ſhip of its merchandize, arms, &c. nor injure the ſame any other way; but both ſhips and mariners, of whatever nation, ſhould be abſolutely ſecure in thoſe places, and remain at anchor there, without obſtruction or moleſtation from either of the ſaid two princes or of their ſubjects.

Laſtly, the ratification is memorable, viz.

'We having ſeen the above named articles, and being deſirous to 'gratify the ſaid moſt reverend cardinal, our moſt dear and 'moſt beloved friend, do hereby ratify and approve the ſame.

(Signed) 'CHARLES, emperor.
'FRANCIS, king.

We have ſeen, that ſo early as the year 1508, the Portugueſe had become in ſome meaſure maſters of the ſpice or Molucco iſles, and that the emperor Charles V had encouraged Magellan to ſail to them by a weſtern courſe in the year 1518; yet the Spaniards proved unſucceſsful in all their attempts to poſſeſs thoſe iſlands. At length, King John III of Portugal, in the year 1529, ſent the emperor, his brother-in-law, 350,000 ducats (when about this time he went into Italy to be crowned emperor), on condition of not being diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of thoſe iſles till repayment of that ſum; which being never done (ſays Sir William Monſon in his Naval tracts), Spain has never ſince pretended to thoſe iſles.

The Portugueſe now brought thoſe ſpices home to Liſbon in great quantities, whereby, ſays Penſionary De Witt [*Intereſt of Holland, part* III. *c.* iii.] the king of Portugal got above 200,000 ducats yearly.—'Thoſe iſles,' ſays the ſame able author, 'before they thus loſt their 'independency, were ariſtocratical republics, and then drove a great 'trade in their cloves, mace, and nutmegs; and although ſcarcely a 'third part thereof was carried by ſhipping to Calecut, that great ſtaple 'of India, which being there ſold, were carried to Baſſora and Egypt 'by caravans, and thence tranſported by ſhipping to Europe; yet the 'ſultans of Syria and Egypt, through whoſe lands they were brought, 'were wont to receive yearly above 80,000 ducats cuſtom for the ſame. 'No wonder then if the princes of thoſe countries, as well as the ſtate 'of Venice, were very much offended with the Portugueſe for diverting this profitable channel of that trade.'

About this time the French commenced a ſilk manufacture, having been ſupplied with workmen from Milan, while they poſſeſſed that duchy. In this manufacture they made a very quick progreſs, principally at

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Lyons and other parts of the ſouth of France, and ſupplied many parts of Europe with ſilk goods; and until England long after fell into the like manufacture, it was the means of draining us of great ſums annually. Yet it was long after this time before France got into the method of raiſing raw ſilk from the worms.

In this year the city of Genoa was ſtormed and pillaged by the Spaniſh troops of the Emperor Charles V. And the chevalier de Mailly [*Hiſtoire de Genes*, *V.* ii, *p.* 81.] acquaints us, that Genoa was at that time eſteemed the richeſt city in the world (in Europe, I ſuppoſe, he meant) next after Venice and Lyons.

The republic of Venice having for ſo many centuries enjoyed the ſole commerce for the ſpices of India, till lately deprived of it by Portugal, made at this time an effort to acquire ſome conſiderable benefit therefrom ſtill, by making a propoſal to the court of Liſbon to take off all the ſpice annually imported by the Portugueſe (over and above what that kingdom itſelf could conſume) at a certain fixed price; but the propoſal was inſtantly rejected. [*Oſor. de reb. Emanuelis*, *L.* xii.]

1522.—Cenſio de Balthazari, a merchant of Lucca, reſiding in the iſle of Crete or Candia, was appointed by King Henry to be for life governor, maſter, protector, or conſul, of the Engliſh nation there, with all powers and emoluments which any conſul formerly enjoyed there or any where elſe, either from the ſaid king or any of his predeceſſors. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xiii, *p.* 766.]

So neceſſary and important are a few ſingle ſea-ports to the welfare of a whole kingdom, that even the abſolute fate of the latter may depend on the former: Thus, in the ſaid year 1522, the Lubeckers, Dantzickers, &c. ſent nine ſhips of war to the aſſiſtance of Guſtavus (Erickſon) king of Sweden, by whoſe aid he ſo well ſucceeded, that in grateful return he granted thoſe Hanſeatic cities great privileges in Sweden. Voltaire, in his general hiſtory of Europe, alleges that the city of Lubeck alſo ſupplied him with troops, without which he would have found it difficult to ſucceed. By the aſſiſtance of Lubeck the city of Stockholm was taken; and although the 60,000 merks agreed to be paid for that ſervice could not then be paid by Sweden, yet in lieu thereof, ſays Puffendorf, they were allowed the ſole trade of Sweden, and to pay no cuſtom there for merchandize imported, &c.; which benefits were too great to be held long; and thus (adds that ſpirited author Voltaire) the fate of Sweden depended on a little trading town *. Fowler, in his hiſtory of the troubles of Swedeland and Poland (folio, London, 1656), relates, that this great prince very much improved his people in tillage, buildings, and ſearching out the metal mines, and the more effectual working of them by aqueducts and huge engines, &c. He alſo erected

* This aſſertion, like many others of Voltaire's, was not ſtrictly true, for Lubeck was undoubtedly a *great* trading town.

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workhouſes, &c. for vagrants. Thoſe Hanſe towns (ſays Werdenhagen their hiſtoriographer) at the ſame time declared war againſt Chriſtiern II king of Denmark, who had raiſed on them the toll in the Sound, and obſtructed their commerce; yet, by ſo frequently intermeddling in the wars between potent princes and ſtates, the Hanſe towns now and then ſufficiently ſmarted, although for the moſt part they did not give their aid without at leaſt providing for themſelves an ample equivalent.

1523.—According to Lord Herbert's hiſtory of King Henry VIII, in the attempts of the Engliſh and French courts to gain Scotland to their intereſt, the Engliſh miniſters, among other arguments, aſſerted, that the Engliſh were maſters of the ſeas, and thereby were able to ſtop and interclude all ſuccour that could come to them (the Scots) from any other place. And as in the replications of the partiſans of France that aſſertion is not contradicted, the point ſeems to have been admitted.

It was now by an Engliſh act of parliament determined (*c.* xii.), 'That of every L 100 worth of gold to be coined, there ſhould be L. 20 coined into half-angels, of 3/4 each; and of every L 100 worth of ſilver, L 50 ſhall be coined into groats, L 20 into half-groats or twopences, L 20 in pence, 10 merks into halfpence, and 5 merks into farthings.' With reſpect to theſe ſilver farthings, Lord Herbert obſerves, 'that though it was doubtleſs for the convenience of the people that they ſhould have ſo much ſmall coin, yet being ſo very ſmall, they are all long ſince worn out.' N. B. Here is no mention of ſhillings. This too was the laſt time of coining ſilver farthings, probably for the ſaid reaſon.

Malynes [*Lex Mercatoria*, *p.* 189.] alleges, that it was not yet 100 years ſince one Violet Stephens, and other diſcontented fiſhmongers, went to the town of Enckuyſen in Holland, where they procured the inhabitants to fiſh for them in the ſeas of Great Britain. In another part of the ſame book, he adds, 'whereby the fiſhing trade is ſo increaſ-'ed, that Holland and Zealand have above 2000 buſſes or fiſhing ſhips, 'which uſually make three voyages yearly.' He had juſt before ſaid, that in the time of King Henry VII there was no fiſhing trade eſtabliſhed in the Low Countries. By the fiſhing trade here mentioned by Malynes, we are only to underſtand their ſupplying foreign markets with fiſh; for, with reſpect to the Netherlands themſelves, it cannot be doubted but that they always fiſhed on their own coaſts for their own ſupply, although England might be beforehand with them in ſupplying other nations.

1524.—Much about this time (ſays Howell, *p.* 108.), ſoap began firſt to be made in London; before which time that city was ſerved with white ſoap from beyond ſea, and with gray ſoap, ſpeckled with white, very ſweet and good, from Briſtol, ſold here for a penny the pound, and

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never above a penny farthing; alſo black ſoap for an halfpenny the pound.

By an act of parliament [14, 15 *Hen. VIII, c.* 2.], for ſettling how many apprentices and journeymen (not denizens) ſhould be kept by foreign tradeſmen ſettled in London, &c. great powers were given to the corporations of handicrafts over the workmanſhip of thoſe foreigners, there being in thoſe times ſmiths, joiners, coopers, &c. of foreigners, who had ſeals or ſtamps put on their works, after being examined by the wardens of thoſe corporations both in London and other parts. 'The juriſdiction of the London corporations was by this act to extend to two miles from the city, viz. within the town of Weſtminſter, the pariſhes of St. Martin in the Fields, and of our Lady in the Strand, St. Clements Danes without Temple-bar, St. Giles in the Fields, St. Andrews in Holborn, the town and borough of Southwark, Shoreditch, Whitechapel pariſh, St. John's ſtreet (Clerkenwell), and Clerkenwell pariſh, St. Botolph without Aldgate, St. Katherine's (near the tower of London), and Bermondſey-ſtreet.' This is an authentic view of the ſeveral ſuburbs of London in the year 1524. Nevertheleſs, we are not to imagine that all thoſe ſuburbs were contiguous to each other, or joined, as at preſent, to the great contiguity; for there were then, and long after, ſeveral large breaks or ſpaces where no buildings were, not only in the ſtreet (now ſo well built) called the Strand, then chiefly taken up with the capital dwellings of the nobility, with their large adjoining gardens, but likewiſe a great part of St. Martin's pariſh was ſtill literally in the fields (as it is ſtill denominated), and the like may be ſaid of St. Giles in the fields (then ſtiled the town of St. Giles), and of the upper part of St. Andrews in Holborn; much of all which, and alſo of Weſtminſter, Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, Whitechapel, and Southwark, was literally fields, even ſo late as the reign of Queen Eliſabeth, as appears by a map of London and its ſuburbs, publiſhed about the year 1560. This act was not to extend to any other handicrafts but joiners, pouchmakers, coopers, and blackſmiths. Alſo lords, and all others having lands and tenements of £100 per annum, were hereby permitted to retain foreign joiners and glaziers in their ſervice; which may lead us to conjecture that thoſe two trades were not then ſo well improved in England as they have ſince been.

By another act of this year [*c.* 3.], we find that the manufactures of worſteds, ſays, and ſtamins (now farther regulated), were greatly increaſed at Norwich, ſince the former laws made for their regulation in the reign of King Edward IV, and had extended themſelves to Yarmouth, Lynn, and other parts of Norfolk, &c.

Francis I, king of France, ſent out Verazzani, a Florentine, with four ſhips on diſcoveries, three of which he left at the Madeiras, and with the fourth landed on the coaſt of Florida; whence ſailing to 50 degrees of

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north latitude, he gave the land there the name of New France; but he returned home without having planted or left any colony there. [*Purchas's Pilgrimes, V.* iv, *p.* 1603.—*Moriſoti Orbis maritimus, L.* ii, *c.* 34.]

We have now the firſt ſtatute made in England for mending a particular highway. [14, 15 *Hen. VIII, c.* 6.] There being a certain public way in the Wild of Kent, which was much worn out, and alſo not ſo near and commodious as another in the ſame neighbourhood, the lord of the manor was impowered, at his own expenſe, to complete the moſt convenient road, after which he might ſhut up and incloſe the old road for his own ſole benefit. By another law [26 *Hen. VIII, c.* 7.], the like was done in Suſſex.

Pizarro now ſailed from Panama, and diſcovered the immenſe riches of Peru, where he found veſſels of gold and ſilver, fine palaces, &c.; the conqueſt of which country was gradually carried on to the vaſt emolument of the firſt conquerors, and the perpetual one of the Spaniſh court.

About theſe times many new articles of food and drink were brought into England, &c. ſome of which occaſioned the following rhyme:

'(1.) Turkeys, (2) carps, (3) hops, (4) piccarel, and (5) beer,
'Came into England all in one year.'

Another diſtich of our writers, under the year 1546, runs thus:

'Hops, reformation, bays, and beer,
'Came into England all in one year.'

(1) Turkies, or Guinea cocks (as then called by ſome, and by others Indian fowls), were ſaid to have been firſt brought into England in this 15th year of King Henry VIII, which, though a tender fowl, have ſince multiplied exceedingly.

(2) Carp came hither alſo about the ſame time, and are now common, not only in ponds, but in many rivers. Suſſex is more eſpecially famous for the beſt. The anonymous author of a work, termed Engliſh worthies in church and ſtate, 8vo, 1684, ſays, 'that Leonard Maſ-'cal, of Plumſted, in Suſſex, was the firſt who brought over into Eng-'land, from beyond ſea, carps and pippins, about the year 1514.'

(3) The uſe of hops in malt liquor came from Artois, which ſome ſay (though untruly) firſt gave that liquor the name of (5) beer, as diſtinguiſhed from the ancient and ſofter malt-liquor called ale: Yet it is certain, that beer, as a malt-liquor, was known and uſed by that name very long before.

(4) Piccarel, not very intelligible; ſince we can find no other meaning of the word but that of young pike, which it is ſaid was always an

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Engliſh pond-fiſh: This therefore is probably a miſtake in the tranſcribers *.

Sundry other kinds of fruits and plants were firſt cultivated in England about this time; ſuch as apricots and muſk-melons, though others make both theſe to have come much later, viz. the former in the year 1578, and the melon-ſeeds not till the time of King James I, from Italy. The large fine pale gooſberry came hither alſo from Flanders about this time, with ſalads, garden-roots, cabbages, &c. as elſewhere noted. [*See the preſent ſtate of England, part iii, anno* 1683, *p.* 258.]

1525.—Sebaſtian Cabot, formerly employed by King Henry VII of England, and now employed in Spain as chief pilot, inſtead of going to the Moluccos, as firſt deſigned, ſailed a great way up the vaſt river De la Plata, and found the country of Paraguay ſo inviting that he built ſeveral forts in it; and ſoon after that country was planted by Spain.

The Hanſe towns were ſtill ſo powerful that Frederick I king of Denmark was induced to deſire an union with them, being herein ſeconded by the great-maſter of Pruſſia.

And if Puffendorf's hiſtory of Sweden is to be relied on, even the Lubeckers alone fancied themſelves ſo far maſters of the northern kingdoms, that they had already ſold Denmark to Henry VIII king of England, who had actually advanced to them 20,000 crowns on this account; but it ſeems he wiſely put off the payment of the remainder, till they ſhould fulfill their engagement.

Moreover, King Guſtavus Erickſon of Sweden, about this time agreed with Frederick I of Denmark, to refer their differences about the iſland of Gothland and the province of Blekinga, &c. to the ſix following Hanſe towns, viz. Lubeck, Hamburgh, Dantzick, Roſtock, Wiſmar, and Lunenburg; between which towns and thoſe two kings an alliance was made againſt the expelled King Chriſtiern II, who claimed all the three northern crowns; by which alliance a final period was put to the union of thoſe three kingdoms; which the Swedes alleged had ever been prejudicial to them, but beneficial to the Danes, who, whilſt they commanded in Sweden, lived like opulent lords, whereas the native Swedes were ſlaves and beggars.

Although the following treatiſe of geography was not perhaps the firſt general one of the kind, ſince the revival of learning, yet it is doubtleſs a very old one: It is a Latin work, in folio, printed at Straſburg, 1525, intitled, 'Claudii Ptolomæi geographicæ enarrationis libri octo. Bilibaldo Pirckeymhero interpreté. Annotationes Joannis de Regiomonté in errores commiſſos á Jacobo Angelo, in tranſlatione ſua.'

After Ptolemy's maps, tables, &c. this author gives us a new ſet of

* 'The pike, as he ageth, receiveth diverſe 'names; as from a *frie* to a *gilthed*; from a *gilthed* to a *pod*; from a *pod* to a *jacke*; from a *jacke* 'to a *pickerell*; from a *pickerell* to a *pike*; and laſt 'of all to a *luce*.' [*Harriſon's Deſcription of England, p.* 244.] *M.*

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maps of his own compoſing, on wooden plates, according to the new diſcoveries.

1. It appears, that by means of the Portugueſe diſcoveries, the charts of the coaſts of Africa, Arabia, Perſia, and India, are pretty well delineated.

2. With reſpect to China, to which the Portugueſe had not as yet given that more modern name, and which he, after the old authors of the 13th century, ſtiles Cathay, almoſt all that he ſeemed to know of it is, that it was to be ſailed to from India.

3. He calls America, 'Terra nova inventa per Chriſtophorum Co-'lumbum,' i. e. the new land found out by Columbus; which ſeems to be all that he knew of it. But,

4. His map or chart of what he calls the Maré Congelatum, together with the countries of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, is miſerably erroneous, as is alſo that of the Baltic ſea. And between Greenland and Norway-Lapland, inſtead of an open ſea he makes a great bay, which terminates at a fabulous ridge of mountains, like thoſe of Ptolemy, &c.

5. In one of his maps, he makes England and Scotland two different iſles, and in another but one iſle, though extremely erroneous in figure, &c. The like of other parts of the world. This is enough to ſhow the infant ſtate of coſmographical knowlege in that age.

About this time, King Henry at a great expenſe erected the pier of Dover. Being afterward decayed, it was repaired by Queen Elizabeth; and both it and the harbour have ſince at many different periods been, with very great charge, repaired and enlarged. Dover was anciently a flouriſhing town, and had ſeven pariſh churches, ſince reduced to two; partly occaſioned by the loſs of Calais, and partly by the ſuppreſſion of pilgrimages and monaſteries; (which is alſo the caſe of the anciently famous city of Canterbury) partly alſo by the decay of its harbour: Yet Dover has ſince in ſome meaſure recovered its former proſperity; and its harbour is one of the beſt dry harbours of England.

No diſcovery of any conſequence had been made from England ſince Cabot's voyage to the coaſts of America. King Henry now ſent out two ſhips towards the ſame coaſts, one of which was caſt away in the gulf of St. Laurence, and the other returned home the ſame year without any material diſcovery. Some place this attempt in the year 1527. (*See Hakluyt, V.* iii, *p.* 129.) This voyage is probably that which Robert Thorn put King Henry upon, for a north-weſt paſſage to the Moluccos.

1526.—In this year the famous treaty of Madrid was made between the Emperor Charles V, and King Francis I of France, then his priſoner. What relates to commerce is in ſubſtance,

1) That only the antient cuſtoms and duties on merchandize ſhould

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be paid, annulling the new impoſts laid on within twenty years paſt on either ſide, and particularly thoſe on wines and ſalt.

II) That notwithſtanding the late prohibitions of the kings of France, the woollen cloths made in Catalonia, Rouſſillon, Sardinia, and the other territories of the crown of Arragon, and alſo all other cloths and merchandize belonging to the ſubjects of that crown, might be carried by land or water through the dominions of France, in order to avoid the many dangers of a long navigation, paying no other than the ancient impoſts eſtabliſhed twenty years before, but not to be ſold in France. On the other hand, the cloths of France might be freely ſold in the emperor's dominions. [*Fœdera, V.* xiv, *pp.* 309, 322.]

This is one of many proofs that the Spaniards manufactured their excellent wool into cloth before the national induſtry was poiſoned by the influx of gold and ſilver from America.

It appears from Hakluyt [*V.* ii, *p.* 3.] That now, and for ſome time before, ſome merchants of Briſtol traded, by means of the ſhips of St. Lucar in Spain, to the Canary iſlands, ſending thither cloth, ſoap, &c. and returning with dying drugs, ſugar, and kid ſkins; and that they alſo ſent thither their factors from Spain.

Hakluyt obſerves, that the Spaniards firſt planted vines and ſugar-canes in the Canaries, as the Portugueſe alſo did in Madeira; but it is to be preſumed that they had not as yet got wine enough for exportation at thoſe iſlands. He adds, that at Palma, one of the Canaries, he was well informed they had twelve ſugar-houſes, called ingenios (as the Spaniards ſtill call them), in which they made great quantities of good ſugar.

1527.—In a treaty between King Henry and Francis I. king of France, the latter obliges himſelf to pay Henry a *perpetual* annuity of 50,000 crowns, and alſo as much ſalt annually as ſhould amount to 15,000 crowns more, to be delivered at Bruage in Saintoigne, free of all charges or exactions, on board the veſſels ſent by King Henry to receive it. [*Fœdera, V.* xiv, *p.* 218.]

To the performance of this treaty, agreeable to the uſage of thoſe times, many great lords and the principal cities of both countries were bound. The Engliſh cities mentioned are, London, York, Canterbury, Norwich, Coventry, Wincheſter, Exeter, Saliſbury, Lincoln, Welles, Hereford, Chicheſter, and Cheſter.

Francis had great need of Henry's friendſhip againſt the ambitious ſchemes of the Emperor Charles V. He was therefore extremely liberal of his promiſes to Henry, more eſpecially as the latter was at this time making large monthly payments for ſupporting the war in Italy againſt the emperor.

One Simon Fiſh of Gray's-Inn, in his treatiſe called a ſupplication of the beggars to the king, repreſents the number of lepers and poor

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to be ſo much increaſed, that all the alms of the realm were not ſufficient to relieve them; occaſioned (ſays he) by counterfeit holy beggars, who have got into their hands more than a third part of the realm; the goodlieſt lordſhips and manors are their's, beſides the tithes, oblations, mortuaries, &c. But his computations in political arithmetic are extremely erroneous; for inſtance, he ſays, there are 52,000 pariſhes in England, and 10 houſeholds to each pariſh, in all 520,000 houſeholds: That every one of the five orders of friars received a penny a quarter, and 20*d* yearly from each houſehold; ſo that thoſe friars, though not the four-hundredth perſon of the realm, had half its profits.

It was even long after this time a queſtion whether the preciſe number of the pariſhes of England was known.

Their number in King Edward I's valuation (as per MS. copy in the Bodleian library), was about 8900, without including chapels, many of which have ſince been erected into pariſhes.

According to the valuation in the king's books in King Henry VIII's time, the number of pariſhes was conſiderably above 9000.

Yet even in our own days, it is diſputable whether there be quite 10,000 pariſhes in England and Wales. If then the number of pariſhes remains ſtill uncertain *, it cannot be wondered at that the number of

* It is probable that the number of pariſhes in the year 1527 was nearly the ſame as in 1520, when an enumeration of thoſe in every ſhire was made by the direction of Cardinal Wolſey, which is ſubjoined by Camden to his deſcriptions of the ſhires; and he, except in a few inſtances, expreſſes no doubt of its accuracy. As it appears to have eſcaped our author's reſearch, it may not be unacceptable even to thoſe readers who poſſeſs the *Britannia*, to ſee collected in one view

CAMDEN'S ENUMERATION OF THE PARISHES IN ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM CARDINAL WOLSEY'S BOOK.

Pariſhes in England.

Cornwall,	161	Eſſex,	415
Devon,	394	Suffolk,	575
Dorſet,	248	Norfolk, about	660
Somerſet,	385	Cambridge,	163
Wilts,	304	Huntingdon,	78
Hants,	253	Northampton,	326
Berks,	140	Leiceſter,	200
Surry,	140	Rutland,	48
Suſſex,	312	(or 47, ed. 1600.)	
Kent,	398	Lincoln, about	630
Gloceſter,	280	Nottingham,	168
Oxford,	280	Derby,	106
Buckingham,	185	Warwick,	158
Bedford,	116	Worceſter,	152
Hertford,	120	Stafford,	130
Middleſex, in the country, about	73	Salop, about	170
London and the ſuburbs,	221	Cheſter, about	68

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the people is not exactly known. Accordingly, we find many various, and ſome not a little extravagant, computations on this ſubject. But, without paying any attention to ſuch gueſſes, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that from many various reaſonings, there may probably be above 7,000,000 of ſouls in England at this time. Lord Chief-juſtice Hale, in his Primitive origination of mankind, written above 90 years ago, makes them to be at leaſt 6,000,000, and ſubjoins, 'That nothing can 'be clearer than the gradual increaſe of mankind, to be ſeen by the 'curious obſervations on the bills of mortality.' He alſo makes an elaborate compariſon between the number of people in Gloceſterſhire (with which county he was well acquainted), in the time of making Domeſday-book and in his own time; and he thinks them at leaſt twenty times as many as they were at that time, by reaſon of the vaſt

Hereford,	- -	176	Durham and Northumberland,		118
Monmouth,	- -	127	Lancaſter, only	- -	36
York,	- - 459		Weſtmoreland,	- -	26
Richmond,	- - 104		Cumberland,	- -	58
Beſides great chapels,		— 563			
			Pariſhes in all England, about		— 9161

Pariſhes in Wales.

Radnor,	- -	52	Montgomery,	- -	47
Brecknock,	- -	61	Merioneth,	- -	37
Glamorgan,	- -	118	Carnarvon,	- -	68
Carmarthen,	- -	87	Angleſey,	- -	74
Penbroke,	- -	145	Denbigh,	- -	57
Cardigan,	- -	64	Flint,	- -	28
			Pariſhes in Wales,		— 838
			Total in England and Wales, according to Camden,		- 9999

From a glance of this table it is evident that the number of pariſhes affords no juſt ſtandard for an eſtimate of the population; for by ſuch a ſtandard Hertford muſt have contained more people than Durham and Northumberland together, Suffolk more than York, and the ſmall paſtoral ſhire of Rutland more than Lancaſter, which even in Wolſey's time had ſome manufactures and commerce.

It is proper to obſerve, that Camden [*Britannia, p.* 117, *ed.* 1607] gives 9407 as the total number of pariſhes in Wolſey's catalogue. He at the ſame time gives another enumeration of the pariſhes in England and Wales, as divided into dioceſes, amounting to 9284, taken from a catalogue preſented to King James I; and he offers ſome conjectures to reconcile the different numbers.

The difference between the total in this table and 9407, the total as given by Camden, is perhaps owing to ſome error in the printing; for all the numbers are in figures. The table is collated with two editions, viz. that of 1600 in quarto, and that of 1607 in folio, the laſt and beſt; and the only variations are in Rutland, as above noted, and the total omiſſion in the edition of 1600 of the pariſhes in London and its ſuburbs, in Monmouth, and in all Wales.

The *Magna Britannia* publiſhed in 1720 [*V.* i, *p.* 216] reckons 191 pariſhes in Buckinghamſhire. Stow [*Annales, p.* 1112, *ed.* 1600] reckons 119 pariſhes in London and the ſuburbs in the year 1563.

The enumeration of pariſhes made in the year 1371, for the purpoſe of a parochial taxation, differs widely from the above, and the total number is only 8600. [*Stow's Annales, p.* 424, *ed.* 1600.] *M.*

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increaſe of the people in the towns and villages then in being, as well as of the great number of towns, villages, &c. now exiſting, which are not named in that famous book. Yet though this may poſſibly be true of Gloceſterſhire, the like proportion cannot poſſibly be ſuppoſed to hold in other counties; and it may even be well if the number of people at the Norman conqueſt (ſuppoſed to be 2,000,000) be at this time increaſed, in ſeven centuries, to much more than three and a-half times that number, or ſeven, or perhaps nearly to eight, millions.

Lord Herbert ſays, that the Emperor Charles V propoſed to King Henry a treaty for ſelling to him his claim to the Molucco or ſpice iſlands, perhaps merely with a view of drawing him over from the ſide of France, ſince we hear nothing farther of it afterwards; and we have elſewhere noted, that he reſigned all his pretenſions to thoſe iſles for 350,000 ducats, borrowed of the crown of Portugal, his own title to them not being juſtly ſupportable.

Narvaez ſailed from Spain with five ſhips and 400 men, for the conqueſt of Florida, being the firſt attempt of the Spaniards to ſettle in North America. But finding no gold and much hardſhip, with the loſs of ſhips and men, the remainder got from the North Sea to New Spain, after living among the Indians nine years, and travelling 200 leagues; and at length only three of them returned alive to Spain.

1528.—In a prolongation of a truce for eight months between the Emperor, France, and England, the mutual freedom of fiſhing on the ſeas was ſtipulated, and alſo that the commerce between England and the Netherlands ſhould be abſolutely free and undiſturbed for this and all ſubſequent continuations of the truce; and moreover, the freedom of commerce was extended to the Mediterranean ſea, as well as to the ſeas ſurrounding the Britiſh iſlands.

At this time, in the wars of Italy between the emperor and the king of France, the Imperialiſts, commanded by Andrea Doria, took Genoa from the French; and by an agreement with the emperor, Doria, to his immortal honour, reſtored his native country of Genoa to that liberty and form of government which it has enjoyed to the preſent time, inſtead of imitating the Medici family at Florence, as he might eaſily have done.

A war being likely to break out between England and the emperor (King Henry having at this time entered into engagements with France), Lord Herbert thereupon remarks, that our merchants, who uſed not then the trade to the many northern and remote countries they now frequent, foreſeeing the conſequence of thoſe wars, refuſed to buy the cloths that were brought to Blackwell-hall in London; whereupon the clothiers, ſpinners, and carders in many ſhires of England began to mutiny; for appeaſing whereof, the cardinal-miniſter

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commanded the merchants to take off thoſe cloths at a reaſonable price from the poor mens hands, threatening otherwiſe that the king himſelf ſhould buy them, and ſell them to ſtrangers; but the ſullen merchants, little moved herewith, ſaid they had no reaſon to buy commodities they knew not how to vend: Therefor, whatſoever was propoſed for ſtaples at Calais or at Abbeville (the Engliſh ſtaple being then at Antwerp) the merchants did not, or at leaſt would not underſtand it. But this diſcontentment did equally extend to the inhabitants of the Low Countries, and eſpecially to thoſe of Antwerp, where the chief mart was.

This matter, however, blew over for that time; yet this relation plainly ſhows that the commerce to the Netherlands was the moſt important that England then poſſeſſed.

1529.—Cortes, the viceroy of Mexico, having ſent Saavedra with three ſhips from New Spain, to find a paſſage that way to the Molucco or Spice iſles, one of them got ſafe thither, and returned the ſame way back to Panama this year with the ſpices of thoſe iſlands. This voyage paved the way to the conqueſt of the Philippine iſles in the Eaſt-Indian ſeas by the Spaniards, who ſtill poſſeſs them.

1530.—It may not be here improper to take notice of an act [21 *Hen. VIII, c.* 12.] for the regulation of rope-making in the town of Bridport (therein named Burport) in Dorſetſhire. It ſets forth, 'That whereas 'the people of that town have, out of time that no man's mind is to 'the contrary, uſed to make the moſt part of all the great cables, hawſ-'ers, ropes, and all other tackling, as well for your royal ſhips and 'navy, as for the moſt part of all other ſhips within this realm, by reaſon 'whereof your ſaid town was right well maintained,' &c.—Then comes the grievance, viz. 'That the people of the adjacent parts to this town 'have ſet up rope-making, and make ſlight goods, whereby the prices of the 'ſaid cables, &c. are greatly enhanced *; and your ſaid town or borough, 'by means whereof, is like utterly to be decayed †.' For remedy whereof, it was enacted, that all hemp growing within five miles of Bridport ſhould be ſold no where but in that town; and no perſons but ſuch as dwell in the ſaid town ſhould make out of the ſaid town any cables, hawſers, &c. made of hemp, in any other place or places within the diſtance of five miles from the ſaid town.

* A moſt glaring falſehood. Nothing is clearer than that the multitude of workmen muſt effect a competition for cheapneſs, as well as goodneſs of the commodity, greatly to the advantage of the purchaſers. Such abſurd allegations in favour of monopoly frequently occur in old acts of parliament, procured by the pewterers, clothworkers, and other companies of London and ſome other towns. They ſhow how very little the plaineſt principles of trade were known or attended to by the legiſlature in thoſe times.

† This was probably very true; and it was the ſole ground of the application to parliament.

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The law is but too evident a confirmation of what we have elſewhere remarked, that the preambles to many acts of parliament, and alſo very often the reaſons aſſigned for particular clauſes, are by no means to be relied on, in point of juſt and true reaſoning.

In this ſame year, the city of London obtained a decree of the ſtar-chamber, wherein it is repreſented, 'I) That the realm is over-run with 'foreign manufactures. II) That foreigners export bacon, cheeſe, pow-'dered beef, mutton, &c. whereby great portions of corn, victual, &c. 'grown and bred within the realm, are conſumed.' Theſe are ſuch grievous accuſations as would generally be deemed bleſſings in our days. 'Thus,' ſays a reverend and learned modern writer (Dr. Tucker), to whom we are indebted for this decree, 'did the monopolizing ſocieties, 'in thoſe infant days of commerce, impoſe on the legiſlature, not then 'judges of commerce. And by ſuch means, foreigners being greatly 'diſcouraged, withdrew from us, and with them many of our own ma-'nufactures; inſomuch that our woollen manufactures very much de-'clined, and foreign cloth was ſold cheaper than our own, by means of 'thoſe monopolizing laws; the nation grew thinner of people, and pro-'viſions not ſelling ſo well, the gentlemen turned much land into ſheep-'walks, for ſupplying the Netherlands with wool.'

In an act of parliament of this ſame year [*c.* 13.] intitled, 'Spiritual 'perſons abridged from having pluralities of livings, and from taking 'of ferms, &c.' there is the following clauſe: 'And be it enacted, that 'if any perſon, having one benefice with cure of ſoul, being of the 'yearly value of eight pounds or above, accept and take any other, with 'cure of ſoul,—that then, and immediately after ſuch poſſeſſion had 'thereof, the firſt benefice ſhall be judged in the law to be void. And 'it ſhall be lawful to every patron, having the advowſon thereof, to 'preſent another; and the preſentee to have the benefit of the ſame, 'in ſuch manner and form as though the incumbent had died or re-'ſigned.'

In this year, Dionyſius Harris, of London, merchant, was appointed by King Henry VIII to be conſul of the Engliſh merchants at Candia during life. He was the firſt Engliſhman who was appointed conſul in thoſe remote parts, where the Engliſh commerce being but ſmall as yet, our own merchants might not be well enough acquainted with the cuſ-toms, language, &c. for that office. The year following, the king ap-pointed a foreigner to be conſul at Scio, or Chios, and parts adjacent in the Archipelago, during the king's pleaſure only; whereas till now, all foreign conſuls had been conſtituted ſuch during life. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xiv, *pp.* 389, 424.]

It was about this time, according to Paulo Paruta's hiſtory of Venice, [*L.* vii, *part* 1.] that the Turkiſh ſultan, Solyman II, is ſaid to have been

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firſt inſtructed, by his famous admiral Barbaroſſa, to manage a navy; the Turkiſh emperors having till now applied themſelves principally to the increaſe of their power by land armies only. It was by this famous ſea-commander's advice that the Turks firſt manned their galleys with ſlaves, inſtead of raw and unexperienced men. By ſuch regulations did Barbaroſſa greatly increaſe the ſtrength of the Turkiſh navy, which from that time became much more terrible to Chriſtendom than before; as the Venetians, and alſo the Genoeſe, ſoon and ſadly experienced, by the loſs of moſt of their iſlands and ports in the Levant ſeas.

About this time, according to Hakluyt, Captain William Hawkins of Plymouth made a voyage to Guinea, and traded there for elephants teeth, &c. and thence ſailed to Braſil, where he alſo traded. In thoſe days the Europeans had not confined the commerce of their American colonies ſo entirely to themſelves as to exclude the approach of all other nations thither. Captain Hawkins traded to Braſil again in the year 1532*.

1531.—Several hiſtorians tell us, that in the year 1531, a terrible earthquake happened at the city of Liſbon, which laſted eight days, and overthrew 1500 houſes and many churches.

The ſame year the new canal from Bruſſels to Antwerp was begun, but not completed till the year 1560.

The citizens of Antwerp, being now in great proſperity, the fruits of an immenſe commerce, built their famous bourſe, or exchange †, the nobleſt of that age in Europe, for the daily reſort of merchants of all nations. Upon the front of that edifice, according to Louis Guicciardin, in his hiſtory of the Netherlands, there was placed the following inſcription:

S. P. Q. A.

In Uſum Negotiatorum cujuſcunque Nationis ac Linguæ, Urbiſque adeo ſuæ Ornamentum, Anno MDXXXI, *à Solo extrui curaverunt* ‡.

* Hawkins's ſhip was remarked as exceedingly large, being of 250 tons burthen. *Hakluyt's voyages, V.* iii, *p.* 700. *M.*

† Guicciardin gives the following account of the origin of the name of bourſe, given to ſuch edifices in ſundry cities of Europe.

There was, it ſeems, before this time a commodiouſly ſituated ſquare in the middle of the city of Bruges, in which ſtood a large antient building, which had been erected by the noble family of La Bourſe (which ſignifies purſe in French and Flemiſh), whoſe coat-of-arms on its walls was three purſes. The merchants of Bruges made this old houſe the place of their daily aſſemblies; and when afterward they went to the fairs of Antwerp and Mons, they called the places they found there for the merchants aſſembling by the ſame name of la bourſe; whereby at length that name alone obtained. The French merchants alſo carried the name to the ſame kind of places at Rouen, and even as far as Tholouſe: Yet, ſays he, Queen Elizabeth of England (in whoſe reign he wrote), upon viewing the newly-erected magnificent bourſe of London, would have it called the royal exchange, though foreigners there ſtill call it the bourſe-royale. He tells us alſo, that in Antwerp there is a handſome edifice, called the Engliſh bourſe, built in the year 1550, for the accommodation of Engliſh merchants; and another noble bourſe or ſtructure for the German merchants of the Hanſe.

‡ In Engliſh; The ſenate and people of Antwerp erected this ſtructure for the accommodation of merchants of all nations and languages, and for an ornament to their city, anno 1531.

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Lord Herbert relates, that King Henry VIII, being informed that Italian and other foreign merchants brought commodities into England, which they ſold well, and then returned the money home by exchange, to the exhauſting of the wealth of his realm, and diminution of his cuſtoms, now iſſued a proclamation, (purſuant to a ſtatute of King Richard III) that the money they received here for their wares ſhould not be exchanged to other countries, but laid out in the commodities of his realm, which, as long as it was obſerved, proved a great benefit to both king and ſubject. This might poſſibly be true in thoſe days, and is one proof of the ſmallneſs of commerce, compared to what it is in our time, when ſuch unreaſonable reſtraints would create infinite diſorders, if not a total ſtagnation of trade. It alſo ſhows how little that king's adviſers underſtood the true nature of commerce and the intereſt of the kingdom.

Beggars, and the other neceſſitous poor of England, had as yet no other relief than an act of parliament [22 *Hen. VIII, c.* 12.] whereby the juſtices of every county were empowered to grant licences to poor, aged, and impotent perſons, to beg within a certain precinct; and ſuch as ſhould beg beyond their precinct, were either to be whipped, or ſet in the ſtocks three days and three nights, and fed on bread and water. Begging vagabonds were alſo to be whipped.

Charles V publiſhed an edict in his Netherland provinces much to the ſame effect; wherein he juſtly remarks, that the trade of begging fixes people in idleneſs, and leads them into bad courſes of life: none therefor, except mendicant friars and pilgrims, and people reduced by calamities, are allowed to beg, under pain of impriſonment, whipping, &c. The poor reſiding in the provinces one whole year, were to remain where they were ſettled, and ſhare in the alms ordered for them; and a common purſe was to be eſtabliſhed at all poor-houſes, hoſpitals, brotherhoods, &c. where alms were uſually given, poor-boxes in churches; and once or twice in every week magiſtrates were to collect alms in churches and at private houſes for the poor. Idle and roguiſh livers were to be compelled to work. Poor women in childbed, and alſo orphans and foundlings, to be taken care of, and the latter put to ſchools, and taught on Sundays and holidays the pater noſter, creed, and ten commandments, and put to trades and ſervices. But ſince thoſe times, the Dutch have ſo greatly improved in their proviſions for the helpleſs poor, and methods of compelling the idle to labour, that they have become a pattern for all other nations.

1532.—James V, king of Scotland, inſtituted a new college of juſtice, commonly called the lords of council and ſeſſion, formed upon the model of the parliament of Paris. It conſiſted, and ſtill conſiſts, of a lord preſident, and fourteen other lords, commonly called the fifteen.

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lords of ſeſſion, but more properly the ſenators of the college of juſtice.

King Henry having entered into a ſtricter alliance with the king of France againſt the Emperor, the maritime force of each party was appointed to conſiſt of a ſquadron of ſhips, (not mentioning their number tonnage, or force), having 1500 ſoldiers in it, with artillery, &c.; which ſquadron, when demanded by either party, was to cruiſe between Uſhant and the Downs for ſix months in the year, for the defence of both coaſts of England and France from the attempts of the emperor. If the emperor ſhould at any time ſeize on the Engliſh merchants and their effects in the Netherlands, Francis obliged himſelf to ſeize on the effects of the Netherlanders in France for ſatisfaction. On the other ſide, Henry ſtipulated to do the like in England in behalf of the French merchants, in caſe their effects ſhould be ſeized in the Netherlands.

In an act [23. *Hen. VIII, c.* 8.] for mending the havens of Plymouth, Dartmouth, and Teingmouth in Devonſhire, and of Falmouth and Fowey in Cornwall, it is aſſerted that thoſe ports were in former times eſteemed the principal and moſt commodious havens of England, until they were choked up by the gravel, ſand, rubble, &c. of certain works of tin in thoſe counties, called ſtream works; and that ſhips of 800 tons burden have formerly come eaſily into them at low water, whereby a great multitude of ſhips, as well foreign as Engliſh, have been preſerved and ſaved; whereas now a ſhip of 100 tons could ſcarcely enter them at half flood.

1533.—Beef, pork, mutton, and veal, were directed by act of parliament [24 *Hen. VIII, c.* 3.] to be ſold by weight; no perſon to take above one halfpenny a pound for beef or pork, nor above three farthings for mutton and veal. The number of butchers then in London and its ſuburbs was reckoned to be one hundred and twenty, each of whom killed nine oxen weekly, which, in forty-ſix weeks, (none being then killed in Lent) amounts to 33,120 oxen yearly. [*Stow's Survey of London, p.* 356, *ed.* 1618.] Lord Herbert obſerves that this law was afterward juſtly repealed, in conſideration that unſeaſonable years did not permit any certain rule for the prices of fleſh meat, which were afterwards fixed occaſionally by a committee of the privy-council.

By another ſtatute [c. 11.] the ſtreet-way between Charing-croſs and Strand-croſs, (*i. e.* near where Somerſet-houſe now is ſituated) in the ſuburbs of London, was directed to be ſufficiently paved and maintained at the charge of the owners of the lands adjoining. This ſhows that the Strand was not as yet built into a continued ſtreet.

Another ſtatute of this year [*c.* 4.] directed, that for every ſixty acres of land fit for tillage, one rood ſhould be ſown with flax-ſeed or hemp-ſeed. And by the 5th of Queen Elizabeth, [*c.* 5.] that queen had power,

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by her proclamation, to revive this law in ſuch counties as ſhe ſhould judge proper, 'for the better proviſion of nets for help and furtherance 'of fiſhing, and for eſchewing of idleneſs;' but no mention of a linen manufacture is therein made.

The tree, or ſhrub, bearing currants, or grapes of Corinth, is by ſome authors ſaid to have been brought from the iſland of Zant, and planted in England about this time. This delicious fruit or grape has long ago become ſo plentiful every where throughout Britain and Ireland, that it would be difficult to convince ſome people that currants were not original natives here; which is alſo the caſe of many other fruits, plants, roots, and flowers. Dr. Heylin, in his Coſmography, obſerves, that the people of Zant were very poor when the Engliſh began to purchaſe their currants, and wondered to what end they annually brought away ſuch quantities, aſking them, whether they uſed their currants to dye cloths, or to fatten their hogs? He adds, 'that our trade thither has 'enriched thoſe iſlanders.'

The Lubeckers, who had been ſerviceable to Guſtavus Erickſon king of Sweden, demanded of him the ſole right of trading on his northern ſea-coaſts; but this being judged unreaſonable, they thereupon demanded immediate payment of what he owed them; and alſo joining with the refugees of the expelled King Chriſtiern's party, they propoſed to themſelves (ſays Puffendorf) no leſs than the conqueſt of the northern kingdoms.

Concerning this King Guſtavus I, Voltaire obſerves, 'that he was 'the firſt of the Swediſh kings who made foreign nations ſenſible of 'the weight which Sweden might have in the affairs of Europe, at a 'time when European policy was putting on a new face, and when firſt 'the notion was ſtarted of a balance of power. Sweden' (continues this author) 'had as yet no regular commerce nor manufactures; and 'the uſeful inventions were unknown there. It was this King Guſtavus 'who firſt drew the Swedes out of obſcurity, and likewiſe ſtimulated 'the Danes by his example.'

1534.—Jacques Cartier ſailed from France with one ſhip, to ſearch for a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies: but after ſailing up the bay of St. Laurence as far as the iſle of Aſſumption, he returned home in the ſame year. The next year he ſailed up the great river of St. Laurence, (or Canada) with three ſhips, as far as Montreal, 200 leagues from its entrance, and wintered there among the natives; ſome of whom, with their king, he invited onboard his ſhip, on pretence of an entertainment, and carried them home to St. Maloes (where their king died four years after), in hope thereby to gain a perfect knowledge of their country, and of the hoped-for paſſage to India: But the natives were ſo enraged at his treachery, that they could not, in many years after, be

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brought to permit the French to trade thither. On Cartier's return, in the year 1536, he found many French ſhips fiſhing on the banks of Newfoundland, which ſhows how early the French fell into that fiſhery.

Cartier made no ſettlement in Canada, only he erected a croſs there, with the arms of his king, and called the country lá Nouvelle France: yet a village there has preſerved his name to this day *.

By an act of parliament [25 *Hen. VIII, c.* 8.], the ſtreet between Holbourn-bridge and Holbourn-bars at the weſt end thereof, was directed to be paved with ſtone (*i. e.* we may ſuppoſe from St. Andrew's church weſtward, the other part down to the bridge being already paved.) The ſtreets of Southwark were hereby alſo directed to be paved; and every perſon was ordered to maintain the pavement before his own ground, or forfeit to the king ſixpence for every yard ſquare.

An act of parliament [25 *Hen. VIII, c.* 13.] repreſents the practice of engroſſing farms, and diverting land from tillage to the ſupport of vaſt numbers of ſheep, as an evil lately ſprung up; 'whereby they have not 'only pulled down churches and towns †, and enhanced the old rates of 'rents, or elſe brought them to ſuch exceſſive fines, that no poor man 'is able to meddle with them; but alſo have enhanced the prices of all 'manner of corn, cattle, wool, pigs, geeſe, hens, chickens, eggs, &c.; 'by reaſon whereof a marvellous multitude of people be not able to 'provide meat, clothes, &c. for themſelves and families. One of the 'greateſt occaſions why thoſe greedy and covetous people do keep ſuch 'great quantities of lands in their hands, from the occupying of the 'poor huſbandman, and do uſe it in paſture and not in tillage, is only 'the great profit that cometh of ſheep, now got into few perſons hands, 'in reſpect of the whole number of the king's ſubjects, that ſome have '24,000, ſome 20,000, ſome 10,000 to 5000 ſheep; whereby a good 'ſheep, that uſed to be ſold for 2/4, or 3/ at moſt, is now ſold for 6/, 'or 5/, or 4/ at leaſt; and a ſtone of wool, which uſed to be ſold for '1/6, or 1/8, is now ſold for 4/, or 3/4 at leaſt, &c. which things 'tend to the decay of hoſpitality, the diminiſhing of the people, and to 'the let of cloth-making, whereby many poor people have been accuſ-'tomed to be ſet on work. For remedy, it was in ſubſtance, enacted,

'I) That none ſhall keep above 2400 ſheep (excluſive of lambs) at 'any one time, unleſs it be on his own land of inheritance; in which 'caſe he is not hereby limited, nor are ſpiritual perſons.

'II) No man ſhall hold above two farms; in the pariſh of one of 'which he ſhall be obliged to reſide.'

* Sebaſtian Munſter, in his Geographia vetus et nova, (Baſiliæ 1540) has placed the name of *Franciſca* where Canada is ſituated; and C. Britonum at the iſland ſtill called Cape Breton, in his map of America, which he calls Novus Orbis.

† Quere, how could that be?

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The increaſe of the woollen manufacture increaſing the demand for wool, gave riſe to this practice of engroſſing farms, and turning them into ſheep-walks, which undoubtedly can be managed by fewer hands than tillage farms can be, whereby depopulation neceſſarily muſt enſue.

We have ſeen the monopolizing law in favour of the town of Bridport, for engroſſing the manufacture of ropes, excluſive of the villages or open country. We have now ſuch another, upon a petition to parliament from the city of Worceſter, and the towns of Eveſham, Droitwich, Kidderminſter, and Bromſgrove, repreſenting, that the ſaid city and towns were in times paſt well and ſubſtantially inhabited, and employed in the manufacture of woollen cloths, until within a few years paſt, that divers perſons, dwelling in the hamlets, thorps, and villages of the ſaid ſhire, have not only engroſſed and taken into their hands ſundry farms, and become graziers and huſbandmen, but alſo make all manner of cloths, and exerciſe weaving, fulling, and ſhearing, within their own houſes, to the great depopulation of the ſaid city and towns: For remedy, it was hereupon enacted, 'that no perſon within Worceſ-'terſhire ſhall make any cloth but the proper inhabitants of the ſaid city 'and towns, excepting perſons who make cloths ſolely for their own 'and family's wearing.' [25 *Henry VIII, c.* 18.]

Thus did the legiſlature miſtake the true intereſt of the public. It is the cheapneſs of the manufacture which enables the merchant to export it, and to underſell foreign competitors; and confining it thus to towns was the way to make it come dearer to the merchant than it would have done, had it been in the open country, where every neceſſary comes cheaper than in towns; which point thoſe Worceſter monopoliſts well underſtood, and that therefore they could not hold the manufacture long, without a reſtricting law to bring it back ſolely to themſelves. Formerly, the counties of Surry, Berks, &c. nearer to London, enjoyed a conſiderable woollen manufacture; but their nearneſs to London occaſioning all, or moſt neceſſaries to become dearer than in more remote parts, the weſtern and northern counties have beaten them out of that manufacture. And as the northern counties have neceſſaries conſiderably cheaper than the weſtern ones, it is probable they will in time gain conſiderable ground on the latter in this reſpect.

Marvellous was the progreſs made by the Portugueſe at this time in India. We find Da Cunha in this year had built the fort of Diu, had ſent a fleet 100 leagues up the river Indus, and had invaded the kingdom of Cambaya with his land-army *.

According to Hakluyt, [*V.* ii, *p.* 96.] from about the year 1511 to the year 1534, divers tall ſhips of London, Southampton, and Briſtol,

* Their exploits in India may be found in Stephens's *Portugueſe Aſia*, 3 volumes 8vo, 1695.

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had an unuſual trade to Sicily, Candia, and Chio, and ſometimes to Cyprus, and to Tripoli, and Barutti, in Syria. Their exports were woollen cloths, calf ſkins, &c.; and their imports were ſilks, camblets, rhubarb, malmſey, muſcadel, and other wines; oils, cotton-wool, Turkey carpets, galls, and India ſpices. The Engliſh merchants likewiſe employed ſundry foreign ſhips in that trade, as Candiots, Raguſans, Sicilians, Genoeſe, Venetian galeaſſes, and Spaniſh and Portugal ſhips. In thoſe days they generally employed a whole year in ſuch voyages.

1535.—The next year, a ſhip of 300 tons, from London, went on the ſame Levant voyage, with 100 perſons in her, and returned in 11 months; and the Engliſh merchants ſettled factors in thoſe places. All theſe particulars the indefatigable Hakluyt picked out of the antient merchants books of thoſe times; and he traced thoſe voyages down even to the year 1552, though not ſo frequent in the latter years as in the former. The journals of thoſe old voyages ſhow that they were then thought exceedingly difficult and dangerous.

We muſt not forget the great generoſity of a very famous and rich merchant at Augſburg, named Fugger, who had alſo an houſe and great dealings at Antwerp. For defraying the expenſe of an expedition to Tunis, the emperor had run deep in debt to Fugger, who having invited him to an entertainment at his houſe, in order to teſtify his reſpect for that prince, made a fire in his hall with cinnamon, and threw all the emperor's bonds into that coſtly fire, now made much more ſo by that great act of generoſity.

It was in this year, according to Lord Herbert, that great ordnance of braſs, as cannon and culverins, were firſt made in England, they having before been had from foreign parts *.

We may have already obſerved, that ſince the acceſſion of King Henry VIII, there was not only a great increaſe of the woollen manufacture of England, but likewiſe of its foreign commerce, and alſo ſundry other marks of increaſing riches. Nevertheleſs, any one entirely unacquainted with the then circumſtances of England would be led to imagine quite the contrary, from the preambles of certain acts of parliament of the 26th and 27th years of that king's reign, where it is ſaid that great numbers of houſes have of a long time lain in ruins in the city of Norwich, occaſioned by a fire there twenty-ſix years before; alſo in Lynn-Biſhop in Norfolk, and in Nottingham, Shrewſbury, Ludlow,

* Other cannon, we may preſume, had been made in England long before now, as we know for certain, that great cannon, moſt probably of iron, had been made in the caſtle of Edinburgh by a Scottiſh artiſt called Robert Borthwick, who uſed to inſcribe upon them

'Machina ſum Scoto Borthwik fabricata Roberto,'

according to Leſly [*De reb. geſt. Scot. p.* 338, *ed.* 1675], who ſays, that in his time very many cannon with that inſcription were to be ſeen in Scotland. Seven cannon made by Borthwick, called the *ſeven ſiſters*, were particularly noted. [*Pitſcottie, p.* 174, *ed.* 1778.—*Stow's Annales, p.* 829, *ed.* 1600.] *M.*

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Gloceſter, Bridgnorth, Queenborough, and Northampton; many of which ruins, filled with naſtineſs, are in the principal ſtreets of thoſe towns, where in times paſt have been beautiful dwelling-houſes, well inhabited: And therefor the owners are thereby directed to rebuild them in a fixed time, or elſe the property to go to the lord of the manor, or to the community of thoſe reſpective towns. No certain judgment can, however, be formed reſpecting the general ſtate of a country from the decline of ſome of the towns in its commerce, which is ever ſhifting and varying; and there are, even in our days, when commerce and wealth are ſo greatly increaſed ſince thoſe times, particular towns that are in a declining ſtate, from certain local circumſtances. Probably the manufactures of thoſe towns above mentioned, by ſpreading into the adjacent villages, and perhaps into other countries, might occaſion their decline. Poſſibly alſo the ſkirts or ſuburbs of ſome of thoſe places might be ſo overbuilt (as is perhaps partly the caſe in London itſelf) as to make the centres of them be neglected, more eſpecially if thoſe ſuburbs were exempted from the heavy freedom-fines of the corporations; which laſt conſideration I conceive to have been one main cauſe of the decay of ſuch towns.

In this year the firſt commercial treaty between any Chriſtian monarch in Europe and the Ottoman Porte was concluded by Francis I king of France and Solyman II, ſurnamed the magnificent, the Turkiſh emperor or ſultan, whereby many commercial privileges in Turkey were obtained for the French, who were allowed to have a conſul of their own nation in the ſeveral ports of Turkey both for civil and criminal affairs, together with the private exerciſe of their own religion. Theſe privileges France alone of all Chriſtian nations enjoyed for ſome time, no others being allowed to reſort to Turkey unleſs they went under the protection of the French flag.

The Venetians next obtained a like commercial treaty with the Turks, in the year 1580; and next to them, the Engliſh obtained the like, without the interpoſition of any other nation, in the year 1604. The Hollanders, next to the Engliſh, concluded a commercial treaty with the Turks. Laſt of all, Genoa (though not till the year 1665) obtained a like commercial treaty with the Ottoman Porte, as will be ſhown in the next century.

In this ſame year Mendoza was ſent from Spain with 2200 ſoldiers to the river De la Plata in Paraguay, on the ſouth ſide of which he founded the town of Buenos-Ayres, which, though ſoon again abandoned during his abſence, was again refounded; as alſo ſome other towns and colonies in Paraguay.

1536.—Until this year Portugal enjoyed without a rival the ſole trade of all the vaſt weſtern coaſts of Africa, whereby conſiderable riches had

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been brought to Liſbon, even before they had made their diſcoveries in either the Eaſt or Weſt Indies.

But next to the Portugueſe, the Engliſh now began to trade to the Guinea coaſt, ſome of whom, it is ſaid, were ſo ſucceſsful as to bring home in one voyage above 100 pound weight of gold duſt, beſide elephants teeth, &c. Yet the Engliſh erected no forts on that coaſt till long after this time *.

King Henry having ſuppreſſed the hoſpital or ſiſterhood of 'Seynt 'James in the fylde,' near Weſtminſter, declared that the ſaid houſe or hoſpital of Seynt James in the fylde he had now incloſed, and there made a park and manor for himſelf. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xiv, *p.* 563.] At preſent they are the royal palace and park of St. James's, in the liberty of Weſtminſter.

Wales, which had long before been abſolutely ſubject to the crown of England, was now, by a judicious act of parliament, totally united and incorporated with England, its people being declared Engliſh ſubjects to all intents whatever, and ſubject to the laws of England only; all their own peculiar tenures, deſcents, cuſtoms, and uſages contrary thereunto being aboliſhed. The whole principality was now divided into twelve ſhires, as at preſent, beſide Monmouthſhire and the town of Haverfordweſt, which was before a county of itſelf. [27 *Hen. VIII*, *c.* 26.]—And by the act [34, 35 *Hen. VIII*, *c.* 26.] it is declared that eight have been ſhires formerly, and the four newly made are Radnor, Brecknock, Montgomery, and Denbigh. In this copious act many regulations were made to reduce Wales entirely to the laws and cuſtoms of England; and divers lordſhips and manors in the marches of Wales were annexed to the counties of Salop, Hereford, and Gloceſter. The juſtice of Cheſter had annexed to his office the ſhires of Denbigh, Flint, and Montgomery, and yet (ſays the act) he ſhall have nothing but his old fee of L100 yearly. And three other juſtices were appointed, each having three counties under his circuit; and each of theſe three juſtices had L50 yearly ſalary.

By theſe wiſe regulations, not only all former national prejudices on either ſide have been gradually removed, but the people of Wales have been brought to a more induſtrious courſe of living, by applying themſelves to manufactures and a better cultivation of their lands, inſomuch that in our times that country wears quite another and more beautiful aſpect than when this incorporating union was made. And we hear no more of the rapine, murders, &c. before ſo frequent on the borders between England and Wales; but, to the mutual felicity of both countries, a regular intercourſe has long ſince been eſtabliſhed between them, in like ſort as between one county of England and another.

* At leaſt one voyage to Guinea before this time by an Engliſhman, captain Hawkins, is already noted, from Hakluyt, in the year 1530. *M.*

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In the latter end of the year 1535 and the beginning of 1536, the king ſuppreſſed all the leſſer monaſteries (i. e. ſuch as had eſtates not exceeding L200 per annum.) Biſhop Burnet, in his Hiſtory of the reformation, obſerves, that the full report of the viſitation of thoſe houſes previous to their ſuppreſſion is loſt; yet he ſaw an extract of a part of it, concerning 144 houſes, which contained abominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom! In ſome they found tools for coining; and briefly, in almoſt all of them, the greateſt lewdneſs and wickedneſs. Lord Herbert [*p.* 441.] ſays, that the yearly amount of all theſe leſſer monaſteries was L32,000, but that the king ſold them at ſuch eaſy rates, to enable the purchaſers to keep up the hoſpitality which the monks had done when they poſſeſſed them, adding thereto a penalty of L6:13:4 per month on the farmers and poſſeſſors of the monaſteries and lands belonging to them, on failure of keeping up hoſpitality and huſbandry therein. But the penalty being not ordinarily required, due hoſpitality was for the moſt part neglected; for the forfeitures being great, were, at the ſupplication of the parliament [21 *Jac.* I. *c.* 28.] wholly aboliſhed at length by the indulgence of the king. Somewhat ſurely ought to have been done in time to prevent the poor from becoming ſo heavy a weight on the landed and trading intereſts, as it was eaſy to foreſee they would be on the ſuppreſſion of thoſe monaſteries, whoſe kitchens were ever open to the poor of their neighbourhood.

Had the purchaſers of thoſe church lands in every pariſh been obliged by their tenures to ſupport the poor thereof, or at leaſt to contribute thereto in a much greater and fixed proportion than others, it would have been extremely reaſonable, as they purchaſed them at very low prices. This would have been more conducive to the benefit of a free and trading people than Lord Herbert's ſcheme of annexing them all to the crown for ever, for enabling the king to keep up a good army and navy, without being obliged to have recourſe to the people's purſes from time to time: A dangerous ſcheme for a free people!

King Henry gave encouragement to certain merchants to ſend out two ſhips on diſcovery to the north coaſts of America, where they viſited Cape Breton and Newfoundland; and being in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions there, they returned home in October the ſame year. And although this voyage proved unfavourable to their main intent of finding a north-weſt paſſage to India, yet it gave riſe to the very beneficial fiſhery of the Engliſh on the banks of Newfoundland, on which barren iſland Mr. Hoar, a merchant of London, attempted a ſettlement at this time, though he met with much misfortune in that unſucceſsful attempt.

An act of parliament was paſſed, to enable the governors and magiſtrates of counties, towns, and pariſhes, to find and keep every aged,

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poor, and impotent perſon, who ſhould have dwelt three years in any place, by way of voluntary alms, with ſuch convenient alms as ſhould be thought meet by their diſcretion, ſo as none of them ſhould be obliged to beg openly; and to compell ſturdy vagabonds to work. Alſo that children under fourteen years of age and above five, who lived in idleneſs, and were found begging, ſhould be put to ſervice. No perſon was allowed to make any open or common dole, or give any money in alms, but to the common boxes and common gatherings in every pariſh. [27*th Hen. VIII, c.* 25.]

This was the firſt law made in England that ſeemed to make any proviſion for aged poor, yet being merely voluntary, it will appear from ſucceeding ones that it did not prove by any means effectual. Thoſe open doles were made by perſons of wealth, and of a charitable diſpoſition, at the gates of their houſes on certain fixed times, whither the poor of the neighbourhood came, at a known hour, to have money or proviſions dealt out to them. The ſame practice is ſtill retained in many parts of Scotland.

1537.—An Engliſh act of parliament having directed of what length and breadth the linen cloths called lockrams and dowlas, made in and imported from Britany, ſhould be, (a thing indeed ſomewhat extraordinary, to direct another nation concerning their own manufactures!) the French refuſed to be regulated by it; and as thoſe linens were uſually paid for in Engliſh woollen cloths exported to Britany, whereby great numbers of weavers, tuckers, ſpinners, dyers, wool-pickers, &c. were conſtantly employed, and all thoſe trades were now at a ſtand, that extraordinary ſtatute was this year repealed. [28*th Hen. VIII, c.* 4.]

About this time (according to Camden in his Britannia *) the woollen manufacture was introduced at Halifax in Yorkſhire. He ſays, that beſides the largeneſs of its pariſh, which contained eleven chapels and about 12,000 people, nothing is ſo admirable in this town as the induſtry of the inhabitants, who, notwithſtanding an unprofitably-barren ſoil, have ſo flouriſhed by the cloth trade that they are become very rich, and have gained a reputation for this above their neighbours; and this confirms the truth of the obſervation, that a barren country is a great whet to the induſtry of its natives; whereby alone we find Nurenberg in Germany, Venice and Genoa in Italy, and Limoges in France, in ſpite of their ſituation on a barren ſoil, have long been flouriſhing cities.

1538.—Solyman the Magnificent, the Turkiſh emperor, feeling the great loſs his ſubjects ſuſtained by being deprived of ſupplying Europe with ſpices and other Indian merchandize from the port of Alexandria,

* Camden ſays *ſeventy years ago;* and the number ſtands the ſame, I believe, in all the editions: ſo that, as Mr. Anderſon has reckoned ſeventy years before 1607, the date of the *laſt* edition, above twenty years may be added to the antiquity of the clothing trade at Halifax. *M.*

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made an attempt to drive the Portugueſe out of India. He for that end ſent his admiral, Solyman Baſſa, with eighty ſhips and galleys, from the Red Sea, to beſiege the ſtrong fort of Diu, near the mouth of the Indus. The Turks, however, were repulſed with firmneſs, after uſing all kinds of means to maſter it.

After the diſſolution of monaſteries, the clergymen throughout England were enjoined by an order from Thomas Cromwell earl of Eſſex, vicar-general of King Henry VIII, to keep a regiſter of all weddings, chriſtenings, and burials in their pariſhes. This laudable cuſtom has been continued (though it is to be feared not ſo carefully as it ſhould be) ever ſince. It is a practice which on many important occaſions may be of great uſe to princes and ſtateſmen, both for political and mercantile conſiderations; and, as Biſhop Nicolſon obſerves, ſuch regiſters are ſome of our beſt helps for the preſervation of hiſtory; and their uſe (ſays he) might be more extenſive, if care were taken to regiſter alſo many other remarkable occurrences relating to the public concerns of the ſeveral pariſhes; and therefore perſons of all perſuaſions or opinions ought, under a penalty, to be obliged to regiſter the ſame in the veſtry-books of every pariſh. Such regiſters are alſo of great uſe and authority in law diſputes and trials, for proving the age of perſons, the titles to eſtates, &c.

Ferdinando Soto, having a grant from the Emperor Charles V of the country of Florida, went thither with nine ſhips and 600 men at his own expenſe, and travelled many hundred leagues over that country, meeting with many great misfortunes; and after ſundry battles with the natives, returned home with the remaining half of his people in the year 1543.

1539.—In the year 1538 was begun, and in 1539 was completed, the diſſolution of all the remaining abbeys, called the greater ones; and ſoon after thoſe in Ireland ſhared the ſame fate.

Lord Herbert computes the total yearly value of them all (both greater and leſſer ones) to be L161,000; but this is far from being an exact account of their annual value; for the abbots and priors, foreſeeing the impending deſolation, had raiſed the fines for leaſes very high, which brought the rents in conſequence very low, that they might thereby have wherewithal to ſupport themſelves when they ſhould be expelled. Indeed, the heads of thoſe convents had, in part at leaſt, long before fallen into that practice, that they might not be bound to entertain too great a number in their houſes, whereby they much enriched themſelves.

The author of a ſmall folio, printed in the year 1689, with the title of the Happy future ſtate of England (ſaid by many to be the earl of Angleſey *), thinks there were in all about 50,000 perſons maintained

* According to Mr. Chalmers's information, the author was Sir Peter Pet. *M.*

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in the convents of England and Wales. Now, if they were then maintained at L7 each perſon, their annual expence would be L350,000, which probably was then near the yearly value of their lands; and living then being about five times cheaper than in our times, the total yearly value of their lands in our money would be L1,750,000; and if on an average thoſe lands be worth 20 years purchaſe (as being ſince greatly improved), then the total preſent value of all the abbey-lands may be about L35,000,000 Sterling. That author farther obſerves, that as Camden in his Britannia makes all the pariſhes of England amount to 9284, thereto may be added 26 biſhops, 26 deans, 60 archdeacons, and 544 prebendaries; theſe, joined to ſeveral rural deanries, may make about 1000 more; though here our author ſeems to have forgot that the deans and archdeacons, as well as the prebendaries, have, almoſt without exception, at leaſt one pariſh living, in ſome of which they may perhaps officiate (though but few) without entertaining a curate. And there being then (*i. e.* at the diſſolution of the monaſteries) in Oxford and Cambridge about 60,000 ſtudents, who, in expectation of church preferments, either as regulars or as ſeculars, abſtained from marriage, there were then in all about 120,000 perſons reſtrained by their function from increaſing and multiplying; as at preſent double (he ſhould at leaſt ſurely have ſaid treble) that number is in France; which conſideration alone gives a conſiderable advantage to proteſtant countries in point of commerce as well as populaiton. And reckoning that every marriage, one with another, produces four children, theſe would more than double their number in the ſame age. This we doubt is not ſtrictly true *.

According to Camden [*Britannia*, *p.* 117, *ed.* 1607], the number of monaſteries ſuppreſſed in England and Wales, firſt and laſt, was 645, beſides 96 colleges, 2374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hoſpitals. It is now too late to lament the demolition of all the monaſteries, two or three of which in every country (as being many of them ſpacious and ſtately edifices) would excellently well have ſerved for county hoſpitals and workhouſes. Much more ſhould the overthrow of the colleges be lamented, ſince even the two illuſtrious univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge were included in the diſſolution act; and it was ſome time after that the king was, with ſome difficulty, induced to continue them in their former condition; yet ſo inconſiſtent was he, almoſt at the ſame time, as to found new and magnificent colleges in the ſame univerſities. And what ſhall we likewiſe ſay of the deſtruction of ſuch as were real hoſpitals for the ſick poor, the moſt innocent and uſeful of any one kind of charity whatever?

According to Herrera and other hiſtorians, it was about this time

* The increaſe of mankind in any country muſt ever be in proportion to the facility with which the great body of the people can procure the means of ſubſiſtence. *M.*

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that the French pirates or freebooters began to infeſt the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies. In the following year, Herrera reports that many Portugueſe caravels traded to the iſland of Hiſpaniola, who at their return did not (as all the Spaniards were bound to do) carry their cargoes to the India contractation-houſe at Seville, by which means the king was defrauded of his duties. It was therefore ordained in that ſame year that none ſhould take in any cargo at Hiſpaniola without giving ſecurity to enter the whole of it at the ſaid houſe at Seville.

1540.—It was now that the French made the firſt attempt to eſtabliſh a colony in Canada; Cartier, already mentioned, having now ſailed again from St. Malo with five ſhips up the great river of St. Laurence, four leagues above the haven of St. Croix, where he, jointly with the baron de Roberval, erected a fort. Others place Roberval's firſt ſettlement at Canada with 200 men and women in 1524.

The ſtate of ſhipping, even in the port of London, was at this time but low, compared with the preſent time. If we may give credit to *Wheeler's Treatiſe of commerce* (4to, 1601), who wrote in defence of the company of the merchants-adventurers, to which company he was ſecretary, and who teſtifies conſiderable knowlege in mercantile concerns, he expreſsly aſſerts, that about ſixty years before he wrote, there were not above four ſhips (beſide thoſe of the navy-royal) that were above 120 tons each, within the river Thames.

There being a great coolneſs at this time between King Henry VIII of England and his nephew King James V of Scotland, who was ever much attached to the French intereſt, the latter prepared a navy of fifteen ſhips, with 2000 men in them, for ſome enterpriſe. Lord Herbert does not pretend certainly to know James's deſign in thoſe preparations, though it looked as if he hoped to annex Ireland to his crown, ſince about that time certain Iriſh gentlemen came to invite him over to their country, promiſing to acknowlege him for their king; and that divers noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland ſhould come over to do him homage. It ſeems King James wanted not money at this time, his monaſtical clergy giving him great ſums to keep their houſes from being diſſolved *.

* Lord Herbert, in the uſual jealouſy of politicians, ſuppoſed that a fleet could be equipped for no other purpoſe but to diſturb the tranquillity of the neighbouring nations; but this Scottiſh fleet had a very different, and much more laudable, deſtination.

James V, king of Scotland, having extended the authority of the laws through all the reſt of his kingdom, reſolved that the remote highlands and iſlands ſhould alſo be brought under regular authority. With this view he prepared a fleet of *twelve* (not fifteen) ſtout ſhips, with which he himſelf ſailed from Leith, attended by ſeveral of the principal nobility, and a competent military force. Landing in moſt of the principal iſlands, he carried with him the chiefs as hoſtages for the peaceable behaviour of their clans; and, for the firſt time ſince the iſlands were ſubject to Scotland, peace and order prevailed in thoſe diſtant territories.

With an attention to ſcience worthy of an enlightened ſovereign of a maritime country, James carried with him Alexander Lindſay, an excellent navigator and hydrographer, whoſe chart of Scotland and the iſlands, compiled from his obſervations made in this voyage, and which has been re-

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Baldivia invaded the fine country of Chili in South America, and became maſter of ſome part of it. Nevertheleſs, what the Spaniards have held in that country did for many years coſt them very much bloodſhed, and the loſs of a great number of lives.

It was about this time that (according to the ingenious author of the third and fourth parts of the preſent ſtate of England, 8vo, 1683) cherry-trees were firſt brought into England from Flanders, and planted in Kent, with ſuch ſucceſs that an orchard of only 32 acres produced in one year as much as yielded L1000. Probably the novelty of ſo delicious a fruit made people at firſt give high prices for them. Yet this author, in another place, ſays that Leonard Maſcal, King Henry VIII's gardener, alleges that both pippins and cherries were in England before the year 1524. Nevertheleſs, Camden alleges that the Romans introduced the growth of cherries into Britain. If ſo, it is ſtrange the Saxons ſuffered ſo fine a fruit to be loſt in England *.

An act of parliament now paſſed in Scotland, which appointed in every burgh an officer for the ſealing of all woollen cloths, by way of prevention of all drawers (ſtrainers or ſtretchers) thereof, and alſo of all litſtars (dyers) of falſe colours. [*Jac. V, parl.* vii, *c.* 112.]

1541.—Guſtavus Erickſon, king of Sweden, obſerving that the emperor gave all kinds of aſſiſtance to the Count Palatine, brother-in-law to the dethroned and impriſoned King Chriſtiern II, in order to reſtore that unhappy king to the thrones of the three northern kingdoms, found it needful to ſtrengthen himſelf by ſome potent foreign alliance for a counter-balance: And Francis I, king of France, being engaged in the Smalcaldic league of the proteſtant princes of Germany againſt the emperor, Guſtavus diſpatched an ambaſſador to him, with propoſals for a mutual commerce between both nations; particularly, that the Swedes would fetch their wines, ſalt, &c. directly from France in their own bottoms, inſtead of taking them at ſecond-hand from the Hollanders; and Guſtavus, moreover, propoſed to erect magazines of ſalt in Sweden, and to compell every family (as is done in France itſelf) to take a ſet quantity of it at a fixed rate. His ſalt project, it is true, did not ſucceed; but his other propoſals for trade were well received by Francis, to whom Guſtavus offered his aid againſt the emperor. Yet, as the kingdom of Sweden was till then very little known in France, Francis made a ſtrict inquiry into its power, conſtitution, &c. and finding ſo warlike a nation capable of being very conducive to the purpoſes of France, he not only agreed on a treaty of commerce between the two kingdoms, but

peatedly engraved, is very accurate for the age, and much ſuperior to ſome which were drawn after it. *M.*

* The cherries brought to England at this time muſt have been a new ſpecies. Nothing is more certain than that the Romans introduced cherries in Britain, as I have ſhown, in the year 54. I believe there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe that they were ever loſt. *M.*

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ſikewiſe to a defenſive alliance, whereby the two kings mutually engaged to aſſiſt each other with 25,000 troops and 50 ſhips.

A ſtatute was made, whereby all former ones were confirmed, for confining the importation of wines from Gaſcony, and woad from Tholouſe, to Engliſh and Iriſh ſhips only. [32 *Hen. VIII, c.* 14.]

By an act of this ſame year [*c.* 16.] the power which the king had before aſſumed, by his proclamation alone, of remitting to merchants-aliens the duties they would otherwiſe have been obliged by law to pay, was confirmed and made legal. Such abject ſlaves did thoſe parliaments render themſelves to the pleaſure of that monarch.

There is an act for paving the following ſtreets or ways in London, viz. 1) The ſtreet leading from Aldgate to Whitechapel church. 2) The upper part of Chancery-lane. 3) The way leading from Holbourn-bars weſtward towards St. Giles in the fields, as far as any habitation is on both ſides of the ſaid ſtreet. 4) Gray's Inn-lane. 5) Shoe-lane; and, 6) Feuter (now Fetter) lane; the two laſt being thorough-fares and paſſages from Fleet-ſtreet into Holbourn. That part of Chancery-lane now to be paved is thus deſcribed, viz. from the bars beſide the rolls, lately ſet up by the lord privy-ſeal, unto the ſaid highway in Holbourn. This paſſage ſhows the age of the rolls-office in Chancery-lane; and alſo that all Holbourn above the city-bars remained unpaved till now; neither was it now all built on both ſides, (nor a good while later than this time, as appears by a map of London in Queen Elizabeth's reign). All theſe ſix ways now directed to be paved are herein deſcribed as very foul, and full of pits and ſloughs, very perilous, and noyous (noiſome), as well for all the king's ſubjects on horſeback as on foot, and with carriage. [32 *Hen. VIII, c.* 17.] Yet three of theſe, viz. Shoe-lane, Fetter-lane, and Chancery-lane, are now in the very centre of the preſent vaſt contiguity, and all the reſt are likewiſe well built and inhabited. So great is the increaſe and improvement of London ſince thoſe times.

In the ſame year, by a ſtatute [*c.* 18.] a liſt of decayed cities and towns is exhibited (as in 1535) wherein it is ſaid, there had been in times paſt many beautiful houſes within the walls and liberties of York, Lincoln, Canterbury, Coventry, Bath, Chicheſter, Saliſbury, Wincheſter, Briſtol, Scarborough, Hereford, Colcheſter, Rocheſter, Portſmouth, Poole, Lynn, Feverſham, Worceſter, Stafford, Buckingham, Pontefract, Grantham, Exeter, Ipſwich, Southampton, Great Yarmouth, Oxenford, Great Wicomb, Guildford, Eſtretfore (quære, if Stafford?) Kingſton upon Hull, Newcaſtle upon Tyne, Beverley, Bedford, Leiceſter, and Berwick: And in another [*c.* 19.] Shafton, Sherborn, Bridport, Dorcheſter, and Weymouth, (all in Dorſetſhire); Plymouth, Plympton, Barnſtable, Taviſtoke, and Dartmouth, (all in Devonſhire); Lanceſton, Leſkeard, Leſtwithiel, Bodmin, Truro, and Helſton, (all in Cornwall);

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Bridgwater, Taunton, Somerton, and Alcheſter, (all in Somerſetſhire); Maldon in Eſſex; and, laſtly, Warwick: 'which houſes now are fallen 'down, decayed, and at this time remain unre-edified as deſolate and 'vacant grounds, many of them nigh adjoining to the high ſtreets, re-'pleniſhed with much uncleanneſs and filth, with pits, cellars, and 'vaults, lying open and uncovered, to the great peril of the king's ſub-'jects; and other houſes are in danger of falling. Now, if the owners 'of the waſte grounds (on which houſes had ſtood within twenty-five 'years back), and of the decaying houſes, do not in three years time 'rebuild them, then the lord of whom the ground is held may re-en-'ter, and ſeize the ſame, &c. as in a like law anno 1535.' Concerning which laws (now and afterward) it may be truly ſaid, they were well enough judged, as probably thoſe nuiſances complained of were more owing to careleſſneſs, than to any real decay in moſt of the places mentioned in thoſe two acts, and in the ſubſequent ones of this century; ſince it is well known, that many of thoſe cities and towns were, in thoſe very times, increaſing in commerce and manufactures: ſo that theſe two ſtatutes ſeem to have proceeded rather from a particular humour of that parliament, than from any real decay of all, or at leaſt of many of the places; ſince, excepting London, Norwich, Liverpool, Northampton, Cheſter, Nottingham, Cambridge, and a few more, almoſt all the conſiderable cities and towns of the kingdom are thus enumerated as decaying ones, which is almoſt impoſſible to have been the caſe, whilſt the nation in general was increaſing, though then but ſlowly, in wealth and commerce. This therefor ſeems to be one inſtance at leaſt of the fallibility of ſome of our old ſtatutes: Some of thoſe places might complain of a real decay, which might give a handle to the repreſentatives of other places to include them alſo in that number, though probably without any ground.

1542.—The humour of coercive laws for building up waſte grounds in cities and towns of England, ſeems to have prevailed much in the reign of King Henry VIII. We have juſt exhibited a long liſt of ſuch, by an act of parliament in 1541; and another act [33 *Hen. VIII, c.* 36.] ſays, that whereas in times paſt, many beautiful houſes have been within the walls and liberties of the cities of Canterbury and Rocheſter; the towns of Stamford and Grimſby in Lincolnſhire; the towns of Cambridge, Darby, Guildford, Dunwich; the towns of the Cinque-ports, with their members; Lewes in Suſſex, and Buckingham; which are now fallen down, decayed, and remain unre-edified; lying as deſolate, with much ordure, filth, &c. as in the preceding laws is ſpecified; wherefor, the owners of ſuch waſte grounds, and of thoſe decayed houſes, are to rebuild them within two years after proclamation made by the magiſtrates; or failing them, then the next or chief lord of the ſoil may ſeize on and rebuild the ſame for his own uſe, ſo he does it within two

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years and a half after. And in default of his not re-entering thereon, then any perſon, having a rent-charge on the premiſes, may re-enter, as in the before-named caſe. And in default of him who has the rent-charge, then the magiſtrates of the reſpective cities and towns may re-enter. And, laſtly, if they fail to re-enter and rebuild in three years time, then the firſt owners might re-enter and poſſeſs them, as in their former ſtate.

The Engliſh merchants of Southampton and London, we find (by Hakluyt) traded to Braſil in the years 1540 and 1542; and ſo it ſeems to have at thoſe times been permitted, and until the year 1580, that Spain got poſſeſſion of Portugal.

The Portugueſe governor of Malacca having made a full diſcovery of the coaſt of China in the years 1540 and 1542, they were in 1542 driven by ſtorm to make an accidental diſcovery of the iſlands of Japan, where they were at firſt well received.

By virtue of an act of the Iriſh parliament, King Henry now aſſumed the title of king, inſtead of lord, of Ireland; whereupon Sir James Ware, in his hiſtorical relations, obſerves, 'that albeit the kings of 'England had been abſolute monarchs of Ireland before, though only 'with the title of lords of it; yet becauſe, in the vulgar conceit, the 'name of king is higher than that of lord, aſſuredly the aſſuming of 'this title hath not a little raiſed the ſovereignty of the king of Eng-'land in the minds of this people.' Yet he at the ſame time acknowleges, 'that although Sir Anthony St. Leger, then lord-deputy, took 'ſeveral good meaſures for the improvement of Ireland, all this while 'the provinces of Connaught and Ulſter, with a good part of Leinſter, 'were not reduced to ſhire-ground. And although Munſter was an-'tiently divided into counties, yet the people were become ſo degene-'rate, that no juſtice of aſſize durſt execute his commiſſion amongſt 'them.' In ſuch a ſtate of affairs there could be no room for any thing like a ſettled commerce in Ireland: For the bulk of the old Engliſh race were ſo far degenerated as to loſe the uſe of the Engliſh tongue, and becoming mere Iriſh, they aſſumed Iriſh names.

The negligence and decay of the (eaſt) coaſt fiſhing towns of England at this time is apparent from an act of parliament, which deſcribes a bad cuſtom of our people on that coaſt, who, inſtead of fiſhing themſelves, went in their boats half-ſeas over, and bought freſh fiſh of the Flemings, Zelanders, Picards, and Normans. It was therefor now enacted, that whoſoever ſhould buy any freſh fiſh in that manner (ſturgeon, porpoiſe, and ſeal excepted), to put to ſale to any perſon within this realm, ſhould forfeit for every time ten pounds; but this not to extend to fiſh bought in Iceland, Scotland, Orkney, Shetland, Ireland, or Newfoundland, (then called Newland.) [33 *Hen. VIII, c.* 2.]

1543.—We have now the title of the firſt law ever made in England

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relating to bankrupts, [34 *Henry VIII.*] viz. 'The lord chancellor, 'treaſurer, &c. ſhall take order with bankrupts bodies, lands, and goods, 'for the payment of their debts *.'

In this year, according to Lewis Guicciardin's Hiſtory of the Netherlands, the renowned city of Antwerp had its third and laſt great enlargement, by extending the walls ſo as to incloſe what is called the new town, towards the north. The new walls were built of fine hewn ſtone, and beautifully adorned. That illuſtrious mercantile city then contained about 100,000 inhabitants, according to Guicciardin, who had diligently computed the ſame.

We may infer from a ſtatute [34, 35 *Hen. VIII, c.* 6.] concerning pins, that ſuch as are now uſed by the ladies are but of recent invention. The act ſays, that no perſon ſhall put to ſale any pinnes but only ſuch as ſhall be double-headed, and have the heads ſoldered faſt to the ſhank of the pinne, well ſmoothed, the ſhank well ſhaven, the point well and round filed, cauted, and ſharpened. Now, the labour of making pins after this manner, as it muſt have rendered them much more expenſive, ſhows the novelty of the invention, which probably was but lately brought from France. And the inconveniency of the make of thoſe pins naturally ſet our people upon improving ſo tedious and clumſy a manufacture; for, in about three years time, they fell into the preſent ingenious and expeditious manner of making them, as appears by an act [37 *Hen. VIII, c.* 13.] for repealing the above ſtatute. Before the invention of theſe braſs pins, there were many pretty and ingenious contrivances for the conveniency of the dreſs and ornament of both ſexes, ſuch as ribbons, loopholes, laces with points and tags, claſps, hooks and eyes, and ſkewers made of braſs, ſilver, and gold. From the laſt it is very probable that pins naturally proceeded, being no other than ſmaller and more convenient and delicate ſkewers.

Herrera acquaints us that the Spaniards from Mexico now ſailed for diſcovery on the weſt ſide of North America as far as the latitude of 44 degrees north, even to the farther end of California; but as they found there neither gold nor ſilver, and only very cold weather, they returned home to Mexico.

1544.—Upon King Henry's return from his ſucceſsful ſiege of Boulogne, whereby he had ground to apprehend repriſals from France, he ſet about fortifying his ſea-coaſts. He began with guarding the entrance into the river Thames, by erecting the fort of Tilbury, and a battery oppoſite to it at Graveſend. Dover was his next care, where he built its fa-

* A ſubſequent ſtatute [13 *Eliz. c.* 7.] explains who were to be accounted bankrupts, and puts the methods of proceeding concerning them nearly on the ſame footing as at preſent.

At this time letters written in London were received in Edinburgh on the fourth day. [*Sadler's Letters and negotiations, pp.* 138, 139, 146, &c.] Such diſpatch was little or nothing inferior to that of the poſt in our own days before the eſtabliſhment of mail coaches; but it was only a temporary eſtabliſhment for the conveyance of the Engliſh government letters. *M.*

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mous (though too fruitleſs) pier, running out into the ſea, at the expenſe of no leſs a ſum than £65,000 (if tranſcribers have not added a cypher too much), ſince frequently repaired at a great expenſe. Portſmouth was his next care, and afterwards ſundry other places. Moreover, the tower of London having till then been the only magazine of the kingdom for artillery and military ſtores, he now prudently diſtributed much of them in thoſe newly-fortified places on the coaſt, which happened extremely opportune; for this ſame year, a large French fleet of 150 great ſhips and 60 ſmaller ones, beſide 25 galleys from the Mediterranean (being all hired merchant ſhips), made an attempt upon Portſmouth, whither King Henry went in perſon to its relief. Lord Herbert and other hiſtorians relate, that the Engliſh fleet of 100 ſail (which alſo were hired merchant ſhips) fought that of France, though much more numerous, for two hours, and made them fly to their own coaſts; but none of them are accurate enough to give us any account of the order or form, &c. of that ſea-fight, nor indeed of many others of the like kind. This Mr. Rapin terms the greateſt effort that France had ever made at ſea.

We again find the French pirates or freebooters in the Weſt-Indies, according to Herrera, who tells us, that four of their ſhips, with a tender, entered the port of Santa Marta, where, landing 400 men, the Spaniſh inhabitants abandoned the place, which the French plundered and burnt. From thence they ſailed to Carthagena, where they practiſed the like rapine, that place not having been as yet well fortified. Afterward they attempted the Havanna, in the iſland of Cuba; and being there repulſed, returned home by the gulf of Florida.

We have in two former inſtances noted the great influence which corporation cities and towns had in parliament, in monopolizing the manufactures of their reſpective counties, excluſive of the villages and open country, viz. in the caſe of ropemaking at Bridport in Dorſetſhire, and that of the woollen manufacture at Worceſter city, and the other corporations of that county. The caſe now before us is that of a peculiar manufacture in the city of York, viz. coverlets for beds. The act eſtabliſhing this monopoly, as uſual, ſets forth, that the city of York had been formerly ſupported by ſundry handicrafts, and principally by making coverlets and coverings for beds, whereby great numbers of inhabitants and poor people in that city and ſuburbs, and in other places of the county, have been conſtantly employed. But that of late years, ſundry *evil-diſpoſed perſons*, apprentices, not expert in that occupation, have withdrawn themſelves out of that city into the county; and divers other perſons inhabiting the villages and towns of that county, and nigh to the ſaid city, have intermeddled with the ſaid craft, and do daily make coverlets, neither of good ſtuff nor proper ſize; and do hawk and ſell them abroad in the county to villages and mens houſes, &c. to the

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great deceit of the king's ſubjects, &c. (moſt of which repreſentation appears to have been an impoſition on the parliament.) It was now therefore enacted, that no perſon whatever, within or nigh to the county of York, ſhall make any coverlets for ſale, but inhabitants alone, dwelling within the city of York and its ſuburbs, upon forfeiture, &c. What could be a greater monopoly than this? Or what a greater injuſtice to the poor manufacturers in other parts of the county?

As the gradual increaſe of the ſuburbs of London does in a great meaſure keep pace with the gradual increaſe of the general commerce of England, and as it is, moreover, a piece of curious and entertaining hiſtory to mark the gradual advances of both, we therefore have no need of an apology for exhibiting whatever falls in our way of that kind. By a ſtatute [34, 35 *Hen. VIII, c.* 12.] the ſtreets and lanes called Whitecroſs-ſtreet, Chiſwell-ſtreet, Golding-lane, Grub-ſtreet in the pariſh of St. Giles's without Cripplegate, Goſwell-ſtreet, Long-lane in the pariſh of St. Botolph, and St. Sepulchre's without Newgate; St. John's-ſtreet, leading from the bars of Smithfield up to the pound, at the corner of the wall extending along the highway leading to Iſlington; and alſo the ſtreet from the ſaid bars to Cow-croſs; Water-lane in Fleet-ſtreet, leading down to the Thames; the way leading without Temple-bar weſtward, by and unto Clement's Inn gates and New Inn gates, to Drewry-place in the county of Middleſex; (this ſhows that this way was not then built on) and alſo one little lane ſtretching from the ſaid way to the ſign of the bell at Drewry-lane end; and the common way leading through a certain place called Petit-France, from the bars of the weſt end of Tothill-ſtreet at Weſtminſter, to the uttermoſt part of the weſt end of the ſaid place called Petit-France; the ſtreet or highway leading from Biſhopsgate to and above Shoreditch church; and the bridge called Strond-bridge, and the way leading from the ſame bridge towards Temple-bar; and the lane called Foſkue-lane, from the garden and tenement of the biſhop of Litchfield, and the gardens and tenement called the Bell and Proctors, down to Strond-bridge (theſe names now unknown), be very foul, and full of pits and ſloughs, very perilous and noyous, and very neceſſary to be kept clean, for the avoiding of corrupt ſavours, and an occaſion of peſtilence; for the amendment and reformation whereof, all who had any lands or tenements adjoining to the aforeſaid ſtreets, lanes, and ways, were ordered to pave the ſame with paving ſtones before their tenements to the middle of the ſtreet or lane, in like manner and form as the ſtreets of the city of London be paved, with cauſeys or channels in the midſt of the ſame ſtreets; and alſo to maintain the ſame.

In this year, King Henry VIII being at war with Scotland, the Engliſh army took and pillaged the town and port of Leith, (which is properly the port of Edinburgh.) And Lord Herbert hereupon remarks,

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that on that occaſion the Engliſh found more riches in Leith than they could have eaſily imagined.

In that war the Engliſh took twenty-eight of the principal ſhips of Scotland, fraught with all kind of rich merchandize, as they returned from France, Flanders, Denmark, and other countries, and they brought them into the Engliſh ports. [*Drake's hiſt. Anglo-Scotica, p.* 351.] So that it ſhould ſeem that Scotland at this time was not without ſome conſiderable ſhare of foreign commerce.

As yet the preſent great ſuburb of London eaſtward along the north bank of the Thames, ſince named Wapping, had not (as far as appears) any exiſtence as a ſuburb, or was not built up into houſes; for by an act [35 *Hen. VIII, c.* 9.] Wapping-marſh, in the county of Middleſex, is directed to be divided by certain perſons aſſigned. And Richard Hill of London, mercer, (the aſſignee of Cornelius Wanderdelf, who, at his own charge, inned, inbanked, and recovered the ſame, being drowned) was to have the one moiety thereof to him and to his heirs; it having been before this time within the flux of the tide. Thoſe banks being in the year 1565 broken in ſeveral parts by inundations, were repaired; but were again damaged in 1571, when, for the greater ſecurity of the banks hereafter, they firſt began to erect houſes thereon, the memory of which is ſtill preſerved in a ſtreet there, called Wapping-wall.

In an act of parliament [34, 35 *Hen. VIII, c.* 21.] relating to grants of lands by the king, it is enacted, that for over-grants of lands, more than was ſpecified and intended by the king, the grantees ſhall pay to the king after the rate of twenty years purchaſe. Yet this is by no means a rule to judge of the value or purchaſe of lands at that time, which certainly was very much lower than this valuation, which moſt probably was intended as a puniſhment and a caution to all grantees not to conceal the quantum of the crown's grants.

The ſtreets of the town of Cambridge were directed to be paved with ſtone. [35 *Hen. VIII, c.* 16.]

And in the ſame year, a very good ſtatute (the firſt of the kind) was made for preſerving the woods of England, as well for the benefit of houſe and ſhip-timber as for firing. [35 *Hen. VIII, c.* 17.] This ſtatute was afterwards made perpetual. [12 *Eliz. c.* 25.]

By an act of parliament of the ſame year [*c.* 24.] we find that 200 acres of land (100 of meadow and 100 of paſture) at Maddingley in Cambridgeſhire, with the appurtenances, are thereby declared to be in the whole of the yearly value of ten pounds, and ſo letten to farm, to the uſe and intent that the profits thereof ſhould be for the fees and wages of the knights (in parliament) for the county of Cambridge; and this land therefor was called the ſhire-manor; and was now actually let to John Hinde ſerjeant-at-law for that ſum yearly, being at 12*d* per

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acre yearly rent. This is a better guide to the true value of lands in thoſe times than the preceding quotation from *c.* 21 of the ſame year, which lands may at preſent be worth near twenty times as much.

In the ſame year we have another ſtatute [*c.* 4.] for repairing and rebuilding decayed houſes and waſte places in the following towns (exactly in the ſame ſtyle as the acts of 1535, 1541, and 1542), viz. Shrewſbury, Cheſter, Ludlow, Haverford-weſt, Pembroke, Tenby, Caermarthen, Montgomery, Cardiff, Swaneſſe, (*i. e.* Swanſey) Cowbridge, New Radnor, and Preſtend (*i. e.* Preſteing) in Radnorſhire; Brecknock and Monmouth; Malden in Eſſex; Abergavenny, Uſke, Caerleon and Newport in Monmouthſhire; Lancaſter, Preſton, Lyrepoole, (*i. e.* Liverpool) and Wigan in Lancaſhire.

A judicious obſerver will naturally remark that there is ſuch a thing as faſhion or example even in the important ſubject of acts of parliament. Thus one age (from an applauded example or two) runs more into one kind of reformation of abuſes, another age into ſome other kind, for the ſame reaſon. This and the before mentioned other three ſtatutes ſufficiently exhauſted the ſubject they relate to, having therein actually gone through not only almoſt all the conſiderable cities and towns of the kingdom, London excepted, but have even deſcended to ſeveral towns which neither are, nor ever were of conſideration enough to have ſo much regard paid to them; yet it is not to be denied that the deſign in general is very laudable. After the reſtoration of King Charles II, the making of rivers navigable, and the repairing and deepening of harbours, had a conſiderable run; and the laſt and preſent generation have run partly into that likewiſe; but the preſent age more eſpecially into bridges and public roads.

1545.—According to Herrera's Hiſtory of Spaniſh America, the unparalleled ſilver mines of the mountain Potoſi in Peru, which had been diſcovered a little time before, but till now concealed from the king's officers, were now firſt regiſtered in the king of Spain's books. It ſeems an Indian, running up that mountain after a deer, diſcovered the firſt mine, by laying hold of and tearing up by the root a ſhrub which grew out of a vein of ore. The next year other veins were diſcovered on this ſeemingly inexhauſtible mountain, which being noiſed abroad, it brought moſt of the inhabitants of the town of La Plata to ſettle there; ſo that in a ſhort time, in the neighbourhood of thoſe mines, there ſprung up the largeſt town in all Peru, where there is a prodigious trade. The mountain lies in 21 degrees and 40 minutes of ſouth latitude, yet, becauſe of its great height, it is cold and dry, and by nature barren, producing neither fruits nor graſs. The colour of its earth is a dark red. Such was the riches drawn from thoſe mines, that even in thoſe times the king's fifth amounted to one million and a half of pieces of eight yearly, although in thoſe early days they robbed the king of much of

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his due, not one third part of the ſilver being ſtamped and regiſtered. He adds, that in the year 1585, they counted 111 millions that had paid the king's fifth from the firſt diſcovery of the mines to that year, beſide an immenſe quantity that had never paid the fifth. It ſeems it was at firſt found to be very difficult to ſeparate the metal from the earth or droſs by dint of fire, the antients being ignorant of the ſeparation of ſilver by mercury, although they knew that of gold, and thought that mercury would not cleave to any other metal but gold. The Spaniards, however, afterward diſcovered that it would cling to ſilver alſo, though not ſo ſoon; but it has no effect upon other metals. And ſince this diſcovery, the poorer ore, which cannot be refined by fire, is not loſt as formerly; for the quickſilver perfectly clears the ſilver without fire. There were (it ſeems) no quickſilver mines in Europe, according to our author, until after the diſcovery of America, excepting thoſe of Carinthia in Germany, and of Almadin in Spain; but in the year 1566 they diſcovered one near Guamanga in Peru, whereby the crown gets (it is ſaid) 400,000 dollars of clear profit annually, beſides what is gained by cleanſing the metal with mercury, amounting to a vaſt ſum. Two-thirds of all the ſilver which comes from America to Europe (ſays our author) comes from Peru.

To this account of the moſt famous ſilver mines in the univerſe, and of the great improvement in refining the metal by quickſilver, handed down to us by ſo authentic an author, we may venture to add, that ſince Herrera's days, there have been other very rich ſilver mines diſcovered in Peru, and particularly, it is ſaid, there was a very rich one diſcovered near Cuſco ſo lately as the year 1712.

Under this ſame year Daniel tells us of a French ſhip of war carrying 100 large braſs cannon; yet he nevertheleſs owns in general, that the largeſt ſhips of war in former times were not to be compared for bulk with thoſe of modern times, ſince in old times large fleets were fitted out from harbours, where now ſhips of a moderate ſize have not water enough to float them, of which Havre de Grace (built by King Francis I), and many other places, are inſtances. Our Engliſh naval hiſtorians think that ſhips had not, as at preſent, gun port-holes till this time, before which they only placed a few cannon on their upper decks, and on their prow and poop, fighting with cannon in ſhips being but lately come into uſe. Daniel therefore may be miſtaken as to the date of his 100 gun ſhip.

1546.—Intereſt, or uſe for money lent (in thoſe days, and always known by the name of uſury) was now firſt ſettled in England by a ſtatute [37 *Henry VIII*, *c.* 9.], intitled, 'How offenders in uſury ſhall be 'puniſhed.' Before this time (ſays the judicious Sir Joſiah Child), there was no law for limiting the rate of intereſt; there was then little trade, and as little money in the nation; wherefor every man took ſuch an

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intereſt for what money he could put out as he could get, which in ſundry inſtances (to be found in hiſtory here and there) was before this time generally higher than 10 per cent, as partly too appears from the ſtrong expreſſions in this law, the preamble whereof ſays, 'That 'ſundry ſtatutes have been made for the avoiding and puniſhment of 'uſury, being a thing unlawful,' (and yet with the ſame breath theſe lawgivers eſtabliſh it, for this was the church's opinion of thoſe times, though never uniformly put in practice), 'and of other corrupt bar-'gains, ſhifts, and cheviſances; which ſtatutes are ſo obſcure and dark 'in intents*, and are of ſo little force, that by reaſon thereof little or 'no puniſhment hath enſued to the offenders of the ſame; for reform-'ation whereof (ſays the preamble gravely), be it enacted, that all 'former ſtatutes concerning uſury, ſhifts, &c. and all forfeitures and 'penalties concerning the ſame, be henceforth utterly void.'

Next, this act prohibits the tricks made uſe of to evade the laws prohibiting uſury; as, I) The ſhift by ſelling merchandize to a perſon, and within three months after buying the ſame of him at a leſſer price. II) None ſhall, by way of any corrupt bargain, lone, eſchange, cheviſance, ſhift, intereſt of any wares, merchandizes, or other thing whatever, or by any corrupt or deceitful way, or by any covin, engine, or deceitful way of conveyance, receive or accept, in lucre or gains, for the forbearing or giving day of payment of one whole year, of and for his or their money, or other thing that ſhall be due for the ſame wares, &c. above the ſum of ten pound in the hundred, neither for money nor merchandize, nor yet for mortgages of lands and tenements, under the forfeiture of treble the value of the principal money lent, and of the iſſues and profits of the ſaid lands or tenements, and ſhall alſo be impriſoned, and make fine and ranſom at the king's will and pleaſure. Of this forfeiture one moiety to be the king's, and the other the informer's †.

In a treaty of peace between England and France, Henry VIII agreed to ſurrender Boulogne and its territory to Francis I in eight years time, on condition of being paid by Francis two millions of gold crowns, &c.; and all new impoſitions on commerce in either kingdom for the laſt fifty years were agreed to be aboliſhed. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 93.] Hall's chronicle ſays, that juſt before the concluſion of this treaty, the Engliſh fleet entered the river Seine with 160 ſail of large ſhips, and came before the town of Havre de Grace, where the French fleet was, conſiſting of 200 ſhips and 26 galleys of force, whereof the pope had ſent 20; but a ſtorm ſoon ſeparated the two fleets without any action.

* They were apparently ſo framed, on purpoſe to leave room to avoid the penalties, while, to pleaſe the clergy, all uſury was declared ſinful and unlawful.

† The good people in the reign of Edward VI, determining that intereſt for the uſe of money was in no caſe lawful, repealed this law; but the wiſer parliament of the 13th year of Elizabeth reſtored it, as will be ſeen in due time.

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The great wealth of the Fuggers, merchants of Augſburg, now living at Antwerp (already mentioned in the year 1535), is further illuſtrated by an acquittance of Anthony Fugger and nephews to King Henry VIII of England, and to the city of London (bound with him), for L 152,180 Flemiſh, which the king had borrowed of them. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 101.]*

And in the following year, King Edward VI borrowed of the ſame perſons 129,750 Caroline florins, on the ſecurity of the city of London. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 152.] Thus we ſee that in thoſe times the monarchs were obliged to ſupport their own credit by the ſecurity of this great metropolis.

Henry VIII granted a licence to two Florentine merchants therein named, to import, for three years to come, the following rich merchandize, which (he ſays) were for the pleaſure of us and our deareſt wife the queen, our nobles, gentlemen, and others; viz. All kinds of goldſmith's work of gold and ſilver, all kinds of ſkins and furs, of ſables, &c. all ſorts of cloths of tiſſue of gold, ſilver, tinſel, velvet, and ſilk, cloths of tapeſtry and arras mixed with gold and ſilver, all ſorts of fringes and lace wrought with gold and ſilver, or otherwiſe, of all which the king was to have the firſt ſight and the refuſal. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 105.] The luxury of dreſs was at leaſt as great in thoſe days as the preſent, though not ſo generally diffuſed.

By a ſtatute [37 *Hen. VIII, c.* 21.] two pariſh churches, or one church and a chapel, not being above one mile aſunder, and one of them not exceeding the yearly value of L 6, might be united into one, with the conſent of the biſhop, patrons, and incumbent, &c. It ſeems by the preamble to this act, that there were many parſonages in England, whereof the glebes, tithes, and other yearly profits, were not ſufficient to maintain a prieſt or curate for the benefit of the pariſhioners; and as within a mile or leſs of the ſaid poor parſonage, there happens in many places to be another pariſh church ſituated as conveniently for the ſaid pariſhioners as their own church may be; and whereas the expenſe of ſupporting the two churches, for reparations, &c. is greater than ſuch poor pariſhioners can bear; therefor, if one of thoſe church-livings happen not to exceed the yearly value of L 6 in the king's books, it may be united to the other pariſh church; yet the union may be afterwards made void, provided the pariſhioners of ſuch poor pariſh ſhall, in one year after ſuch union, properly ſecure to the incumbent of the ſaid pariſh the yearly payment of ſo much money as, with the ſum that the ſaid pariſhes rated at in the king's court of firſt fruits and tenths, ſhall amount to the full ſum of L 8 yearly.

* The Fuggers, by licence from the king of Portugal, uſed to ſend a factor in each ſhip that ſailed to India, and owned a part of every cargo of pepper imported. [*Linſchotten, p.* 160.] *M.*

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Henry VIII, by his laſt will and teſtament, among other things, 'bequeaths to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, at their marriages, they being married to any outward (foreign) potentate (by the advice of his counſellors), if he beſtow them not in his lifetime, ten thouſand pounds, in money, plate, jewels, and houſehold ſtuff, for each of them, or a larger ſum, at the diſcretion of the executors.' [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 116.]

1547.—In this year, the firſt of King Edward VI, Peter Baude, a Frenchman, was the firſt who in England caſt iron ordnance or cannon, ſays the author of an 8vo book, intitled, Engliſh worthies in church and ſtate (London, 1684). As the Engliſh made uſe of cannon 200 years prior to this time, it is ſomewhat ſtrange they were ſo late in making iron ones at home *.

Thuanus [*L.* 129.] ſpeaking of the progreſs of ſilk from the eaſt to the weſtern parts, relates, that, in the reign of King Francis I of France (who died this year), ſilk proſpered in Touraine, but more eſpecially in Provence, as lying moſt ſoutherly, and alſo at Avignon, Lyons, and ſeveral other parts of France; but near Paris, the climate was found not to be proper for it, though the greateſt care was taken of the ſilk-worms at Fontainebleau.

The ſtatute againſt vagabonds [1 *Edw. VI, c.* 3.] carries ſo many marks of the antient bondage of the lower claſs of the people of England, that it is no wonder it was repealed in the ſame reign, and ſtill farther in the 39th of Queen Elizabeth, as improper for a free and commercial people. It enacts, 'That a runagate ſervant, or any other who liveth 'idly and loiteringly by the ſpace of three days, being brought before 'two juſtices of the peace, they ſhall cauſe him to be marked with an 'hot iron on the breaſt, with the mark V, and adjudge him to be the 'ſlave of him who brought him for two years after, who ſhall take the 'ſaid ſlave, and give him bread, water, or ſmall drink, and refuſe 'meat, and cauſe him to work by beating, chaining, or otherwiſe, in 'ſuch work and labour as he ſhall put him to, be it never ſo vile; and 'if ſuch ſlave abſent himſelf from his ſaid maſter within the ſaid term 'of two years, by the ſpace of fourteen days, then he ſhall be marked 'on the forehead, or the ball of the cheek, with an hot iron, with the 'ſign of an S, and farther ſhall be adjudged to be ſlave to his ſaid maſter for ever; and if the ſaid ſlave ſhall run away the ſecond time, he 'ſhall be adjudged a felon. It ſhall be lawful to every perſon, to whom 'any ſhall be adjudged a ſlave, to put a ring of iron about his neck,

* Stow, whom this author of *Engliſh worthies* is perhaps following, ſays, that in the year 1543, Henry VIII employed Peter Bawd a Frenchman, and another foreigner called Peter Van Collen, to make mortars for bombs, which he repreſents as invented by them; and that Bawd continued in the reign of Edward VI to make ordnance of caſt iron, and was the inſtructor of a ſucceſſion of artiſts in that manufacture. [*Annales, p.* 983, *ed.* 1600.] *M.*

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'arm, or leg.—A juſtice of peace may bind a beggar's man-child ap-
'prentice to the age of fourteen years, and a woman-child to the age
'of twenty years, to any that will require them; and if the ſaid child
'run away, then his maſter may retain and uſe him for the term
'aforeſaid as his ſlave *.—All impotent, maimed, and aged perſons, who
'cannot be taken for vagabonds, ſhall have convenient houſes pro-
'vided for them, and otherwiſe ſhall be relieved in the cities or towns
'where they were born, or were moſt converſant, by the ſpace of three
'years, by the willing and charitable diſpoſition of the pariſhioners,
'and none other ſhall be ſuffered to beg there.' This very lame clauſe contains an expreſs contradiction, the firſt part of it being an injunction in behalf of the poor, and the latter part leaving it to the willing and charitable diſpoſition of people. Such proviſions for the diſabled and aged poor are to be found in the ſtatute-book both before and after this time; but as they were merely recommendatory, they always proved ineffectual.

At this time, it ſeems, the antient city of York was much decayed. A ſtatute of the ſame year [*c.* 9.], repreſents its declenſion in the following terms, viz. 'In that city and ſuburbs there are many pariſh-
'churches, which heretofore (the ſame being well inhabited and re-
'pleniſhed with people) were good and honeſt livings for learned in-
'cumbents, by reaſon of the privy tithes of the rich merchants, and
'of the offerings of a great multitude; which livings being now ſo
'much decayed by the ruin and decay of the ſaid city, and of the trade
'of merchandize there, the revenues and profits of divers of the ſame
'benefices are not, at this preſent time, above the clear yearly value of
'L 1 : 6 : 8; ſo that a great ſort of them are not a competent and hon-
'eſt living for a good curate; yea, and no perſon will take the cure,
'but that of neceſſity there is ſome chantry-prieſt, or elſe ſome late re-
'ligious perſon (*i. e.* monk), being a ſtipendiary, taken and appointed
'to the ſaid cure and benefice, which, for the moſt part, are unlearned
'and very ignorant perſons: Wherefore the mayor and recorder of
'that city, and the ordinary or his deputy, and ſix juſtices of peace in
'the ſaid city, are hereby empowered to unite the ſaid pariſhes into
'fewer number, viz. ſo many of the ſaid pariſhes into one pariſh, as
'ſhall to them be thought convenient to be a living for one honeſt in-
'cumbent, ſo as the clear yearly value exceed not L 20. The ſuper-
'fluous churches ſhall be pulled down, toward the reparation and en-
'largement of the other churches, or of the bridges of the ſaid city,
'and the relief of the poor.' The reſt of this act contains a proviſion

* The word ſlave is repeated here ſeven times, and twice more in a clauſe, not tranſcribed, concerning clerks attainted or convicted.

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for the then incumbents of united parishes, the king's first fruits and tenths, &c.

Acts of parliament frequently do not set forth the true grounds of the evils they are designed to rectify; and it may be proper to remark on this statute, that the smallness of those livings in York (as in many other places) was probably owing to the reformation from popery, whereby the ignorant and ill-judged zeal of the laity received a great check. Dying persons, and others, in ignorant times, frequently erected and endowed new parishes unnecessarily; and many of those endowments being even at first but small, when at the reformation the privy tithes of the rich, and the offerings of the multitude failed, and money also became gradually less valuable, they became totally inadequate to the support of the incumbent, for which a wrong cause was often assigned. The zealous multiplying of parishes in many cities and towns in old times, renders it impossible to form any certain judgment of the number of inhabitants from that of the parishes. Thus, for instance, Newcastle upon Tyne has but four parishes, though it probably may now contain 40,000 inhabitants; and York has still twenty-eight parishes, with less than half the population. Oxford and Cambridge have each of them above thrice as many parishes as Newcastle, with little more than a quarter of the number of people in each, and the like might be said of many other places.

The herring-fishing of the Hollanders was now so considerable, and was esteemed so precious by them, that their great pensionary De Wit [*Interest of Holland, part* ii, *c.* 1.] relates, 'That the states of Holland, 'though then but low, and although it was in a time of peace, fitted 'out eight ships of war for the defence of the fishery.'

Voltaire, in his introduction to his essay on the age of Louis XIV, speaking of the times of King Francis I, says, 'the French, though 'possessed of harbours both on the ocean and Mediterranean, were yet 'without a navy; and though immersed in luxury, had only a few 'coarse manufactures. The Jews, Genoese, Venetians, Portuguese, 'Flemings, Dutch, and English, traded successively for us, we being ignorant even of the first principles of commerce.'

The statute [1 *Edw. VI, c.* 14.] which now granted the king all the popish chantries, &c. in England not disposed of by the 37th of Henry VIII, c. 4, directed part of the rents settled on those chantries to be applied toward the maintenance of piers, juttees, walls, or banks, against the rage of the sea, havens, and creeks. It had been well if that application had duly taken place for so national a benefit. And by another act [2 *Edw. VI, c.* 5.], all the fee-farms payable by any city or town-corporate to the crown, are directed, during the three following years, to be bestowed solely upon the reparation of walls and bridges, and set-

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ting the poor on work, or other good deeds, in every ſuch city and town. But few or none of theſe good deeds were ever put in practice.

1548.—A very neceſſary ſtatute was alſo made [2, 3 *Edw. VI, c.* 15.] for reſtraining the ſellers of all kinds of proviſions from combining together, not to ſell but at a fixed price; and alſo for reſtraining workmen and labourers from combining not to do their works but at a certain fixed price, or to do but a certain work in a day, or not to work but at certain hours. A clauſe, wiſely intended, was added to this act, licenſing all workmen concerned in building houſes, &c. to follow their occupations in all cities and towns-corporate, although they did not live therein, nor were free of ſuch corporations. But this wiſe clauſe was repealed by a ſtatute [3, 4 *Edw. VI, c.* 20.], apparently by the interpoſition of the city of London. It ſets forth, that the city of London being the king's chamber, and moſt antient city of this realm, the artificers and craftſmen of the arts, crafts, and myſteries, are at great coſts and charges in taxes, tallages, ſubſidies, ſcot, lot, and other charges, as well to the king's majeſty as to the ſaid city, and at many and ſundry triumphs, and other times, for the king's honour; and that if foreigners (non-freemen) ſhould come and work among them, within the liberties of the city, contrary to their antient privileges, the ſame ſhould be a great decay of cunning, and an impoveriſhment and driving away of the freemen, being artificers of the crafts, arts, and myſteries aforeſaid, within the city of London, to the great hurt and deſtruction of the ſaid city. Though the reaſons for this repeal are expreſſed as above only in reſpect to London, yet the repeal being general, took in all other corporation cities and towns; and ſo it remains to our own times, contrary to the opinion of moſt wiſe and judicious men.

There was a kind of Lent enjoined, partly eccleſiaſtical and partly political, by a ſtatute [2, 3 *Edw. VI, c.* 19.], whereby, although in the preamble it is expreſsly admitted, 'That all days and all meats be 'of their nature of one equal purity and holineſs, none of which can 'defile chriſtian men; yet foraſmuch as divers of the king's ſubjects, 'turning their knowlege therein to ſatisfy their ſenſuality, have of late 'more than in times paſt, broken and contemned ſuch abſtinence as 'have been uſed in this realm upon the Fridays and Saturdays, ember-'ing days, and other days commonly called vigils, and in the time 'commonly called Lent; and conſidering that due and godly abſtin-'ence is a mean to virtue, and to ſubdue men's bodies to their ſoul 'and ſpirit; and conſidering alſo that fiſhers may thereby the rather 'be ſet on work, whereby much fleſh ſhall be ſaved and increaſed; 'and alſo for divers other conſiderations, it was enacted, that all form-'er laws concerning faſting be repealed;—that none eat fleſh on Fri-'days, Saturdays, and embering days, nor in Lent, nor on any ſuch 'other day as is and has been accounted a fiſh day (this clauſe ſeems

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to be purpoſely expreſſed very looſely for a loophole), on pain of forfeiting 10/ for the firſt offence, and ten days impriſonment, without all that time eating any fleſh, and 20/ and twenty days impriſonment for the ſecond and for every following offence.—This act was 'not to 'extend to any who might have the king's licence, nor to aged, weakly, 'ſick, or maimed perſons, nor to women with child or lying-in, nor to 'priſoners, nor to the king's lieutenants, or captains of his army or 'forts; neither was it to extend to St. Lawrence even, St. Mark's day, 'nor to any who heretofore had obtained licence from the archbiſhop 'of Canterbury.'

An act [2, 3 *Edw. VI, c.* 6.] for the encouragement of the Newfoundland and Iceland fiſheries, obſerves in the preamble, that within a few years paſt the officers of the admiralty had exacted ſums of money, ſhares of fiſh, &c. from the fiſhermen, to the great diſcouragement of the fiſheries, and damage of the whole commonwealth; and therefor enacted, that all ſuch exactions ſhould be aboliſhed.

About this time the Emperor Charles V is ſaid to have begun to execute a deſign he had long been forming, of reducing the republic of Genoa to a ſtate of abſolute dependence on him, thereby to keep a door always open for his armies from Spain to paſs into Italy. For the Genoeſe, notwithſtanding the decay of their former vaſt commerce, were ſtill immenſely rich, and being great bankers and dealers in money, he reaſonably concluded, that if, by extraordinary allowances for intereſt, he could draw their moneys into his exchequer, he ſhould, in that caſe, poſſeſs himſelf of the ſureſt pledges he could have of their fidelity. In this year, therefor, that emperor being in the Netherlands, ſent for his eldeſt ſon Philip, who ſailing from Barcelona to Genoa (in order to go through Germany to his father), the Genoeſe, for a fortnight together, entertained him with ſurpriſing magnificence (ſays their hiſtorian De Mailly). The prince, whilſt there, propoſed to the republic that the Spaniards ſhould build a citadel in their ſuburbs, the garriſon of which would ſecure them from the frequent conſpiracies and tumults they were ſo liable to. But that propoſal was unanimouſly rejected by the ſenate, who were with very good reaſon ſuſpicious of his great retinue, which occaſioned a great ſquabble between them and the Genoeſe, and made the prince glad to leave Genoa. Whereupon (ſays De Mailly) the emperor took other meaſures to ſecure to himſelf the fidelity of the Genoeſe; for he determined never to pay the ſums which he had borrowed of them for his occaſions in Italy and the Netherlands (ſee alſo *Thuani hiſtoria, L.* lxi.) but only to pay them the intereſt, to the end that remaining always in their debt, they might live in a conſtant dread of embroiling themſelves with a prince who owed them ſo much. His ſon Philip II improved upon his father's ſcheme, whereby many millions of money were borrowed of them on the ſe-

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curity of the duties on the commerce of Spain and America. But Philip being ſoon after greatly exhauſted by his Netherland wars, not only ſuſpended the payment of any part of the principal, but even of the intereſt, which produced much clamour and diſtreſs at Genoa, where ſo many families lived entirely on the intereſt of the money gotten in traffic by their anceſtors *. King Philip's real or pretended inability to pay even the intereſt of thoſe vaſt ſums, made him at firſt begin to cavil with the creditors, on account of pretended miſreckonings, and to inſiſt that he had overpaid their intereſt: He therefor obtained the pope's approbation for deducting out of their principal debt ſo much as they had received more than what his holineſs and King Philip thought fit to call legal intereſt. On their capital, however, thus reduced, it is ſaid by ſome (though it ſeems untruly) that the court of Spain were ever after punctual in paying the intereſt. By thoſe vaſt loans the Genoeſe are ſaid, in a great meaſure, to have governed the rate of intereſt in other parts of Europe. Thus at firſt they had ten per cent from thoſe princes, afterwards it was reduced to ſeven per cent, and ſince lower; and probably the fixing of uſury at ten per cent by law in England in the year 1546, took its riſe from the practice of Genoa †.

1549.—King Edward VI granted a penſion of L166:13:4 to Sebaſtian Cabot, who muſt then have been an old man ‡, it being fifty-three years ſince his voyage with his father to the American coaſts in the reign of

* Many families are ſaid to live in the ſame manner now at Antwerp, the great commerce of which has long ago declined: So comfortable are the effects even of a departed commerce to the ſucceeding generations.

† The following paragraph of Mr. Anderſon's being foreign to commercial hiſtory, is inſerted here, that his patriotic zeal may not be ſuppreſſed:

And here let us add a melancholy and moſt intereſting remark (for the ſerious conſideration of thoſe to whom it more immediately relates in our own days), which was made many years ago by the ingenious Dr. D'Avenant, in his diſcourſes on the public revenues and trade of England, (in 8vo, anno 1698.) 'That thoſe large anticipations 'of King Philip II, which were continued from 'year to year, without any meaſures thought on 'for leſſening the debt, have more contributed to 'ſink the Spaniſh monarchy than all their other 'bad counſels put together. The chief branches 'of that kingdom's revenue being employed in 'payment of intereſt of money borrowed 100 'years ago, the nouriſhment which ſhould ſupport the body politic being diverted another 'way, it becomes weak and unable to reſiſt accidents: And when a people ſo involved come 'to be engaged in a foreign war, it is quickly 'evident to their enemies, that they are not much 'to be feared for their power; and to their 'friends, that they are not to be depended 'on for help.' All which, we fear, may ſoon become eminently the caſe much nearer home, than it was at the time when that able author thus ſolidly warned the government to beware of anticipations, the whole national debt ſcarcely amounting in 1698 to ten millions. And although we have not intended nor preſumed to dedicate any part of our work to any miniſter of ſtate whatever, yet upon a review of this important remark of D'Avenant's, the author, with profound reſpect, and purely out of his warm zeal for the public welfare, moſt humbly preſumes to dedicate and recommend to our preſent patriot miniſtry, and to their ſucceſſors in power, this ſingle paragraph only, for their moſt ſerious conſideration, as they would have the glorious epithet of patriot joined to their names to lateſt poſterity, humbly praying that his honeſt zeal may not be conſtrued as dictating to his ſuperiors, which he is far from preſuming to do.

‡ He was alive 26th May 1557, on which day he ſurrendered his penſion. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 427.] *M.*

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King Henry VII; and the penſion was continued to him during life by Queen Mary. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *pp.* 181, 427.] He was governor of the Ruſſia company; and for the reſt of his life the great director of our naval expeditions.

That good young prince gave great aſſiſtance to perſecuted foreign proteſtants, many thouſands of whom ſettled in ſundry parts of England, but principally at London, Southwark, Canterbury, Sandwich, Maidſtone, Southampton, Norwich, and Colcheſter, where they had the free exerciſe of their religion in ſeparate congregations (ſome of which remain to the preſent time) and where manufactures were ſo greatly cultivated and improved by their means, as not only to enrich thoſe places where they were ſettled, but to prove very beneficial to the whole kingdom. In the ſhort perſecuting reign of Queen Mary thoſe poor people were forced again to fly beyond ſea; but at her death they returned to their habitations. They conſiſted of Walloons, Germans, French, Italians, Polanders, and Switzers; and there was in thoſe times even a congregation of proteſtant Spaniards in London.

We have already remarked, that the humour of incloſing the lands of England for paſture, inſtead of arable, had made the common people, at different times, very uneaſy, inſomuch that they had now begun violently to lay them open by inſurrections in many counties, without having patience for their being laid open by a proclamation from the king already iſſued, becauſe the proprietors were not ſo quick in obeying it as the mob expected. And of all others that in Norfolk in this year was the moſt remarkable and furious, headed by Ket a tanner in Windham, and Flowerdew, who, by firing beacons and ringing bells, drew many thouſands of the lower people of Norfolk and Suffolk to join them, and committed many grievous and ſhocking outrages. They did infinite damage and miſchief to the city of Norwich, which they almoſt laid deſolate, by either driving the induſtrious and wealthy inhabitants out of it, or elſe miſerably butchering them, inſomuch that it became a receptacle for idle, looſe, and extravagant vagrants: 'In 'which condition (ſays Roger Coke in his reflections on the Eaſt-India 'and African companies, printed anno 1695), it was thought ſo dan-'gerous to the government, that in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's 'reign, it was often debated in council whether for this cauſe it ſhould 'not be demoliſhed. But a better fate attended that noble city, 'through the wiſdom of that great queen, and the cruelty of the Ne-'therland perſecution about twenty years after this time.' This inſurrection occaſioned the ſlaughter of about 5000 of the rioters, Ket their leader being hanged on the top of Norwich caſtle.

There had indeed been many incloſures lately made out of waſte, marſhy, and other kinds of barren and common grounds, whereby great improvements were effected. But as the poorer ſort were there-

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by deprived of the benefit of ſuch grounds for feeding their cattle and for fuel, it is not much to be wondered at, that great clamours were thereby raiſed, which at length burſt out into open riots, firſt in Kent, and afterwards in the counties of Eſſex, Buckingham, Northampton, Somerſet, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

Henry II, king of France, cauſed the houſes in Paris to be numbered, which amounted to 10,000, excluſive of churches, chapels, monaſteries, colleges, and other public edifices, and of nine market houſes; and his ſon Charles IX found 100,000 perſons in this city, beſides ſtrangers, ſervants, and churchmen.

An act of Parliament was paſſed [3, 4 *Edw. VI, c.* 2.] with many good proviſions againſt frauds in the woollen manufacture; ſuch as for the clothier's ſeal on his cloth; againſt overſtretching the cloths; for the well-dying of cloths; for the well-dying of all wools to be converted into cloths, or into hats or caps; againſt putting any deceitful thing upon cloth, ſuch as flocks, chalk, flower, ſtarch, &c.; againſt the uſe of iron cards in the rowing of cloths; alſo for the juſt meaſuring of cloths. For all theſe purpoſes overſeers are directed to be annually appointed, not only in corporation towns, by their chief magiſtrates, jointly with the wardens, &c. of the clothworkers, but in towns, villages, and hamlets not incorporated, by the juſtices of the peace jointly with the clothworkers; which overſeers ſhould, at leaſt once in every quarter of a year, or as often as they might think needful, viſit clothiers, drapers, dyers, and preſſers houſes, ſhops, &c. to which overſeers one moiety is hereby given of all the forfeitures and penalties of this act, and the other to the king, &c. This evidently ſhows the care of the legiſlature for that manufacture, and alſo that it was at this time univerſally ſpread all over the kingdom, and in a flouriſhing condition *.

1550.—A treaty of perpetual peace, and of mutual intercourſe of commerce, was concluded between Edward VI of England and Henry II of France. The ſubſtance of what relates to commerce is as follows.

I) A free and undiſturbed commerce ſhall be between both nations.

II) The ſhips of both nations going out armed, ſhall, as in former treaties, ſtill give ſecurity not to injure the other party in any reſpect.

III) King Edward agrees, that in ſix weeks time he will reſtore to France the city, forts, and territory of Boulogne. In conſideration thereof, Henry agrees to pay Edward 400,000 crowns of gold of the ſun. For the performance of all which, and alſo of King Edward's delivering up the caſtles of Dunglas and Lawder to Queen Mary of

* Another ſtatute was paſſed in the next ſeſſion but one for the very ſame purpoſes.

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Scotland, and for conditionally demoliſhing the caſtles of Aymouth and Roxburgh, hoſtages were delivered on both ſides. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xv, *p.* 211.]

In an acquittance for delivery of the artillery and ammunition of Boulogne, there is probably the earlieſt mention of iron bullets ('boul-'letz de fer'): notwithſtanding which, we ſhall ſee that ſtone bullets remained in uſe conſiderably later than this time. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xv, *p.* 218.]

The introduction of the inquiſition in the Netherlands this year, created great uneaſineſs, and even influenced commerce exceedingly. The emperor being deſirous to have that infernal tribunal introduced into Antwerp, ſo great was the influence of the Engliſh merchants-adventurers at that time (ſays Sleidan in his Commentaries, *L.* xxii.), that the city had no other means for effectually influencing the emperor, but to tell him, that the Engliſh merchants would certainly leave the city and country if he brought the inquiſition thither, which proved effectual. For it ſeems the emperor, on a ſtrict inquiry, found that the Engliſh merchants-adventurers employed at leaſt 20,000 perſons in the city of Antwerp alone, beſides 30,000 more in other parts of the Netherlands *.

Antwerp having had new and very ſtrong walls built round it about this time (ſays Guicciardin), including a large piece of ground for additional new ſtreets, 3000 houſes on new foundations were erected, and above 1000 old ones rebuilt larger and finer; ſo that, Paris excepted (ſays our author), there is hardly a city on this ſide the Alps that exceeds it in power and riches; and as, in general, it may be reckoned among the principal cities of Europe, ſo particularly, with reſpect to its vaſt commerce, it may be deemed almoſt the firſt in the world †.

Yet Heiſs [*Hiſtory of the empire*, *V.* ii, *p.* 108.] obſerves, that the emperor having this year iſſued his vigorous and famous edict againſt the Netherland proteſtants, eſtabliſhing ſundry tribunals of inquiſition for their ſevere puniſhment, the edict paved the way for all the great changes which happened afterward in thoſe provinces; but its immediate effect (as it regarded commerce), was ſpreading terror and deſpair amongſt the manufacturers and merchants, which more eſpecially began even now to affect the tranquillity of Antwerp.

At this time Captain Bodenham made a trading voyage to the iſlands of Candia and Chio in the Levant, where he took in wines, &c. At Chio he found Engliſh, as well as French and Genoeſe merchants. While Candia remained ſubject to Venice, and Chio to Genoa, chriſtian ſhips conſtantly traded thither; but when the Turks afterwards con-

* It is proper to obſerve, that this account is from a book written in vindication of the excluſive claims of the company of Engliſh merchant-adventurers, by J. Wheeler, their ſecretary, in 1601; and therefor ſome allowance muſt be made on that ſcore in the computation.

† I apprehend this muſt be the ſame enlargement already noted in the year 1543. *M.*

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quered thoſe iſlands, the chriſtian ſhips frequented them no more, till their reſpective ſovereigns concluded commercial treaties with the Ottoman Porte. And this trade to thoſe eaſtern territories of Venice gradually brought on a direct trade to Turkey, as will be ſeen in its proper place *.

We have ſeen that the Portugueſe were acquainted with Japan ever ſince the year 154[illegible]; they had got very great footing there about the year 1550, or perhaps a little later: but, in the end, the intemperate zeal of their prieſts and miſſionaries for the propagation of their religion, alarmed the Japaneſe to ſuch a degree, that after they had found means to gain the emperor's favour, and had (as their hiſtorians allege) converted about a third part of the people of that empire, they were all put to the moſt cruel deaths, and together with them all the poor Japaneſe converts. Had the Portugueſe contented themſelves with enjoying a toleration of their own religion for themſelves, they might probably have remained there to this day.

The Portugueſe and others have accuſed the Hollanders of having been inſtrumental in this maſſacre, becauſe they were the only chriſtians excepted out of it. What is certain is, that they alone, of all chriſtians, are permitted to trade thither to this day, although indeed they are ſo very ſtrictly watched, that it is ſaid their guns, tackle, rudders, &c. are brought on ſhore as ſoon as they arrive, ever ſince the year 1640, that they landed ſome cannon and ammunition in a private manner, and had, it ſeems, actually begun to erect a fort, under the colour of its being only a large warehouſe; which deſign, however, the Japaneſe diſcovered in good time. Since then, the Dutch commerce to Japan is ſaid not to be near ſo gainful as before, being only what they call in In-

* The following paſſage from the Journal of King Edward VI is well worthy of attention.—'1550, September 22. A proclamation was ſet 'forth, by the which it was commanded, 1. That 'no kind of victual, no wax, tallow, candles, nor no 'ſuch thing ſhould be carried over, except to Ca'lais, putting in ſureties to go thither. 2. That 'no man ſhould buy or ſell the ſame things again, 'except broakers, who ſhould not have more than '10 quarters of grain at once. 3. That all par'ties ſhould divide themſelves into hundreds, rapes, 'and wapentakes, to look in their quarters what 'ſuperfluous corn were in every barn, and appoint 'it to be ſold at a reaſonable price. Alſo, that 'one of them muſt be in every market to ſee the 'corn bought. Furthermore, whoever ſhipped 'over any thing aforeſaid to the parts beyond ſea, 'or Scotland, after eight days following the pub'lication of the proclamation, ſhould forfeit his 'ſhip and the ware therein, half to the lord of the 'franchize, and half to the finder thereof; whoſo 'bought to ſell again after the day aforeſaid, ſhould 'forfeit all his goods, farms, and leaſes to the uſe, 'one half of the finder, the other half of the king; 'whoſo brought not in corn to the market as he 'was appointed, ſhould forfeit L.10, except the 'purveyors took it up, or it were ſold to his 'neighbours.'

It further appears from the ſame Journal, that on the 15th of October 1550, prices were ſet by authority of government on corn, butter, poultry, &c; and that letters were ſent on the 20th of November to the gentlemen of every ſhire, deſiring them to enforce obedience to the proclamation for bringing proviſions to markets. But the anſwers to thoſe letters repreſented that it would be impoſſible to compell the people to ſell their goods for the baſe money then in circulation, (ſee the table of money in the appendix, No. II) and the proclamation was annulled by a ſubſequent one of the 29th of November. Such muſt ever be the fate of any attempt to force the people to ſell their goods without a ſatisfactory price; for people are never *willing* to be robbed. *M.*

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dia a country trade, without having any houſe or factory there, i. e. a trade by voyaging from Batavia thither, and back again to Batavia, or to ſome other port in India; and it is ſaid, that during their ſhort ſtay in Japan, they are always ſhut up till their departure in a ſmall iſland near the port of Nangaſaki. The productions of that great and opulent empire, are corn and rice, in great abundance; the fineſt of tea, porcelain, and lacquered ware, far exceeding thoſe of China; ſilk, cotton, drugs, coral, ivory, diamonds, pearls, and other pretious ſtones; alſo much gold and ſilver, fine copper, iron, lead, and tin. And the Dutch, in exchange, carry thither woollen and linen cloths, looking-glaſſes and other glaſs-ware from Europe, and alſo the various merchandize of India, Perſia, and Arabia.

1551.—Proviſions appear to have been very dear at this time in Scotland; for an act was paſſed [*Mar. parl.* v, *c.* 25.] 'anent the ordouring 'of every mannis houſe;' which limited archbiſhops, biſhops, and earls, to eight diſhes of meat; abbats, priors, and deans, to ſix; barons and freeholders to four; and burgeſſes and ſubſtantial men, whether ſpiritual or temporal, to three; and decreed that only one kind of meat ſhould be in each diſh. Marriage feaſts, and entertainments made for foreigners by the lords ſpiritual and temporal and the magiſtrates of burghs, are exempted from the *rigour* of this ſumptuary law.

Sixty veſſels ſailed this year from Southampton loaded with wool for the Netherlands. So great was the demand for the woollen manufactures of that country even now when England had made a conſiderable progreſs in the ſame manufacture.

1552.—The ſtatute [37 *Hen. VIII, c.* 9.] for fixing the intereſt of money at ten per cent was now repealed, and an act paſſed [5, 6 *Edw. VI, c.* 20.] prohibiting all perſons from lending or forbearing any ſum of money for *uſury* or *increaſe above the ſum lent* to be received or hoped for, upon pain of forfeiting the ſum lent and the increaſe, with impriſonment and fine at the king's pleaſure.

We have ſeen under the year 1515 a ſtatute for aſcertaining the length, breadth, and weight of Engliſh woollen cloths; as alſo another more ample ſtatute in the year 1549, for more fully regulating the different kinds of them. In this year we have another ſtill more extenſive law for the like purpoſe [5, 6 *Edw. VI, c.* 6.], wherein the woollen manufactures of all the different counties of England and Wales are aſcertained, with reſpect to lengths, breadths, weight, &c. whereby all former ſtatutes concerning this ſubject are repealed. Yet, as perfect as this ſtatute might then be thought, there were many more ſubſequent ones made on the ſame ſubject, not only for aſcertaining the true dimenſions and weight of cloths, but for diſcovering and reſtraining frauds and irregularities in the manufacture; the full recital of which would be both tireſome and unprofitable to the generality of readers.

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Another monopolizing act was now paſſed relating to the manufacture of felt-hats and thrummed hats, coverlets, and dornecks (diaper linen), though ſomewhat more moderate than that in favour of the city of York in the year 1544; for this law only confines the making of thoſe goods to the city of Norwich, and to all other corporate or market-towns of that county. [5, 6 *Edw. VI, c.* 24.]

The time was now at length come that the eyes of the Engliſh were to be opened to diſcover the immenſe damage ſuſtained by ſuffering the German merchants of the houſe or college in London, called the Steelyard, ſo long to enjoy advantages in the duty or cuſtom of exported Engliſh cloths, far beyond what the native Engliſh enjoyed; which ſuperior advantage enjoyed by thoſe foreigners began about this time to be more evidently ſeen and felt, as the foreign commerce of England became more diffuſed.

The cities of Antwerp and Hamburgh poſſeſſed at this time the principal commerce of the northern and middle parts of Europe; and their factors at the Steelyard uſually ſet what prices they pleaſed both on their imports and exports; and having the command of all the markets in England, with joint or united ſtocks, they broke all other merchants. Upon theſe conſiderations, the Engliſh company of merchants-adventurers made preſſing remonſtrances to the privy council. Theſe Hanſeatics were, moreover, accuſed (and particularly the Dantzickers) of defrauding the cuſtoms, by colouring (*i. e.* taking under their own names, as they paid little or no cuſtom) great quantities of the merchandize of other foreigners not entitled to their immunities. They were alſo accuſed of having frequently exceeded the bounds of even the great privileges granted to them; yet, by the force of great preſents, they had purchaſed new grants. They traded in a body, and thereby underſold and ruined others *. And having for the laſt forty-five years had the ſole command of our commerce, they had reduced the price of Engliſh wool to 1/6 per ſtone. In the preceding year they had exported no fewer than 44,000 woollen cloths of all ſorts, whilſt all the Engliſh merchants together had in the ſame year exported but 1100 cloths. The Steelyard merchants were alſo exempted from aliens' duties, and yet all their exports and imports were made in foreign bottoms; a very conſiderable loſs to the nation.

Upon mature conſideration of theſe and ſuch like reaſons and arguments, as well as of the anſwer thereto by the Steelyard or Hanſeatic merchants, and of records, charters, treaties, depoſitions of witneſſes, and other proofs, it was made apparent to the king's privy council, 1) That all the liberties and privileges claimed by, or pretended to be granted to the merchants of the Hanſe, are void by the laws of this

* This, though in ſome caſes improbable, may in other reſpects be practicable.

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realm, forasmuch as they have no sufficient corporation to receive the same.

II) That such grants and privileges claimed by them do not extend to any persons or towns certain, and therefore it is uncertain what persons or which towns should or ought to enjoy the said privileges *; by reason of which uncertainty, they admit to their freedom and immunities as many as they list, to the great prejudice of the king's customs, and to the common hurt of the realm.

III) That supposing the pretended grants were good in law, as indeed they are not, yet the same were made on condition that they should not colour any other foreigner's merchandize, as by sufficient proofs it appears they have done.

IV) That above 100 years after the pretended privileges granted to them, they used to transport no merchandize out of this realm but only into their own countries: Neither did they import any merchandize but from their own countries: Whereas, at present they not only convey English merchandize into the Netherlands, and there sell them, to the great damage of the king's own subjects, but they also import merchandize of all foreign countries, contrary to the true intent and meaning of their privileges.

V) That in the time of King Edward IV they had forfeited their pretended privileges by means of war between the realm and them; (i. e. the Hanse towns) whereupon a treaty was made, stipulating, that our English subjects should enjoy the like privileges in Prussia and other Hanseatic parts, and that no new exactions should be laid on their persons or goods: Which treaty has been much broken in several parts, and especially at Dantzick, where no redress could ever be obtained, either by the requests of the king's father or himself, for the said wrongs. In consideration of all which, the council decreed, that the privileges, liberties, and franchises, claimed by the said merchants of the Steelyard, shall from henceforth be and remain seized and resumed into the king's grace's hands, until the said merchants of the Steelyard shall declare and prove better and more sufficient matter for their claim in the premises: Saving, however, to the said merchants all such liberty of coming into this realm and trafficking, in as ample manner as any other merchants-strangers have within the same.

Rapin adds, that the parliament had laid a heavy duty upon the merchandize exported and imported by the Steelyard society; and the Hanseatic historian Wardenhagen [*V.* ii, *part* 5.] seems to think that the high duty of 20 per cent (instead of 1 per cent, their antient duty ever since the reign of Henry III), was not laid on them till the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, 'at a time too (adds he) when almost all the

* This was no quibble, but a solid and material objection.

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'commerce of the Hanſe towns was reduced to the port of London 'alone; their other comptoirs, viz. Novogrod, Bergen, and Bruges, be-'ing almoſt deſerted and very little frequented by them.'

This is the ſubſtance of the whole buſineſs during the reign of Edward VI, of reverſing the privileges of the Steelyard merchants, taken from our hiſtories, but more particularly from J. Wheeler's treatiſe of commerce, in 4to, anno 1601; and as he was then ſecretary to the merchant-adventurers company, it is probably in the main a true account, and is ſurely an uſeful part of commercial hiſtory. Wheeler adds, that by reverſing their privileges, our own merchants-adventurers this ſame year ſhipped off 40,000 cloths for Flanders. Rapin, in his hiſtory of England, obſerves, that the regent of Flanders, as well as the city of Hamburgh, earneſtly ſolicited to have the Steelyard merchants re-inſtated, but to no purpoſe.

A project was laid before the miniſtry for opening Hull and Southampton as free ports or mart towns; but it was not put in execution. Indeed theſe two ports ſeem extremely well ſituated for ſuch a ſcheme, if at all practicable.

By a ſtatute for promoting tillage, and preventing the increaſe of incloſures for paſture [5, 6 *Edw. VI, c.* 5.] among ſundry kinds of lands excepted out of the prohibitory act, are thoſe ſet with ſaffron and with hops.

Three ſhips from Briſtol ſailed to Aſaſi and Santa Cruz in South Barbary, with linen and woollen cloth, coral, amber, and jett; and their returns were ſugar, dates, almonds, and melaſſes. Hakluyt obſerves, that till the preceding year 1551, England had no mercantile correſpondence with Barbary. [*Voyages, V.* ii, *pp.* 7, 8, 9.]

By an act paſſed this year [*c.* 5.] none but ſuch as can ſpend 100 merks of yearly rent, or elſe are worth 1000 merks, or be the ſons of dukes, marquiſſes, earls, viſcounts, or barons, of the realm, ſhall have or keep in their houſes any veſſel of wine exceeding ten gallons, on forfeiture of L10.

II) None ſhall keep a tavern for retailing wines, unleſs licenced; and that only in cities, towns-corporate, burghs, port-towns, or market towns; or in the towns of Graveſend, Sittingborn, Tuxford, and Bagſhot, on forfeiture of L10. And there ſhall be only two taverns for retailing wine in every city or town, except in London, which may have forty taverns; York, eight taverns; Norwich, four; Weſtminſter, three; Briſtol, ſix; Lincoln, three; Hull, four; Shrewſbury, three; Exeter, four; Saliſbury, three; Glouceſter, four; Weſt Cheſter, four; Hereford, three; Worceſter, three; Southampton, three; Canterbury, four; Ipſwich, three; Wincheſter, three; Oxford, three; Cambridge, four; Colcheſter, three; Newcaſtle upon Tyne, four. By this limitation, it may be thought that a pretty near gueſs may be made at the magnitude

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of cities and towns, allowances being made for towns ſituated on very public roads; yet this matter is nevertheleſs ſtill very uncertain.

III) None of the ſaid taverns ſhall retail wines to be ſpent or drank within their reſpective houſes.

IV) Merchants may uſe in their own houſes (but not to ſell) ſuch wines as they ſhall import; alſo high-ſheriffs, magiſtrates of cities and towns, and inhabitants of fortified towns, may keep veſſels of wines for their own conſumption only.

'Hitherto (ſays Sir John Davies) it is manifeſt, that ſince the laſt 'transfretation of King Richard II into Ireland, the crown of England 'never ſent over either numbers of men, or quantities of treaſure, ſuf-'ficient to defend the ſmall territory of the Pale, much leſs to reduce 'that which was loſt, or to finiſh the conqueſt of the whole iſland.' He then ſhows, that in this reign the border was extended beyond the limits of the Engliſh pale, after breaking the O'Moors and O'Connors, and building the forts of Leix and Offaly, rooting out thoſe two rebellious ſepts, and planting Engliſh colonies in their room, in the reign of Queen Mary.

That incomparable young prince, King Edward VI, died in July 1553, having juſt before his death endowed three of the great London hoſpitals, viz. Chriſt's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell.

The annual expenſe of his houſehold was, according to Strype [*V.* ii, *p.* 454.]

1ſt year, L49,187.
2d year, 46,902.
3d year, 46,100.
4th year, 100,578. { Why this year ſo far exceeds the reſt we know not, nor why other years differ ſo much; unleſs it be from the great debaſing of his ſilver coins in every year of his reign but the laſt.
5th year, 62,863.
6th year, 65,923.

1553.—In this year (ſays Sir John Boroughs, keeper of the records in the tower of London, in his treatiſe of the ſovereignty of the Britiſh ſeas, written in 1633, and publiſhed in 1651, *p.* 80.) 'Philip II king of 'Spain obtained licence for his ſubjects to fiſh upon the north coaſt of 'Ireland for the term of twenty-one years, paying yearly for the ſame 'L1000; which was accordingly brought into the exchequer of Ireland, 'and received by Sir Henry Fitton, being then treaſurer there, as his 'ſon Sir Edward Fitton hath often teſtified.'

Under the preceding year, we have related the grounds upon which King Edward's council abrogated the great privileges and immunities which the Hanſeatic Steelyard ſociety in London had enjoyed ever ſince the reign of King Henry III. 'Whereupon,' according to Rapin, 'the

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'parliament of that time had laid a heavy duty (20 per cent) upon 'their exports and imports,' inſtead of their antient duty of one per cent). He farther adds, 'that this act was renewed in Queen Mary's 'firſt parliament: But in the beginning of the year 1554, the queen, 'to gratify the Hanſe towns, ſuſpended the execution of thoſe acts for 'three years, and diſcharged them from the payment of that heavy du-'ty, all acts to the contrary notwithſtanding. And this (he obſerves) 'was the firſt effect of this queen's alliance with the emperor;' ſhe having juſt been married to his eldeſt ſon Philip *.

Two of the other three comptoirs of the Hanſe league were now alſo become of little conſequence to them (ſays Wardenhagen); 'for firſt 'Novogrod, by reaſon of the czar's arbitrary and tyrannical proceed-'ings (who, without any juſt grounds, aſſumed a power to impriſon the 'German merchants, and to ſeize on their effects), was now quite aban-'doned; the merchants having removed firſt to Revel, and afterward to 'Narva.

'Bergen in Norway was alſo deſerted by the Hanſeatics, by reaſon 'of the like arbitrary proceedings of the king of Denmark: For 'whereas the antient toll for paſſing the ſound had been only a golden 'roſe-noble on every ſail, which was always underſtood to be meant on 'every ſhip, the court of Denmark had for ſome time paſt put a new 'and arbitrary conſtruction on the word ſail, by obliging all ſhips to 'pay a roſe-noble for every ſail in or belonging to each ſhip. More 'over, not content with this impoſition, they proceeded to lay a duty 'on the corn and other merchandize per laſt or ton, diſtinct from that 'on the ſails; which burdens obliged the Vandalic Hanſe towns' (i. e. thoſe towns on the German ſhore ſituated within the Sound) 'to re-'linquiſh the Norway trade: And as they had vaſt dealings in tranſ-'porting the corn of Poland and Livonia to other parts of Europe, 'thoſe high tolls ſo diſcouraged them, that they alſo gradually left off 'that commerce, to which the Hollanders ſucceeded, and have conti-'nued therein ever ſince, greatly to their advantage. Their third comp-'toir, which was at Bruges, had, by the decay of that once moſt opulent 'city, been removed firſt to Dort, and afterward to Antwerp;' where indeed it continued to proſper for ſome time after.

Thuanus [*L.* 51] aſſigns another good reaſon for the decline of the trade of the Hanſe towns to Bergen, where, he ſays, the marks of their

* Though Rapin expreſsly aſſerts that there were two acts of parliament, viz. one of the laſt year of King Edward VI, and another of the firſt of Queen Mary, for laying on that high duty on the imports and exports of the Steelyard merchants, yet in the printed ſtatute-book there is not ſo much as the title of either of thoſe ſuppoſed ſtatutes; which may make it doubtful whether both thoſe tranſactions were any other than orders or determinations of the council-boards of thoſe times, which in thoſe days, when the bounds of the prerogative were more extenſive, frequently aſſumed ſo great a latitude; at leaſt, if they were really ſtatutes, we might have had their titles in the printed ſtatute-book.

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antient commerce are more plainly to be traced than any where elſe. In the reign of Frederick II, the Daniſh gentry, allured by the proſpect of gain, began to carry on merchandize and factorage themſelves, and alſo eſtabliſhed manufactures, which the Hanſe towns in vain urged the king to aboliſh.

This year (according to Hakluyt, *V.* ii) Antony Jenkinſon being at Aleppo, obtained privileges from the Turkiſh ſultan, Selim II, (then at that place with an army going againſt the Perſians) whereby he was to pay no higher cuſtom than the French or Venetians; and he had liberty (without being diſturbed by their conſuls) to trade with his ſhip or ſhips to the Turkiſh ports.

This year was diſtinguiſhed by a great geographical and mercantile diſcovery. Some merchants of London, together with ſeveral noblemen, emulous of the fame, and deſirous of ſharing in the profits acquired by the Portugueſe and Spaniſh diſcoverers of unknown lands, eſtabliſhed a company, with a capital of L6000 in 240 ſhares of L25, for proſecuting diſcoveries. The celebrated Sebaſtian Cabot, who was a principal adviſer of the undertaking, was choſen their governor. Three veſſels* were fitted out under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, and they carried letters from King Edward addreſſed to all kings and princes, requeſting their friendſhip. Sir Hugh Willoughby, being toſſed about for a long time by tempeſtuous weather, as far as 72 degrees of north latitude, was compelled, by the ſudden approach of winter, to run into an obſcure harbour in Ruſſian Lapland, called Arcina Keca, where he and the crews of two of his ſhips (70 in number) were frozen to death; and where ſome Ruſſian fiſhermen, in the ſummer following, found him ſitting in his cabin, with his diary and other papers before him; it being the cuſtom of thoſe Laplanders to frequent the ſea-coaſts in ſummer for the benefit of the fiſhery; but when winter approaches, to withdraw into the calmer inland parts, which occaſions thoſe ſtormy ſhores to be deſolate in winter. Richard Chancellor, however, in the third ſhip, accidentally fell into the bay of St. Nicholas, or the White Sea, on the Ruſſian coaſt, where no ſhip had ever been ſeen before, and landed at the abbey of St. Nicholas, near Archangel, then only a caſtle, determining to wait on the czar, John Bazilowitz, at that time engaged in the Livonian war; which war having greatly interrupted the Eaſtland trade, that prince was the more inclinable, by Chancellor's interpoſition, to grant the Engliſh conſiderable privileges at Archangel, &c. The Ruſſians, before thoſe times, having no ſea-ports nor ſhipping on the Baltic ſhores, their rich furs, hemp, &c. were carried to other parts of Europe from the ports of Livonia, lately poſſeſſed

* One of the veſſels was ſheathed with thin plates of lead; which is mentioned as a very ingenious *invention* in the account of the voyage (*Anglorum navigatio ad Moſcovitas*) written by Clement Adam, who received his materials from Chancellor. *M.*

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by the Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jeruſalem. Thus, though diſappointed in their hopes of arriving at China by this ſuppoſed north-eaſt paſſage, they made an uſeful and profitable diſcovery of a trade by ſea to Ruſſia; and this diſcovery, moreover, pointed out to the Engliſh the way to the whale-fiſhery at Spitzbergen.

Chancellor, from Archangel, by the governor's leave and aſſiſtance, travelled on ſledges to the czar at Moſcow, of whom he obtained privileges for the Engliſh merchants, and letters to King Edward.

We muſt here remark, that although Octher had almoſt 700 years before juſtly delineated the coaſt of Norway to the great King Alfred, yet through the negligence and ignorance of after times, the knowlege of it was utterly loſt, that the famous Sebaſtian Munſter's *Geographia vetus et nova*, printed in folio at Baſil 1540, in a map of the moſt northern parts of Europe, joins the country of Groneland, commonly called Old Greenland, (now known to be a part of the great continent of North America) to the north part of Norwegian Lapland, thereby making the Northern Ocean merely a great bay, entirely ſhut in by thoſe two countries.

We find three ſhips from Portſmouth trading for gold along the coaſt of Guinea; though but one of thoſe ſhips returned home ſafe from this adventure. In ſome ſubſequent years, we find by Hakluyt, &c. that the Engliſh made voyages to Guinea, and imported conſiderable quantities of gold and elephants teeth: Yet till the Negro trade was believed to be neceſſary for the Weſt India colonies, (however unjuſtifiable it may be deemed by many in a moral ſenſe) it is ſcarcely probable that any conſiderable trade to Guinea could have been long carried on to advantage, in a country producing ſo few articles for commerce, as being able to take off ſo little of the produce of other nations.

By a ſtatute [1, 2 *Phil. et Mar. c.* 5] it was enacted, that when the common price of wheat ſhould not exceed 6/8 per quarter, and rye 4/ per quarter, barley 3/, then they might be exported any where but to the king and queen's enemies. This ſhows that theſe prices were then eſteemed low, or at leaſt moderate.

1554.—The ambaſſadors of the free cities of the Hanſeatic league having applied to Queen Mary, (who, as we have ſeen, had, on her marriage with the emperor's ſon, ſuſpended the abrogation of their privileges for three years) in behalf of the German merchants reſiding in the Steelyard at London, complaining, that by an act of the firſt year of her reign, touching the payment of certain cuſtoms or ſubſidies called tonnage and poundage, the merchants of the Steelyard were otherwiſe burdened than heretofore, contrary to the effect of ſuch charters and privileges as by ſundry of her predeceſſors kings of England had heretofore been granted to them: And the queen being informed that the ſaid declaration or complaint contains truth; and ſhe being alſo deſirous to

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obſerve and continue in equitable and reaſonable ſort the antient amity and intercourſe which had been betwixt her dominions and the free cities of the Hanſe league, commanded her treaſurers and barons of the exchequer, her cuſtomers, comptrollers, ſearchers, &c. in London and other ports, freely to permit the ſaid merchants of the Steelyard to import and export all merchandize not prohibited, without requiring any greater ſubſidy or cuſtom than in the time of her father or brother. She alſo granted them a licence to export woollen cloths made in England of the value of L6 Sterling or under, unrowed, unbarbed, and unſhorn, without any penalty or forfeiture on account of certain ſtatutes of the 27th and 33d years of King Henry VIII, prohibiting the ſaid exportation; the merchants of the Steelyard repreſenting to the queen that the price of cloths was now ſo enhanced that they could ſend over none at all, without incurring the penalties of thoſe acts. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 364.]

Notwithſtanding all which, Wheeler [*Treatiſe of commerce, p.* 100] affirms, that Queen Mary afterward revoked the ſaid privileges again, for that the Hanſes had broken promiſes with her, in continuing an unlawful trade in the Low Countries, whereby ſhe loſt in eleven months in her cuſtoms more than L9360, beſides great damage to her ſubjects in their trade. And by Queen Elizabeth's anſwers to the Hanſeatics, it ſeems probable that Wheeler's is a true account.

The famous Thomas (afterwards Sir Thomas) Greſham, the moſt eminent merchant of thoſe times, had been much employed by King Edward VI, as well as by Queen Mary, in tranſacting their bills of exchange at Antwerp, and in purchaſing ammunition, artillery, &c. for their uſe; for which ſervices his daily allowance was twenty ſhillings Sterling. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 371.] Sir Thomas's prudent conduct in diſcharging the debts due by Edward VI to the people of Antwerp, and his wiſe management of the exchange between London and Antwerp, whereby he ſaved that prince a conſiderable ſum of money, was greatly praiſed.

A ſtatute [1, 2 *Phil. et Mar. c.* 7] was made, prohibiting linen-drapers, woollen-drapers, haberdaſhers, grocers, and mercers, not free of any city, burgh, or corporation town, and living in the open country out of the ſaid cities and towns, from vending their wares by retail in cities and towns, excepting in open fairs, and by wholeſale. The plauſible pretence for this reſtriction in the preamble of the ſtatute is much the ſame as in other monopolizing ones, viz. for enabling thoſe cities and towns-corporate to employ their people, to pay their fee-farms and taxes, and to prevent their utter decay, &c.

The following ſumptuary law was made for reſtraining the extravagance and vanity of the lower claſſes of people and ſervants in England, and alſo for encouraging our own manufactures, viz. 'Whoever

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'shall wear silk in or upon his hat, bonnet, girdle, scabbard, hose, shoes, 'or spur-leather, shall be imprisoned for three months, and forfeit L10, 'excepting magistrates of corporations, and persons of higher rank. And 'if any person knowing his servant to offend against this law, do not 'put him forth of his service within 14 days, or shall retain him again, 'he shall forfeit L100*.' [1, 2 *Phil. et Mar. c.* 2.]

By the encouragement of King Edward VI and others, the first voyage for discoveries northward was made (as we have seen) in the last year of that prince's life, and a beginning made for a trade to Russia; but Edward dying before he had executed a very ample charter to those adventurers, it was on the said first and second year of Philip and Mary, (6th of February) that the first charter of incorporation was granted to the Russia company (as it has since been usually called), but then by the name of the merchants-adventurers, for the discovery of lands, countries, isles, &c. not before known or frequented by any English. The preamble to this charter, and the substance of the whole it sets forth is, that the marquis of Winchester, then lord high treasurer; the earl of Arundel, lord steward of the queen's household; the earl of Bedford, lord privy seal; the earl of Pembroke; the lord Howard of Effingham, lord high admiral, &c. had already fitted out ships for discoveries of countries northward, north-eastward, and north-westward, not as yet frequented by other christian monarchs in friendship with us. To have one governor (the first to be Sebastian Cabot, during his life) and twenty-eight of the most sad (sedate), discreet, and honest of the said fellowships, four of whom to be called consuls, and the other twenty-four to be called assistants: The governor and two consuls (or three consuls in the governor's absence) and twelve assistants, to be the quorum of a court. This corporation might purchase lands to the yearly value of L66: 13: 4, to have perpetual succession; a common seal; may plead and be impleaded; may impose mulcts, forfeitures, &c. on offenders against the company's privileges, and may admit persons from time to time to be free of the company—May make conquests of lands of infidels so to be discovered by them. And whereas one of the said ships (Chancellor's) set forth last year (1553), arrived safe and wintered in the dominions of our cousin and brother Lord John Bazilowitz, emperor of all Russia, who entertained them honourably, &c. and granted them letters to us, with licence freely to traffic in his country, with other privileges under his signet.—Wherefore we grant this corporation liberty to resort, not only to all parts of that emperor's dominions, but to all other parts not known to our subjects, none of whom but such as shall be free of, or licenced by this company, shall frequent

* This statute, as destructive of the freedom of trade, was repealed in the first year of King James I.

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the parts aforeſaid, under forfeiture of ſhips and merchandize; one half to the crown, one half to the company.

It ſeems the Briſtol merchants had entered into the Ruſſia trade ſoon after its diſcovery, being encouraged therein by Sir Sebaſtian Cabot.

The czar of Ruſſia made a very conſiderable acquiſition of territory by the conqueſt of Nagaian Tartary, eſpecially the city and kingdom of Aſtracan, whereby he became maſter of all the country on both ſides the vaſt river Volga down to the Caſpian ſea; and a communication was opened from Ruſſia into that ſea, and thence croſs it into Perſia, whither they have ſince carried on a conſiderable commerce.

1555.—Twenty-two Dutch merchant ſhips, homeward bound from Spain, with Indian ſpices, &c. were attacked by nineteen French ſhips of war and ſix ſmaller ones well armed, who ſtopped the Dutch ſhips with hooks and chains, ſo that the ſhips being cloſely compacted together, the fight reſembled one on dry land. After ſix hours combat the French loſt 1000 men, and the Dutch but 300. But a fire happening among the ſhips, which conſumed ſix on each ſide, the reſt on both ſides retired in confuſion. This is the Dutch account; [*Meterani Hiſtoria Belgica, L.* i, *p.* 14] but Thuanus [*L.* 26] varies the ſtory ſomewhat in favour of his countrymen the French, who, he ſays, loſt but 400 men, and the Dutch 1000: and that in the confuſion occaſioned by the fire, which made the men of both nations run from ſhip to ſhip, it happened in five Dutch ſhips that the majority were French, who having maſtered the Dutch, carried the ſhips into Dieppe, from whence they (the French fleet) had come; which port, adds this great author, had ever been a principal one for naval exploits. Thuanus, in effect, will have the victory to be on the ſide of the French, yet he owns it was a lamentable victory, and greatly to their loſs. Both thoſe authors admit the French to have been ſuperior in number of ſhips, men, and artillery, this fleet having been then a conſiderable part of the whole naval force of France; but the Dutch ſhips were larger and ſtronger than the French.

Much the like complaints, in relation to the Engliſh woollen manufacturers, as have been made in the preſent time, were, we find, made above 200 years ago, as appears by a ſtatute [2, 3 *Phil. et Mar. c.* 11] intitled, *Who ſhall uſe the trade of weaving*, viz. that whereas the rich clothiers do oppreſs the weavers, ſome by ſetting up and keeping in their houſes divers looms, and maintaining them by journeymen and perſons unſkilful; ſome by ingroſſing looms into their hands, and letting them out at ſuch unreaſonable rents, as the poor artificers are not able to maintain themſelves by, and much leſs their wives and families; ſome again, by giving much leſs wages for the workmanſhip of cloths than in times paſt, whereby they are forced utterly to forſake their occupations, &c. Wherefore it is hereby enacted, I) That no clothier,

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living out of a city, borough, or market-town, ſhall keep above one loom in his houſe, nor let out any loom for hire. II) That no woollen-weaver, living out of a city, burgh, or market town, ſhall keep more than two looms, nor more than two apprentices. III) No weaver ſhall have a tucking-mill, nor be a tucker, fuller, or dyer. IV) No tucker nor fuller ſhall keep any loom in his houſe. V) No perſon, who has not heretofore been a clothmaker, ſhall hereafter make or weave any kind of broad white woollen cloths, but only in a city, burgh, town-corporate, or market town, or elſe in ſuch places where ſuch cloths have been uſed to be commonly made for ten years preceding this act *. VI) No perſon ſhall ſet up as a weaver, unleſs he has previouſly ſerved an apprenticeſhip of ſeven years to that buſineſs. Laſtly, Nothing in this act is to extend or be prejudicial to the inhabitants of the counties of York, Cumberland, Northumberland, and Weſtmoreland; but they may keep looms in their houſes, and do every other matter relating to ſpinning, weaving, and cloth-making in the ſaid counties as before the making of this ſtatute.

Commerce beginning to increaſe conſiderably in the reign of Queen Mary, and the old roads being much frequented by heavy carriages, an act [2, 3 *Phil. et Mar. c.* 8] which is ſtill in force, directed, that every pariſh ſhould annually elect two ſurveyors of the highways, to ſee that the pariſhioners, according to their lands, abilities, farms, &c. ſhould ſend their carts, horſes, men, tools, &c. four days in every year, for mending the roads. So that this is properly the firſt general ſtatute made for mending the roads, extending to all England and Wales, by the labour and expenſe of each reſpective pariſh alone; and on that bottom alone, we find in all ſix ſtatutes relating to this ſubject in Queen Mary's reign, and about nineteen in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and one in King James I's reign; after which there were none of this ſort till the reſtoration of Charles II. The parochial means for keeping the roads in repair were found in moſt caſes tolerably effectual, until after the reſtoration, when the vaſt increaſe of commerce and manufactures, and of the capital city of London, with the concomitant increaſe of luxury, brought in ſuch numbers of heavy wheel-carriages, as rendered it by degrees impracticable, in moſt caſes, for pariſhes entirely to keep their own part of the roads in a tolerable condition, more eſpecially in the counties lying nearer London, and in manufacturing counties. This has introduced the more equitable and effectual method of tolls, payable at toll-gates (called turnpikes), by thoſe who uſe and wear the roads: and many ſubſequent local ſtatutes have been made for thoſe ends, and alſo ſeveral general ones for limiting the weight of waggon loads, the breadth of wheel-rims, called fellies, the number of horſes, &c.

* This clauſe appears to have been well intended, that the ſearchers might be the better enabled to attend to the good of the manufacture.

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And this much we thought ſufficient to ſerve for a ſummary hiſtory of the laws relating to the roads of England, ſo as not to have much occaſion to mention them any more in this work.

What we have here ſaid concerning keeping the roads of England in repair, may alſo be partly applied to the ſubject of deepening rivers and harbours. With reſpect to the former, we have ſeen that the firſt inſtance thereof in the ſtatute-book is found in the acts for deepening the river Lea from Ware to London [3 *Hen. VI, c.* 5. *and* 9 *Hen. VI, c.* 9.] After that we find none till the reign of King Henry VIII, who repaired and fortified ſeveral harbours: for that of the fourth of King Henry VII, for preſerving the river Thames, relates merely to the fiſhing therein; and that of the eleventh of the ſame king, for removing wears and engines from Southampton harbour, was for the like end. But we find no more ſtatutes of either kind till Queen Elizabeth's reign; ſome of which, as alſo ſome ſubſequent ones, we may perhaps think it neceſſary to take a more particular notice of in their reſpective places; as alſo for bridges over rivers.

It muſt needs be a moſt affecting conſideration, to read what the biſhop of Chiapa in Mexico relates concerning the deſtruction of the native Indians of America by the Spaniards. In that humane prelate's account of their firſt voyages to, and diſcoveries in, the new world, (which country, he aſſerts, was granted to Spain by the papal ſee, upon the expreſs condition alone of their inſtructing the Indians in the chriſtian religion; whereas, inſtead of converting their minds to the faith, they, by unparalleled cruelty, firſt tortured and then butchered their bodies, merely for obliging them to diſcover their treaſures) it is related, that in the early times of the Emperor Charles V they had butchered upwards of forty millions of thoſe poor Indians!

The goldſmiths of Scotland having debaſed their ſilver plate to ſix or ſeven penny fine, an act of the Scottiſh parliament fixed the ſtandard of ſilver plate at eleven penny fine, and gold plate at twenty-two carrats fine, both upon pain of death. By eleven penny fine here muſt be underſtood eleven ounces fine to a pound troy, and not eleven penny weight to an ounce; ſince the other ſuppoſition muſt not only leave their ſilver plate very baſe, but it would alſo be greatly diſproportioned to the fineneſs of their gold plate.

John Bodin of Angers, the famous civilian and hiſtorian, eſtimates the number of ſouls in Venice at this time to be 180,440, which is about 10,000 more than they are reckoned in our time. If his account be true, the decreaſe is not improbably owing to the great decay of their commerce, ſince the Portugueſe, by their diſcovery of a way by ſea to India, have deprived them of the vaſt advantage of ſupplying moſt part of Europe with the merchandize of the Eaſt.

Huet obſerves (in his *Memoirs of the Dutch commerce*) that the religi-

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ous perſecutions of Charles V in Germany, Francis II in France, and Mary in England, drove vaſt numbers of people to ſettle in Antwerp, which about this time was in the zenith of its proſperity, the common reſort of the traders of all nations, and the general ſtorehouſe of the world, as Amſterdam is now *. He adds, that it was a common thing to ſee 2500 ſhips at once lying in the Scheld.

The Ruſſia company ſent out their ſecond adventure with their agents and factors, who had letters from King Philip and Queen Mary to the czar John Bazilowitz. They, in two ſhips, ſailed up the river Dwina to Vologda, and thence Mr. Chancelor and his attendants travelled in ſledges to Moſcow, where they were entertained at the czar's expenſe, who now granted them and their ſucceſſors for ever the following privileges, viz.

I) Freedom to reſort at all times, with their ſhips, merchandize, ſervants, &c. into any part of his dominions, without any ſafe conduct or licence being required of them.

II) Neither their perſons nor goods ſhall be arreſted, but only for their proper and perſonal debts, &c.

III) Power is given them to chuſe their own brokers, ſkippers, packers, weighers, meaſurers, waggoners, &c. to adminiſter an oath to them, and to puniſh them for miſdemeanors.

IV) The chief factor recommended by the company to the czar, to have full power to govern all the Engliſh in his dominions, and to adminiſter juſtice between them in all cauſes, quarrels, &c. and to make ſuch acts and ordinances, with his aſſiſtants, as he ſhall think meet for the good government of the merchants and all other Engliſh there, and to fine and impriſon them.

V) The czar's officers and miniſters ſhall aid and aſſiſt the ſaid factors againſt the rebellious Engliſh, and lend them priſons and inſtruments of puniſhment, &c.

VI) Juſtice ſhall be duly adminiſtered in any complaints of the Engliſh againſt Ruſſians, and the Engliſh ſhall be firſt heard, and may, in caſe of abſence, appoint an attorney.

VII) In caſe any Engliſhman be wounded or killed, due puniſhment ſhall be inflicted; and in caſe the Engliſh ſhall wound or kill any, neither their, nor the company's goods, ſhall be forfeited on that account.

VIII) The Engliſh arreſted for debt ſhall not be impriſoned if they can give bail.

IX) If Engliſh ſhips ſhall be robbed or damaged in or near Ruſſia by pirates, &c. the czar will do his utmoſt to procure ſatisfaction.

X) The czar promiſes, for him and his ſucceſſors, to perform, main-

* Whatever Amſterdam might be in Huet's, or even in Anderſon's, time, it will not now be diſputed in any part of Europe, that London is the general ſtorehouſe of the world. *M.*

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tain, and obſerve all the aforeſaid privileges, &c. and for that purpoſe has put his ſignet thereto.

Another ineffectual law was made [2, 3 *Phil. et Mar. c.* 5.] for confirming former ineffectual ones of Henry VIII and Edward VI, for gathering weekly relief for the aged and impotent poor of every pariſh, by the charitable devotion of the inhabitants, &c. and ordering that a poor man licenced to beg ſhould wear a badge on his breaſt and back openly *.

1556.—At this time the merchants of London had factors ſettled in the Canaries, as we learn from an account of a voyage by Thomſon an Engliſhman, who in his paſſage from Cadiz to New Spain, found them there. He relates, that when he was at Mexico, in the year 1556, there were not above 1500 families of Spaniards in that great city; but that in the ſuburbs there were computed to be at leaſt 300,000 Indian inhabitants.

Captain Stephen Burrough, in the Ruſſia company's ſervice, ſailed northward towards Nova Zembla, in order to diſcover the great river Oby, in the Tartarian ſea; but he was unable to paſs the ſtraits of Weygats, becauſe of the huge quantities of ice, and therefor returned unſucceſsful.

The Ruſſia company ſent out two ſhips, which returned the ſame year with the two ſhips which had been frozen up in Lapland in 1553, (in one of which was Sir Hugh Willoughby's body.) They alſo brought over an ambaſſador from Ruſſia to Queen Mary; but he being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Scotland, loſt almoſt all the fine preſents he had brought for the king and queen: yet being on his return, he received ſundry rich preſents for the czar, and alſo for himſelf.

1557.—The next year the company ſent four veſſels to Ruſſia. They carried home the czar's ambaſſador, and with him Mr. Anthony Jenkinſon, who the next year made very uſeful diſcoveries towards Perſia, for the benefit of the company's commerce.

It was in this year (according to the *Preſent ſtate of England, anno* 1683, *part* III, *p.* 94.) that glaſſes were firſt begun to be made in England. The finer ſort was made in the place called Crutched-Friars in London. The fine flint glaſs (ſays our author), little inferior to that of Venice, was firſt made in the Savoy-houſe in the Strand, London; but the firſt glaſs plates for looking-glaſſes and coach-windows were made about ten years ago (1673) at Lambeth, by the encouragement of the duke of Buckingham. England now excels all the world in every branch of that beautiful manufacture.

* It was not till about this time, if Biſhop Leſley [*Hiſt. Scot. p.* 24.] was rightly informed, that the herrings began to frequent Loch-Broom, which has, I believe, ever ſince been the principal ſtation of their innumerable millions on the weſt coaſt of Scotland. *M.*

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1558.—After England had held the town and port of Calais (with its dependent garriſons of Guiſnes and Hamme) for 211 years (the only part of the continent of France till now held by England), during which time it was not only a door always open for the invaſion of France, but, which is more to our purpoſe, was extremely well ſituated for a ſtaple port, to diſperſe, in more early times, the wool, lead, and tin, and in later times the woollen manufactures of England into the inland countries of the Netherlands, France, and Germany, the loſs of this moſt important place was undoubtedly a conſiderable prejudice to the commerce, and not a little to the honour and influence of England. Theſe conſiderations ſo affected Queen Mary, that ſhe ſaid, if, when after her death, ſhe ſhould be opened, Calais would be found at her heart. Hereupon the ſtaple for wool, &c. was removed to Bruges, to the great benefit of that city, now declining from its antient opulence and grandeur.

The Ruſſians, having in this year conquered Narva in Livonia, and thereby gained an opening into the Baltic ſea, eſtabliſhed it as an emporium or ſtaple port for the trade of Ruſſia with the reſt of Europe. The Hanſeatic merchants hereupon removed their comptoir from Revel, where it had been fixed ſince the Muſcovites had barbarouſly driven them from Novogrod. Thuanus [*L.* li.] only obſerves, that the Ruſſians removed the ſtaple to Narva, which, as far as related to their own trade, it was in a great meaſure in their own power to do; yet the great maſter of the Teutonic knights of Livonia, and alſo the archbiſhop of Riga, made grievous complaints to the Emperor Ferdinand of the great injury done to the empire, by drawing the trade from Revel to Narva; for at the ſame time the Engliſh, Dutch, and French merchants removed alſo from Revel to Narva. Werdenhagen aſſigns two other reaſons for the removal of the Hanſeatics from Revel to Narva, viz. I) The ſelfiſhneſs of the Revalians, who fain would have monopolized the entire commerce. II) Their other motive for removing to Narva, was chiefly with a view to be nearer to Novogrod, their antiently beloved reſidence, where they much longed to ſettle again, (and whither, it ſeems, they ſent envoys in the year 1603, for that end, and where, in 1620, the czar Demetrius gave them leave to erect a houſe for their commerce, though, by reaſon of the great declenſion of the general commerce of the Hanſeatics, little good came of it.) The removal of the ſtaple to Narva was the handle which Eric XIV of Sweden ſoon after made uſe of to ſeize the ſhips of Lubeck returning from Narva (ſays our Hanſeatic hiſtorian), and to carry them to Revel and Stockholm, which produced a war of eight years between the Hanſe towns and Sweden, to which a period was put by a treaty at Stetin in 1571: Yet the Hanſe league was ſtill conſiderable enough for the Emperor Ferdinand

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to recommend to them, in this very year, the quieting of Livonia, then greatly agitated.

We have already obſerved that the comptoir of the Hanſe towns at Bergen in Norway began to be deſerted about the year 1553, chiefly owing (ſay the Hanſeatic writers) to the arbitrary and extravagant increaſe of the toll in the ſound by Chriſtiern III of Denmark, which produced much altercation, inſomuch that in this year 1558, when that king died, that comptoir was almoſt ſunk to nothing, after having greatly flouriſhed for about 300 years; yet others impute the true cauſe of that decline to the Danes themſelves about this time, who began to traffic on their own bottoms, whereby that court (like England) ſaw the expediency of abridging thoſe Hanſeatics of their antient excèſſive privileges and prerogatives at Bergen, which, they alleged, had been granted to them by former Daniſh kings.

That moſt diligent agent for the Ruſſia company, Mr. Anthony Jenkinſon, now firſt ſet on foot a new channel of trade, through Ruſſia into Perſia, for raw ſilk, &c. He ſailed down the great river Volga to Niſi-Novogrod, Caſan, and Aſtracan, and thence acroſs the Caſpian ſea to Perſia. At Boghar, a goodly city, he found merchants from India, Perſia, Ruſſia, and Cathay (*i. e.* China), from which it was a nine months journey to Boghar. Jenkinſon returned the ſame way to Colmogro, in the bay of St. Nicholas, in the year 1560, and ſo home the ſame year to England. On his return, he publiſhed the firſt map of Ruſſia that had ever been made. This voyage, it ſeems, he performed ſeven different times: Yet ſo promiſing a proſpect for that company was dropped ſome few years after, and remained as if it had never been, till the year 1741, when it was revived by an act of parliament, enabling the Ruſſia company to trade thence into Perſia, upon which conſiderable quantities of raw ſilk were brought home by the very ſame way that Jenkinſon took from Perſia to Ruſſia, and thence to England: Yet the continual troubles and ravages in Perſia have ſince ſuſpended the good effects of that law.

In this laſt year of Queen Mary, a preſt (*i. e.* loan) 'was granted to 'the queen by the citizens of London, of twenty thouſand pounds, 'which was levied of the companies; for the which ſum, to be repaid 'again, the queen bound certain lands, and alſo allowed for intereſt 'of the money L12 of every hundred for a year.' [*Stow's Annales, p.* 1070, *ed.* 1600.]

In the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth, the parliament paſſed an act [*c.* 13.] repealing the former laws which prohibited the importation and exportation of merchandize in any but Engliſh ſhips. This repeal (clogged as it is with reſtrictions) would not perhaps be approved of in our days; yet there might probably be good grounds for it then; at leaſt the legiſlature thought the following a ſufficient reaſon for it, viz.

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'That ſince the making of the ſaid ſtatutes, other ſovereign princes, 'finding themſelves aggrieved with the ſaid acts, as thinking that the 'ſame were made to the hurt and prejudice of their country and navy, 'have made like penal laws againſt ſuch as ſhould ſhip out of their 'countries, in any other veſſels than of their ſeveral countries and do-'minions; by reaſon whereof there hath not only grown great diſ-'pleaſure berwixt the foreign princes and the kings of this realm, but 'alſo the merchants have been ſore grieved and endamaged. Yet 'whereas ſundry of the queen's ſubjects do frequently enter the mer-'chandize of aliens (liable to double duties) in their own names, 'whereby the queen is defrauded in her revenue; wherefore it was now 'enacted, that whoever ſhall, in time of peace, and when there is no 'reſtraint made of Engliſh ſhips, either embark or unlade any mer-'chandize (maſts, raffe, pitch, tar, and corn only excepted) out of or 'into any foreign bottom or ſhip, and whereof the maſter and the ma-'jor part of the ſailors are not Engliſh ſubjects, ſhall anſwer and pay 'for the ſaid merchandize the like cuſtom and ſubſidy as aliens do.' This judicious clauſe in a great meaſure anſwers the end propoſed by the navigation acts, now to be repealed. Another clauſe was inſerted in favour of the two ſocieties of merchants-adventurers, and of the merchants of the ſtaple, at their ſeveral fleets or ſhippings of cloth and wool from the river Thames alone, made at moſt twice in every year: 'That thoſe two ſocieties may lade the ſaid merchandize on foreigners 'ſhips, provided there be not Engliſh ſhips ſufficient in number for 'ſuch embarkations, without being, for that cauſe, ſubject to aliens 'duties.'

'Laſtly, the merchants of Briſtol having of late ſuſtained great loſſes 'at ſea from enemies, who have taken all their beſt ſhips and much 'ſubſtance, ſo as they are unable to provide ſufficient ſhips of their 'own within the time limited for the duration of this act (viz. five 'years), if there be no Engliſh ſhipping ſufficient within forty miles of 'Briſtol, they may lade their merchandize on foreign ſhips, without 'being liable to aliens duties.'

Several other judicious regulations and laws were made in this firſt year of her reign; as, ſtatute 14, for regulating the manufacture of cloth and kerſey in certain towns in Eſſex; *c.* 15, for preventing the deſtruction of timber in making iron; *c.* 17, againſt taking the ſpawn of ſalmons, trouts, &c. at improper ſeaſons; which five ſtatutes, like many more of her reign, were ſo judiciouſly framed, that they remain in force at this day, though with ſome few improvements and alterations.

1559.—Mezeray acquaints us, 'that King Henry II of France was 'the firſt who now wore ſilk ſtockings, at the marriage of his ſiſter to 'the duke of Savoy: Yet,' adds he, 'till the troubles under Charles IX 'and Henry III, the courtiers did not uſe much ſilk; but after that

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'the very citizens began to wear it frequently; for it is an infallible 'obſervation, that pride and luxury are moſt predominant during pub-'lic calamities.'

1560.—The manufacture of fine woollen cloth in the Spaniſh Netherlands muſt have been prodigiouſly great before the Engliſh got ſo much into it. Louis Guicciardin, their hiſtorian, affirms, that in thoſe former times, upwards of 40,000 packs of Spaniſh wool had been annually imported thither; but (adds he) as the Spaniards have, of late years, made more cloth at home than formerly, they do not now (in this year 1560 that I am writing this work) import into the Netherlands above 25,000 packs of Spaniſh wool yearly. The decreaſe of the woollen manufacture of the Netherlands was, doubtleſs, the true cauſe of their importing a ſmaller quantity of Spaniſh wool than formerly, though Guicciardin did not chooſe to aſſign it.

The poet Milton, in his brief hiſtory of Muſcovia, ſays, 'the En-'gliſh began this year to trade to Narva in Livonia, the Lubeckers 'and Dantzickers having till then concealed that trade from other na-'tions.' Although Milton does not mention the true reaſon of this circumſtance, we conceive it to proceed from the Ruſſians having conquered Narva, as we have ſeen two years before this time.

Queen Elizabeth, finding the popiſh princes very jealous of the ſupport given by her to the proteſtants abroad as well as at home, wiſely provided for her own ſecurity, by filling her magazines with ammunition, military and naval ſtores. She ſoon after made gunpowder (a new manufacture in England), and cauſed braſs and iron ordnance to be caſt: She alſo built a conſiderable number of ſhips for war, whereby ſhe formed the moſt reſpectable fleet that England had ever ſeen; and for the ſafeguard thereof, ſhe erected Upnore caſtle on the river Medway: She moreover conſiderably increaſed the pay of her naval officers and ſeamen; whereupon (ſays Camden) foreigners ſtiled her the reſtorer of naval glory and queen of the northern ſeas.

In imitation of the queen, the opulent ſubjects alſo built ſhips of force. The national navy, including the queen's and the private ſhips of war, was able to carry 20,000 fighting men againſt an enemy; and England no longer depended on Hamburgh, Lubeck, Dantzick, Genoa, and Venice, for a fleet in time of war.

Elizabeth, about this time, reſtored the ſilver coin nearer to its ſterling purity than it had been for 200 years before; her father, more eſpecially, having, towards the cloſe of his reign, ſhamefully debaſed it by mixing it with copper for his own profit, though greatly to the detriment of the public.

Guicciardin (in his *Deſcription of the Netherlands*) ſays that the Dutch, even before their revolt from Spain, carried on ſo great a trade, that about this time they brought annually from Denmark, Eaſtland, Livo-

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nia, and Poland, 60,000 laſts of grain, chiefly rye, then worth 1,680,000 crowns of gold, or L560,000 Flemiſh. Holland poſſeſſed above 800 good ſhips, from 200 to 700 tons burden, and above 600 buſſes for fiſhing, from 100 to 200 tons. Fleets of 300 ſhips together, from Dantzick and Livonia, arrived twice a-year at Amſterdam. 500 great ſhips were often ſeen lying together before that city, moſt of them belonging to it; ſo that for the greatneſs of its commerce Amſterdam was even then next to Antwerp, of all the towns in the Netherlands. This authentic teſtimony of the flouriſhing ſtate of Amſterdam at this time is ſufficient to confute what too many have ignorantly written to the contrary.

Speaking of the commerce between the Netherlands and England, he ſays, they then imported upwards of 1200 ſacks of Engliſh wool to Bruges, worth 250,000 crowns; but, adds he, it is marvellous to think of the vaſt quantity of drapery imported by the Engliſh into the Netherlands, being undoubtedly, one year with another, above 200,000 pieces of all kinds, which, at the moſt moderate rate of twenty-five crowns per piece, is five millions of crowns, or ten millions of Dutch guilders (about one million of pounds Sterling); ſo that, ſays he, theſe and other merchandize brought to us by the Engliſh, and carried from us to them, may make the annual amount to be more than twelve millions of crowns, or twenty-four millions of guilders (about L2,400,000 Sterling), to the great benefit of both countries, neither of which could poſſibly (or not without the greateſt damage) diſpenſe with this their vaſt mutual commerce; of which the merchants on both ſides are ſo ſenſible, that they have fallen into a way of inſuring their merchandize from loſſes at ſea by a joint contribution. This is the firſt inſtance we have met with of inſurances from loſſes at ſea, though probably in uſe before this time, and firſt practiſed in Lombard-ſtreet in the city of London, as will be ſeen under the year 1601.

As Antwerp was in its zenith of proſperity, we imagine that a general view of its commerce at this time, with all foreign nations (as given by Guicciardin), may not be unacceptable to many curious readers, as therein the ſtate of manufactures, product, &c. of different countries may be ſeen, and ſundry uſeful inferences may thence be drawn.

'I) Beſide the natives and the French, who are here very numerous, 'there are ſix principal foreign nations who reſide at Antwerp, both 'in war and peace, making above 1000 merchants, including factors 'and ſervants, viz. 1) Germans, 2) Danes and Eaſterlings, people 'from the ports on the ſouth ſhores of the Baltic, from Denmark to 'Livonia, 3) Italians, 4) Spaniards, 5) Engliſh, and 6) Portugueſe. 'Of thoſe ſix nations the Spaniards are the moſt numerous. One of 'thoſe foreign merchants (the famous Fugger of Augſburg, whom 'he ſtiles the prince of merchants) died worth above ſix millions of

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'crowns. There are many natives there worth from 200,000 to '400,000 crowns.

'II) They meet twice a-day, in the mornings and evenings, one 'hour each time, at the Engliſh Bourſe, where, by their interpreters 'and brokers, they buy and ſell all kinds of merchandize. Thence 'they go to the new Bourſe or principal Exchange, where, for another 'hour each time, they tranſact all matters relating to bills of exchange 'with the above ſix nations, and with France; and alſo for depoſit '(the loan of money) at intereſt, which (he ſays) is uſually 12 per 'cent per annum; for ſuch was the intereſt paid by Charles V and his 'ſon Philip II to the merchants here; which high intereſt (ſays Guic-'ciardin) brought the nobility to lend their money ſecretly (the laws 'of nobility forbidding that practice) and made many lazy merchants 'likewiſe deal in that way, though ſuch high intereſt was a great 'grievance to the poor, as well as a great obſtruction to commerce.

'III) With regard to their commerce with Italy, he ſays,

'They ſend to Rome a great variety of woollen-drapery, linen, ta-'peſtry, and many other things, the returns being only money or bills 'of exchange.

'To Ancona they ſend great quantities of Engliſh and Netherland 'cloths and ſtuffs, linen, tapeſtry, cochineal, &c. and bring back ſuch 'ſpices and drugs as the merchants of Ancona import from the Le-'vant; alſo ſilk, cotton, carpets, Turkey leather, &c.

'To Bolonia they ſend ſerges and other ſtuffs, tapeſtries, linens, 'merceries, &c. and bring in return wrought ſilks, cloth of gold and 'ſilver, crapes, caps, &c.

'To Venice they ſend jewels and pearls, cloth and wool of England 'in great quantities, draperies of the Netherlands, tapeſtry, linen, co-'chineal, and many kinds of mercery, ſometimes alſo ſugar and pep-'per; and formerly, before the Portugueſe found the way to the ſpice 'iſlands, they brought back all ſorts of India ſpices and drugs; and 'even ſo late as the year 1518, there arrived five Venetian galeaſſes at 'Antwerp, laden with ſpices and drugs for the fair there; but they 'ſtill bring from Venice the fineſt and richeſt wrought ſilks, camblets, 'grograms, carpets, cottons, and great variety of merceries; alſo co-'lours both for dyers and painters.

'To Naples they ſend Netherland and Engliſh cloths and ſtuffs in 'abundance, tapeſtry, linens in vaſt quantities, and ſeveral ſorts of 'merceries, as well of metals as of other materials*. The returns are 'wrought ſilks, raw ſilk, thrown ſilk, ſome fine furs or ſkins, ſaffron 'of Aquila, and excellent manna.

* By *merceries* Guicciardin appears to underſtand toys, ſmall haberdaſhery wares, and all things ſold by retail, or by the little balance or ſmall ſcales.

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'To Sicily they ſend cloths and ſerges in great quantities, linens, 'tapeſtries, and innumerable ſorts of mercery, as well of metals as of 'many other kinds; and they bring back galls in great quantities, 'cummin, oranges, cotton, ſilk, and ſometimes wines of various ſorts.

'To Milan, Antwerp ſends pepper, ſugar, jewels, muſk, and other 'perfumes, great quantities of Engliſh and Netherland cloths and 'ſerges, tapeſtries, vaſt quantities of linens, Engliſh and Spaniſh wool, 'and cochineal. The returns are great quantities of gold and ſilver 'thread; various wrought ſilks, gold ſtuffs, fuſtians, and dimities of 'many fine ſorts; ſcarlets, tammies, and other fine and curious dra-'peries; great quantities of rice; muſkets, and other armoury; various 'ſorts of high-priced mercery; and a conſiderable quantity of Parme-'ſan cheeſe.

'To Florence they ſend many ſorts of woollen ſtuffs, Engliſh wool, 'linens, fans, friſes, even although by ſea the Florentines and Vene-'tians are better provided with Engliſh wool on the ſpot itſelf. From 'Florence they bring back many ſorts of very fine wrought ſilks, gold 'and ſilver ſtuffs, and thread, fine ſhalloons, then called raſſes, and fine 'furs.

'To Genoa they ſend Engliſh and Netherland cloths and ſerges, ta-'peſtry, linens, mercery, utenſils, and houſehold furniture; and they 'bring back vaſt quantities of velvets of various prices (the beſt in the 'world), ſattins and other wrought ſilks, the beſt of coral, mithridate, 'and treacle. By Genoa alſo, Antwerp ſends to Mantua, Verona, Breſ-'cia, Vicenza, Modena, Lucca, &c. the ſame ſorts of merchandize, and 'brings back the like returns as from Genoa.

'From Italy they alſo bring by ſea to the Netherlands the alum of Ci-'vita Vecchia, the oils of Apulia, Genoa, and Piſa, various gums, ſen-'na in the leaf, ſulphur, orpiment, &c.; and by ſea alſo Italy receives 'from the Netherlands tin, lead, madder, Braſil wood, wax, leather, 'flax, tallow, ſalt fiſh, timber, and ſometimes corn and pulſe.' Our author adds, 'that Antwerp's imports from Italy of ſilks, gold and ſil-'ver thread, camblets, grograms, and other ſtuffs (excluſive of other 'wares), amounted to three millions of crowns yearly,' (each crown being equal to two Dutch guilders) or about L600,000 Sterling.

'Antwerp ſends to Germany pretious ſtones and pearls, ſpices, 'drugs, ſaffron, ſugars, Engliſh cloths, as a rare and curious thing, 'and of high price; alſo a good deal of Netherland cloths * and ſerges, 'tapeſtry, an infinite quantity of linen, and mercery of all ſorts; and 'Antwerp receives from Germany, by land-carriage, ſilver in buſſion, 'quickſilver, immenſe quantities of copper, fine wool of Heſſe, glaſs, 'fuſtians of an high price (to the value of above 600,000 crowns year-

* Hence it appears that the cloths of England were eſteemed ſuperior to thoſe of the Netherlands.

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'ly), woad, madder, and other dyers wares; ſaltpetre; vaſt quantities 'of mercery, and houſehold goods, very fine and good; all kinds of 'metals to an ineſtimable value, and alſo of arms; rheniſh wine, of 'great importance in commerce, of exquiſite taſte, profitable for 'health, and proper for digeſtion, and ſo ſafe, that one may drink 'twice as much of it as of any other wine, without affecting either 'head or ſtomach; of which (he ſays) they brought annually above '40,000 tons, which, at 36 crowns per ton, amounted to 1,444,000 'crowns.' This was indeed an almoſt incredible quantity of rheniſh wine for one year's importation *.

'Antwerp ſends by ſea to Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Eaſtland, Li-'vonia, and Poland, vaſt quantities of ſpices, drugs, ſaffron, ſugar, ſalt, 'Engliſh and Netherland cloths and ſtuffs, fuſtians, linens, wrought 'ſilks, gold ſtuffs, grograms, camblets, tapeſtries, pretious ſtones, Spa-'niſh and other wines, alum, Braſil wood, mercery, and houſehold 'goods in abundance. And Antwerp receives from Eaſtland and Po-'land wheat and rye to a vaſt amount; iron, copper, braſs, ſaltpetre, 'woad, madder, vitriol, flax, honey, wax, pitch and tar, ſulphur, pot-'aſhes, fine ſkins and furs of various kinds, leather, timber (both for 'ſhipwrights and houſe-carpenters) in vaſt abundance; great quantities 'of beer, of high price and eſteem; ſalted fleſh; ſalted, dried, and 'ſmoked fiſh; yellow amber in great quantities, and numberleſs other 'particulars †.

'Antwerp ſends to France pretious ſtones, quickſilver, ſilver in bul-'lion, copper and braſs wrought and unwrought, lead, tin, vermilion, 'azure blue and crimſon, ſulphur, ſaltpetre, vitriol, camblets, and gro-'grams of Turkey, Engliſh and Netherland cloths and ſerges, great

* Wheeler (who wrote in the year 1601) ſays, 'that a little before the troubles in the Low 'Countries, the Antwerpians were become the 'greateſt dealers to Italy in Engliſh and other 'foreign merchandize, and alſo to Alexandria, 'Cyprus, and Tripoli in Syria, beating the Itali-'ans, Engliſh, and Germans almoſt entirely out 'of that trade, as they alſo ſoon did the Germans 'in the fairs and marts of their own country. 'That thoſe of Amſterdam, and other new up-'ſtart towns of Holland, with their great hulks 'and other ſhips, began to diminiſh the trade of 'the Eaſterlings at Antwerp; and the Antwerp 'merchants having great wealth, were the beſt 'able to ſupply Spain for the Indies at long cre-'dit, whereby they ſet their own prices on their 'merchandize. Antwerp alſo now ſupplied Ger-'many, Spain, Portugal, and Eaſtland with 'the wares which France was wont to ſupply 'them. It is not paſt eighty years ago (*i. e.* 'about 1520), ſince there were not in London 'above twelve or ſixteen Low Country merchants, 'who imported only ſtone pots, bruſhes, toys for 'children, and other pedlars wares; but in leſs 'than forty years after, there were in London at 'leaſt an hundred Netherland merchants, who 'brought thither all the commodities which the 'merchants of Italy, Germany, Spain, France, 'and Eaſtland (of all which nations there were 'before that time divers famous and notable rich 'merchants and companies) uſed to bring into 'England out of their own country directly, to 'the great damage of the ſaid ſtrangers, and of 'the natural born Engliſh merchants.'

† We may here obſerve, that the merchants of thoſe northern countries, where the ports are gene-rally frozen up all the winter, not being able in thoſe times to finiſh a voyage to the ſouthern parts of Europe or up the Mediterranean, in due time to get home before the winter, and ſeeing that they could be ſupplied with the produce and manufac-tures of the whole world at Antwerp, found it moſt convenient to make that city the grand ſtaple of their whole commerce.

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'quantities of fine linen, tapeſtry, leather, peltry, wax, madder, tallow, 'dried fleſh, and much ſalt fiſh, &c. And France ſends back to Ant- 'werp by ſea, ſalt of Brouage to the value of 180,000 crowns; 40,000 'bales of fine woad of Tholouſe, which at 7½ crowns per bale, amounts 'to 300,000 crowns; canvas, and other ſtrong linen of Bretagne and 'Normandy, in immenſe quantities; about 40,000 tons of excellent 'red and white wines, at about 25 crowns per ton; ſaffron, ſyrup of 'ſugar, turpentine, pitch, paper of all kinds to a great value, prunes, 'Braſil wood *. By land alſo, France ſends many fine and curious 'things in gilding (d'orures), ſome very fine cloths of Paris, Rouen, 'Tours, and Champagne, threads of Lyons, &c. which are highly 'prized, excellent verdigreaſe of Montpelier; and, laſtly, many ſorts of 'merceries to a great value †.

'To England, Antwerp ſends jewels and pretious ſtones, ſilver bul- 'lion, quickſilver, wrought ſilks, cloth of gold and ſilver, gold and ſil- 'ver thread, camblets, grograms, ſpices, drugs, ſugar, cotton, cummin, 'galls, linens fine and coarſe, ſerges, demy-oſtades ‡, tapeſtry, madder, 'hops in great quantities, glaſs, ſalt fiſh, metallic and other merceries 'of all ſorts to a great value; arms of all kinds, ammunition for war, 'and houſehold furniture. From England, Antwerp receives vaſt 'quantities of fine and coarſe draperies, fringes, and other things of 'that kind, to a great value; the FINEST WOOL, excellent ſaffron in ſmall 'quantities; a great quantity of lead and tin; ſheep and rabbit ſkins 'without number, and various other ſorts of fine peltry and leather; 'beer, cheeſe, and other ſorts of proviſions in great quantities; alſo 'Malmſey wines, which the Engliſh import from Candia.

'To Scotland, Antwerp ſends but little, as that country is chiefly 'ſupplied from England and France. Antwerp, however, ſends thither 'ſome ſpicery, ſugars, madder, wrought ſilks, camblets, ſerges, linen 'and mercery: And Scotland ſends to Antwerp vaſt quantities of pel- 'try of many kinds, leather, wool, indifferent cloth, fine large pearls, 'though not of quite ſo good a water as the oriental ones.

'To Ireland, Antwerp ſends much the ſame commodities and quan- 'tities as to Scotland. And Antwerp takes from Ireland, ſkins and 'leather of divers ſorts, ſome low-priced cloths, and other groſs things 'of little value.

'To Spain, Antwerp ſends copper, braſs, and latten, wrought and 'unwrought; tin, lead, much woollen cloth of various kinds made in 'the Netherlands, as alſo ſome made in England; ſerges of all prices; 'oſtades and demy-oſtades, tapeſtry, fine and coarſe linens to a great va-

* The French at this time had a ſettlement in Braſil.
† The ſilk manufacture of France, now in its infancy, afforded as yet nothing for exportation.
‡ Quære, if worſteds?

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'lue, camblets, flax thread, wax, pitch, madder, tallow, ſulphur, and 'frequently wheat and rye, ſalted fleſh and fiſh, butter and cheeſe, all 'ſorts of mercery, of metals, ſilk, thread, &c. to a large amount; ſilver 'in bullion, and worked up into ſilverſmith's work; arms of all ſorts, 'and ammunition; houſehold furniture, and tools of all kinds; and 'every thing elſe produced by human induſtry and labour, to which '(ſays our author) the meaner people of Spain have an utter averſion. 'Of Spain, Antwerp takes jewels and pearls, gold and ſilver in great 'quantities, cochineal, ſarſaparilla, guaiacum, ſaffron, ſilk raw and 'thrown, and worked up into various ſtuffs, velvets, taffeties, ſalt, alum, 'orchil, fine wool, iron, cordovan leather, wines of various kinds, oils, 'vinegar, honey, melaſſes, Arabian gums, ſoap, fruits both moiſt and 'dried, in vaſt quantities; wines and ſugars from the Canaries *.

'To Portugal, Antwerp ſends ſilver bullion, quickſilver, vermilion, 'copper, braſs, and latten, lead, tin, arms, artillery and ammunition, 'gold and ſilver thread, and ſuch other wares before named as they 'ſend to Spain. From Portugal, Antwerp brings pearls and pretious 'ſtones, gold, ſpices to the value of above a million of crowns annual-'ly, drugs, amber, muſk, civet, ivory in great quantities, aloes, rhu-'barb, anil, cotton, China root, and many other pretious things from 'India, with which the greateſt part of Europe is ſupplied from Ant-'werp; alſo ſugars from the iſland of St. Thome, under the equinoc-'tial line, and from other iſlands on the African coaſts; Braſil wood 'for dyers; Malaguetta, or Guinea grains, and other drugs from the 'weſt coaſt of Africa; ſugar alſo, and good wines from Madeira. And 'from Portugal itſelf, Antwerp brings their ſalt, wines, and oils, woads, 'ſeeds, orchil, many ſorts of fruits both moiſt and dried, preſerved and 'candied, to a great value.

'Laſtly, to Barbary, Antwerp ſends woollen cloth, ſerges, linen, mer-'ceries innumerable, metals, &c. And Antwerp brings from Barbary, 'ſugars, azure or anil (as the Portugueſe call it), gums, coloquintida, 'leather, peltry, and fine feathers.'

Thus we have a ſummary view of the exports and imports of Antwerp, the moſt eminent city for commerce then in Europe. The port of Armuyden, on the iſland of Walcheren, was, in Guicciardin's days, the place of rendezvous for the ſhipping of Antwerp, where, ſays he, there have been often ſeen 500 large ſhips together, bound to or returning from diſtant parts of the world. He adds, that it was uſual for 500 ſhips to come and go in one day, and 400 to come up the Scheldt in one tide; that 10,000 carts were conſtantly employed in carrying merchandize to and from the neighbouring countries, beſide many hundreds of waggons daily coming and going with paſſengers; and 500

* Spain had not at this time received any ſugars from the Weſt Indies.

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coaches uſed by people of diſtinction: that in Antwerp there are 169 bakers, 78 butchers *, 92 fiſhmongers, 110 barbers and ſurgeons, 594 tailors, 124 goldſmiths, (beſide a great number of lapidaries and jewellers), 300 maſter painters, gravers, and carvers, mercers (i. e. retailers and pedlars), &c. without number: That the city contains 13,500 houſes: That lodgings are ſo extravagantly dear as (except Liſbon) to ſurpaſs any city of Europe; inſomuch, that a ſet of lodgings of five or ſix chambers, with a hall and garrets, do not let for leſs than 200 crowns yearly; and the greater lodgings and ſmaller houſes uſually at 500 crowns and upwards. Laſtly, That by the great concourſe of ſtrangers at Antwerp, advice of all that paſſes in every other part of the world is brought thither.

Having ſufficiently enlarged on the noble city of Antwerp, Guicciardin gives us a ſketch of the herring fiſhery of the maritime provinces of Friſeland (Groningen was then part of Friſeland), Holland, Zealand, and Flanders. He ſays, the number of fiſhermen and veſſels, eſpecially of thoſe four provinces, and of the French (with ſome few Engliſh), fiſhing firſt on the coaſt of Scotland, and next on that of England, is almoſt infinite. But, confining himſelf only to the Netherlands, concerning which he had made a very ſtrict inquiry, he ſays, that in peaceable times they employed 700 buſſes and boats, which make each three voyages in the ſeaſon; each veſſel on an average being computed to take ſeventy laſts of herrings in the ſeaſon, each laſt containing twelve barrels of 900 or 1000 herrings each barrel; and as a laſt commonly yields L10 Flemiſh, or about L6 Sterling, the total amount of one year's herring fiſhery in thoſe four provinces is L490,000 Flemiſh, or L294,000 Sterling †.

That, notwithſtanding the great ground which England has gained on the Netherlands in this preceding century, their woollen manufacture is ſtill very great, although their own wool be very coarſe, compared to that of England and of Spain; as at Bois-le-duc, Delft, Haarlem, Leyden, and Amſterdam, they make above 12,000 pieces of cloth and ſerges, &c. at each place; alſo at Ypres, where the antient hall for woollen cloth is; at St. Winnoxberg, Courtray, Menin, Tiel, and Liſle, (which he eſteems the next in commerce to Antwerp and Amſterdam) Tournay, Mons, Valenciennes (where, beſide woollen cloths, they make great quantities of taffeties, &c.). Maubeuge, Enghein, &c. make fine tapeſtries.

Twenty thouſand pieces of linen, worth on an average ten crowns

* Is not the number of bakers and butchers too ſmall for a city which receives 400 ſhips in a tide? *M.*

† About ſixty years after this time Sir Walter Raleigh computes the value of the cod and ling fiſhery of thoſe four provinces at a million of guilders, equal to L100,000 Sterling, and their ſalmon fiſhing in Holland and Zealand at 400,000 guilders.

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a piece, are annually made at Bois-le-duc, as alſo great quantities of knives, fine pins, mercery, &c. At Nivelle (five leagues from Bruſſels) they make great quantities of very fine cambric, as alſo at Cambray, from which that fine manufacture has its name. At Courtray they make fine table-linen; at Tiel, linen cloth and buckrams; at Ghent, the cloth called from it ghenting, in prodigious quantities, and various ſorts of fine linen, woollens, tapeſtries, fuſtians, buckrams, &c.

At the ſame time, ſpeaking of the commerce of Amſterdam, he ſays, that ſhips are conſtantly ſeen in great numbers coming in and going out, not only to and from other parts of the Netherlands, but alſo France, England, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Livonia, Norway, Sweden, &c. He obſerves, that Veer (named alſo Campveer, or Terveer) in Zealand, owes its principal commerce to its having been for many years the ſtaple port for all the Scottiſh ſhipping. In concluſion, he pays the people of Holland the following fine compliment: They have no wine growing in their country, yet they have great plenty of that liquor; nor flax of their own growth *, yet make the fineſt linen in the univerſe. They have no wool, either in good quality or quantity, yet make infinite quantities of good cloth. They raiſe no timber, yet they uſe more for ſhips, dikes, &c. than perhaps all the reſt of Europe together. And here let us add what Sir William Temple ſays farther by way of encomium on Holland above an hundred years later, viz. 'Never any country traded ſo much, and conſumed ſo little. They 'buy infinitely, but it is to ſell again; they are the great maſters of the 'Indian ſpices and Perſian ſilks, yet wear plain woollen, and feed upon 'their own fiſh and roots; they ſell the fineſt of their own cloth to 'France, and buy coarſe cloth out of England for their own wear; they 'ſend abroad the beſt of their own butter, and buy the cheapeſt out 'of Ireland, or the north of England, for their own uſe. In ſhort, 'they furniſh infinite luxury, which they never practiſe, and traffic in 'pleaſures which they never taſte.'

'Thus, ſays their own great De Witt, in his *Intereſt of Holland*, are 'diligence, vigilance, valour, and frugality, not only natural to the Hol-'landers themſelves, but, by the nature of their country, are communi-'cated to all foreigners who inhabit among them.'

This year (according to the judicious Miſſelden, in his *Circle of commerce*, *p.* 55), Queen Elizabeth, by her charter confirmed all former charters of privileges to the company of the merchants-adventurers of England. This author affirms, that he took ſpecial pains in the peruſal of all charters and grants to this company. Moreover, Wheeler (often already quoted) confirms this, and adds, that the queen granted them two other ample charters, viz. one in the ſixth, and another in the twen-

* Great quantities of flax are raiſed now in Holland.

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ty-eighth, year of her reign, in the former of which they firſt had the deſignation of merchants-adventurers given them.

The ſame year, the queen granted by charter to the merchants of Exeter, by the title of the governor, conſuls, and ſociety of merchants-adventurers of Exeter, an excluſive trade to France *.

Sigiſmund, king of Poland, being at war with Ruſſia, wrote to Queen Elizabeth, requeſting her not to permit her ſubjects to trade to Ruſſia by the way of Narva, as furniſhing his enemies with arts, arms, and other neceſſaries; and he threatened ſuch ſhips as ſhould ſo trade with his utmoſt reſentment. But his threatenings on this and another famous occaſion, hereafter to be noticed, were very little regarded.

Eric XIV, king of Sweden, taking advantage of the depreſſion of the German knights of the croſs by the Ruſſians, accepted of the requeſt of the town of Revel and of the country adjacent, to take them under his protection, whereby Sweden got a footing in Livonia; and by the acquiſition of that fine country, which Sweden held till the former part of the eighteenth century, its commerce, wealth, and power were conſiderably increaſed.

1561.—In the next year, the Poles, Danes, Swedes, and Muſcovites, having in their turns gradually depreſſed the power, and greatly leſſened the dominions of the Teutonic order in Livonia, the great maſter of that order, Gottard Ketler, reſigned that part of Livonia which now remained to them into the hands of the Poles, after that order had held it 357 years, according to Thuanus [*L.* xxviii.] Ketler thereupon received from Sigiſmund king of Poland the ſovereignty of Courland and Semigallia, under the title of duke, to be held by him and his heirs of the crown of Poland.

The Hamburghers ſtill maintaining their claim to an excluſive ſovereignty on the river Elbe, for the ſupport of which they had ſeized a Daniſh ſhip, Frederick II of Denmark, therefor now ſeized all the Hamburgh ſhips in the Daniſh ports, and after much diſpute obliged that city to pay him 40,000 guilders for ſatisfaction.

Howell relates, [*Hiſtory of the World, V.* ii, *p.* 222] that Queen Elizabeth, in this third year of her reign, was preſented with a pair of black knit ſilk ſtockings by her ſilkwoman Mrs. Montague, and thenceforth ſhe never wore cloth ones any more. He adds, that Henry VIII, that magnificent and expenſive prince, wore ordinarily cloth hoſe, except when there came from Spain, by great chance, a pair of ſilk ſtockings; for Spain very early abounded in ſilk. His ſon, Edward VI, was preſented with a pair of long Spaniſh ſilk ſtockings by his merchant Sir Thomas Greſham, and the preſent was then much taken notice of. Thus it appears that the invention of knit ſilk ſtockings came from Spain.

* Their privilege was confirmed and reſtricted to their own city by an act of parliament 4 *Jac. I*, c. 9.

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Others relate, that one William Rider, an apprentice on London bridge, ſeeing, at the houſe of an Italian merchant, a pair of knit worſted ſtockings from Mantua, very ingeniouſly made a pair exactly like them, which he preſented to William Earl of Pembroke, being the firſt of that kind worn in England, in the year 1564.

A rich mine of copper was diſcovered at Newlands, in Cumberland, which had been neglected many ages, ſays Camden [*Brit. p.* 631.] And at the ſame time there was found in great abundance the ſtone called lapis calaminaris, or calamy ſtone, ſo neceſſary for turning copper into braſs.

The country people, upon licence being granted for the exportation of grain, began to ply their huſbandry more diligently than formerly, by breaking up grounds which had remained untilled beyond all memory of man.

According to Malynes's *Centre of the circle of commerce* *, *p.* 93, 4to, 1623, Queen Elizabeth granted a new charter [*3tio regni*] of confirmation to the corporation of the mayor and conſtables of the ſtaple of England, of all ſuch privileges and liberties as they did, might, or ought to have enjoyed, one year before the loſs of Calais, by grant, charter, law, preſcription, or cuſtom, notwithſtanding any non-uſer, abuſer, &c.

The French ſeem to have traded very early to the coaſt of Guinea and its neighbourhood; for the writer of an Engliſh voyage to Guinea, in the year 1591, ſays, that about thirty years before that time the French traded from the ports of Normandy to the river Gambia with four or five ſhips yearly †. [*Hakluyt, V.* ii, *p.* 189, *part* ii.]

1562.—Some Frenchmen alſo, aſſiſted by the Admiral Coligny, made an attempt to ſettle in Florida; but not being ſupported from home, they were forced to abandon that enterpriſe, being almoſt famiſhed for want of proviſions, in the year 1564, after remaining in Florida two ſummers and one winter.

The ſame year Coligny alſo projected a ſettlement on the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of Africa (ſays Mezeray), near Mozambique or Melinda, to ſerve as a retreat for the French in carrying on the trade of Africa and Eaſt India, as was practiſed by the Portugueſe; and three ſhips, with 1200 ſoldiers, were ſent out, but they were ſhipwrecked on the iſle of Madeira; and after a ſcuffle with the Portugueſe there, they returned to France without farther purſuing their original deſign.

Mr. John Hawkins, aſſiſted by the ſubſcriptions of ſundry gentlemen, now fitted out three ſhips (the largeſt being of 120 tons, and the ſmall-

* A treatiſe written againſt *Miſſelden's Circle of commerce*. Theſe diſputes have been long dormant.

† The French commerce with the weſt coaſt of Africa claims an antiquity of two centuries prior to this time, as I have ſhown in its proper place. *M.*

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eſt but 40), and having learned that negroes were a very good commodity in Hiſpaniola, he ſailed to the coaſt of Guinea, and took in negroes, and ſailed with them for Hiſpaniola, where he ſold his negroes and Engliſh commodities, and loaded home his three veſſels with hides, ſugar, and ginger, and alſo many pearls, returning home in the year 1563, and making a proſperous voyage. This ſeems to have been the very firſt attempt from England for any negro trade.

1563.—The Ruſſia company did not loſe ſight of their trade into Perſia by the way of Ruſſia; for in this year they ſent three of their agents to the Perſian court at Caſbin on the buſineſs of their traffic.

By an ordinance of this year, when the price of wheat does not exceed 10*s*, rye, peaſe and beans 8*s*, and malt 6*s* 8 per quarter, they may be exported in Engliſh ſhipping. This ſhows that thoſe prices were then eſteemed ſo moderate, that for the benefit of farmers they might be exported. Thus we ſee that the rates of proviſions, and conſequently of living, are conſiderably advanced ſince the coins were reduced to the modern weight, &c.

The firſt ſtatute was now enacted for the relief of the poor, [ſee the year 1597]; for whereas hitherto all the acts of parliament only recommended voluntary contributions for the poor, it was now found neceſſary to go a ſtep farther. It is certain that the ſuppreſſion of the convents had not a little increaſed this diſorder; thoſe houſes having been a great relief to the poor on their own lands, and in their neighbourhood, to whom not only their kitchens but their granaries were ever open, more eſpecially in times of dearth. When therefor the church lands were ſold by King Henry VIII at ſuch eaſy purchaſes, it was then declared to be for enabling the buyers to keep up that wonted hoſpitality, which however they greatly neglected to do: And there was no compulſory law till the preſent act, which, after directing poor and impotent perſons of every pariſh to be relieved by what every perſon will of his charity give weekly, to be gathered by collectors, and diſtributed to the poor, ſo as none of them ſhall openly go or ſit begging; and if any pariſhioner ſhall obſtinately refuſe to pay reaſonably towards the relief of the poor, or ſhall diſcourage others, then the juſtices of the peace, at their quarter-ſeſſions, may tax him to a reaſonable weekly ſum, which, if he refuſes to pay, they may commit him to priſon: Yet, where the pariſhes have more poor than they can relieve, the juſtices may licence ſo many of their poor as they ſhall think good, to beg in one or more hundreds of the reſpective county. Laſtly, beggars, in any other place than where legally licenced, are to be puniſhed according to the laws againſt vagabonds. [5 *Eliz. c.* 3.]

The next ſtatute of this ſeſſion [*c.* 4], intitled, a repeal of ſo much of former ſtatutes as concern the hiring, keeping, departing, working, or order of ſervants, labourers, &c. and a declaration, who ſhall be com-

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pellable to ſerve in handicrafts, and who in huſbandry, and their ſeveral duties, &c. gives the ſubſtance of many former laws, with their imperfections and contrariety; and remarks, that the wages, aſcertained in many of thoſe acts of parliament, were now become inſufficient, by reaſon of the advanced prices of all neceſſaries ſince thoſe times. Yet, as large and comprehenſive as this act is (which is partly ſtill in force), there are ſundry ſubſequent ſtatutes, both in this and ſucceeding reigns, for regulating diſputes between maſters and their ſervants, apprentices, and labourers, concerning their wages, time of labour, &c.

The next law [*c.* 5], intitled, conſtitutions for the maintenance of the navy, &c. contains many good clauſes for encouraging our own ſhipping and mariners: As, I) By permitting herrings, and other fiſh caught on our coaſts, to be exported duty free. II) That no foreign ſhips ſhall carry any goods coaſtwiſe from one Engliſh port to another. III) Wines and woad ſhall be imported from France in Engliſh ſhipping only, with ſome inconſiderable exceptions. IV) That, for the maintenance of ſhipping, the increaſe of fiſhermen and mariners, the repairing of port towns, and the increaſe of the fleſh victual of the realm, it ſhall not be lawful for any to eat fleſh on Wedneſdays and Saturdays, under the forfeiture of L3 for each offence, excepting caſes of ſickneſs, and alſo thoſe by ſpecial licences to be obtained; for which licences, peers were to pay L1 : 6 : 8 to the poor's box of the pariſh, knights and their wives 13/4, and others 6/8 each. But no licence was to extend to the eating of beef on thoſe days at any time of the year, nor to the eating of veal in any year from Michaelmas to the 1ſt day of May *.

The ingenious author of the Preſent ſtate of England (8vo, 1683, *p.* 77), acquaints us, that the manufacture of knives in England was begun in this year by Thomas Matthews on Fleet-bridge, in London. How ſtrangely are things altered ſince thoſe times? for now London excels all the earth in this reſpect, and ſupplies many other nations therewith in great quantities.

1564.—Many good laws had been lately made in England for the employment of the people for improving the woollen manufacture, againſt the importation of foreign manufactures interfering with home ones; and for ſetting up new manufactures, and improving old ones, more eſpecially ſince the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth: Particularly an act of parliament [5 *Eliz. c.* 7] ſtrictly prohibiting the importation of girdles, rapiers, knives, ſheaths, hilts, pummels, lockets, chapes, ſcabbards, horſe-furniture of all kinds, gloves, points, ſtirrups, bits, leather, laces, and pins. Theſe regulations greatly alarmed the Netherlanders; and the citizens of Antwerp more eſpecially became quite enraged to

* Wedneſday was afterwards exempted from this political faſting, or abſtinence from fleſh; but ſtill victuallers were forbidden to utter fleſh in lent, and on Fridays and Saturdays. [27 *Eliz. c.* 2.]

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ſee the Engliſh taking ſuch large ſtrides towards an univerſally-extenſive commerce. Moreover, the raiſing the cuſtom on cloth exported to the Netherlands, and of merchandize imported from thence into England, had given great offence to the Netherlanders. All theſe conſiderations now induced the ducheſs of Parma, governeſs of the Netherlands, to iſſue her proclamation prohibiting the exportation of any materials for the above manufactures to England. Moreover, by way of retaliation, but under the pretext of the plague, which at this time raged in England, ſhe prohibited the importation of Engliſh woollen goods into the Netherlands. In this year, therefore, the Engliſh company of merchants-adventurers were obliged to carry their woollen cloths to Embden in Eaſt Friſeland, where for a while they kept their ſtaple, entirely deſerting the Netherlands. Whereupon Philip II of Spain abſolutely prohibited all his ſubjects from trading with the Engliſh at Embden: Yet, in the end, the ſteadineſs of Elizabeth got the better of all oppoſition; for Philip, knowing that the true intereſt of his Netherland ſubjects required peace and commerce with England, found himſelf obliged to revoke all his prohibitions, and to admit the Engliſh to trade with the Netherlands as formerly, on the bottom of the *intercurſus magnus*. Camden, in his hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth, relates, that our general trade with the Netherlands at this time amounted to twelve millions of ducats, five millions of which was for Engliſh cloth alone.

Queen Elizabeth concluded a general treaty of peace and commerce with King Charles IX of France, the commercial part of which was exactly the ſame with that of the year 1559. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 640.]

Puffendorf, in his hiſtory of Sweden, relates, that about this time (for he is too regardleſs of chronology), in a ſea-fight between the fleet of Eric XIV, king of Sweden, and that of Frederic II of Denmark, the Swediſh fleet conſiſted of 40 ſhips, their admiral ſhip mounting 200 braſs cannon; which huge ſhip being ſeparated from the reſt of that fleet by a ſtorm, ſuſtained alone the attack of the whole Daniſh fleet, joined by that of Lubeck, and ſunk the admiral of the latter by her ſide. But being at length ſurrounded and overpowered by the enemy's fleet, ſhe was ſet on fire, and totally deſtroyed. This is probably the firſt, and it is as probable will be the laſt veſſel of ſo enormous a ſize *. The Hollanders, in the zenith of their naval power and glory, ſeldom or never went beyond 90 cannon for their firſt-rate ſhips of war; and it ſeems more for the ſake of ſound than for ſolid advantage, that the Engliſh and French have run into an higher number of cannon. We

* Unleſs we knew the ſize of the braſs cannon, the number of them cannot warrant a belief that ſhe was larger than ſome antient, or many modern, ſhips. That the guns carried by ſhips at this time were not very heavy, may be inferred from the Henry Grace de Dieu, built by King Henry VIII, carrying 122 guns, though only of 1000 tons burden. *M.*

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may in this place remark, that in proportion as the northern crowns increaſed their correſpondence with the ſouthern parts of Europe, they improved in their naval ſtrength and commerce; and in nearly the ſame proportion did the Hanſeatic towns decline in both thoſe reſpects, eſpecially thoſe within the Baltic ſea. Mr. Burchet, in his Naval hiſtory, obſerves, that as Denmark poſſeſſes many iſlands, and a large extent of country along the ocean, the Danes have for many ages had a conſiderable naval force. Whereupon he inſtances the above named (which he calls ſignal) victory over the Swediſh fleet, and their admiral ſhip of 200 cannon, which he ſays was called the Noneſuch. He adds, that a little before, King Chriſtian III, at the inſtances of the French king Henry II, aided the Scots againſt England with a fleet of 100 ſail, manned with 10,000 men; which tranſaction is however very ſlightly touched by moſt Engliſh hiſtorians.

Sir William Monſon (who wrote his Naval tracts in the year 1635) has the following hiſtorical remark on this ſubject, viz. till of late, which perhaps (ſays he) few will believe, moſt of our ſhips of burden were bought from the Eaſt-country men (on the ſouth ſide of the Baltic ſea), who likewiſe enjoyed the greateſt trade of our merchants in their own veſſels. And, to bid adieu to that trade and thoſe ſhips, the Jeſus of Lubeck, a veſſel of great burden and ſtrength in thoſe days, was the laſt ſhip bought by the queen, which in the year 1564 was caſt away in the port of St. John de Ulloa, in New Spain, under Sir John Hawkins.

A charter, dated 8th July 1564, granted to the company of merchant-adventurers of England, conſtituted them a body politic or corporation in England. The queen thereby grants them a common ſeal, perpetual ſucceſſion, liberty to purchaſe lands, and to exerciſe government in any part of England. 'But if any freeman of this company ſhall 'marry a wife born beyond ſea, in a foreign country, or ſhall hold 'lands, tenements, or hereditaments in Holland, Zealand, Brabant, 'Flanders, Germany, or other places near adjoining, he ſhall be diſ-'franchiſed from the ſaid fellowſhip of merchants-adventurers, and be 'utterly excluded from the privileges thereof.' Wheeler (as already noted under the year 1560) obſerves, that this charter gave them firſt the name of merchants-adventurers of England, i. e. as an Engliſh corporation of that name; for in a charter or grant of privileges from King Henry VII in 1505, we have ſeen them called by that name, though they never were till now properly a corporation in England.

This year a patent was granted to the Hamburgh company for ever, with liberty to export 30,000 cloths, though not wrought or dreſſed; whereof 25,000 to be above the value of L3, and under the value of L6 per cloth; and the other 5000 to be above the value of L4 per cloth *.

* This appears from an act [6 *Ann*, *c.* 9] for the exportation of white woollen cloths.

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1565.—Admiral Coligny perſuaded Charles IX, king of France, again to attempt the ſettlement of a colony in Florida; for which purpoſe Laudonier was ſent thither in three ſhips, with people and neceſſaries; and he erected fort Caroline at the mouth of the river May. The next year Ribault was ſent thither; but ſix large ſhips, purpoſely fitted out from Spain for the deſtruction of the French ſettlement, coming upon the coaſt, the French ſhips got to ſea, and eſcaping the Spaniards, returned back to their ſettlement, and prepared to attack the Spaniſh ſhips: But a ſudden ſtorm deſtroying or diſperſing all the French ſhips, encouraged the Spaniards to attack, and finally to deſtroy the fort, where Laudonier was left with a few men, moſt of whom the Spaniards ſlew. Laudonier, with a few more, eſcaped to France by the way of England.

It appears that the maritime ſtrength of the Turks was at this time very conſiderable; for although they failed in their attempt againſt Malta (being forced this ſame year to raiſe the ſiege of it), they had in that expedition 160 galleys, 20 great ſhips, ſuch as we commonly call men of war, and a great number of ſmaller veſſels. [*Meterani Hiſtoria Belgica, L.* i.]

The firſt new project in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, is her excluſive grant to Armigill Wade, Eſq. and William Herle, Gent. for the ſole making of brimſtone for thirty years; and alſo for the ſole making or extracting from certain herbs, roots, and ſeeds, an oil proper to be uſed for wool, and for dreſſing woollen cloth; they having, with great labour and application, and not a little expenſe, found out the ſaid ſecrets. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 650.] Theſe are the firſt new and excluſive projects found in the Fœdera; yet if none had been in the practice of either of them before in England, we cannot ſo properly term them monopolies, the proper definition of which is an excluſion of all others from what they had been in the poſſeſſion and practice of till that excluſion took place.

Sir John Hawkins, in his voyage to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, forced a traffic with the people of thoſe parts, and did much miſchief to the Spaniards.

In the ſame year, Queen Elizabeth, after reciting that ſhe had heretofore granted licences to certain Dutch or Germans to dig for alum and copperas, as well as for gold, ſilver, copper, and quickſilver, in ſeveral counties, granted two excluſive patents to Humphreys and Shute (who had brought into England upwards of twenty foreign workmen) to dig and ſearch for thoſe metals, and alſo for tin and lead, and to refine the ſame in England, and within the Engliſh pale in Ireland; and this is known to this day by the name of the charter for the mines-royal. She alſo in the ſame year granted them the ſole uſe of the calamy ſtone, or lapis calaminaris, for compoſition of a mixed metal called latten, and all

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ſorts of battery works, caſt-work, and wire. And in the year 1568 ſhe incorporated Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper of the great ſeal, Thomas duke of Norfolk, and others, jointly with the ſaid Humphreys and Shute, by the name and deſignation of the governors, aſſiſtants, and ſociety of the mineral and battery works *.

Before this undertaking, it ſeems that all Engliſh iron wire was made and drawn by man's ſtrength alone, in the foreſt of Dean and elſewhere, until thoſe foreigners introduced the method of drawing by a mill: wherefor, till then, they neither could make any great quantity of wire, nor ſo good in quality. The greateſt part therefor of the iron wire uſed in England, and alſo of ready-made wool cards, and ſuch things, were till now imported from foreign parts.

1566.—We have ſeen that King Henry VIII erected a marine corporation, which has been of ſingular utility to the navigation of England, intitled, the maſter, wardens, and aſſiſtants of the trinity-houſe at Deptford-ſtrond. They were now impowered, at their own coſts, from time to time, to erect beacons, marks, and ſigns for the ſea, in ſuch places of the ſea-ſhores and uplands near the ſea-coaſts for ſea marks, as to them ſhould ſeem requiſite, and to continue and renew them at their coſts. [8 *Eliz. c.* 13.]

It appears that the gold ducat or florin of Florence was now equal to five ſhillings Sterling. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 654.]

The Engliſh Ruſſia company having in the preceding year ſent ſeveral of their factors with Engliſh cloth, &c. from Ruſſia into Perſia, they found that the Venetians from Aleppo uſually bartered their woollen cloths and kerſies for raw ſilks, ſpices, drugs, &c. and that much Venetian cloth was worn in Perſia. In this year they obtained from the ſophi an immunity from tolls or cuſtoms on their merchandize, and full protection for their perſons and goods. The company was moreover this year dignified by the ſanction of an act of parliament †; the reaſons aſſigned for which were, I) 'That ſundry ſubjects of the realm, 'perceiving that divers Ruſſian wares and merchandize are now im-'ported by the ſaid fellowſhip (after all their great charge and travel), 'ſome of which be within this realm of good eſtimation, minding, for 'their peculiar gain, utterly to decay the trade of the ſaid fellowſhip ‡, 'have, contrary to the tenor of the ſaid letters-patents, in great diſor-'der, traded into the dominions of Ruſſia, &c. to the great detriment 'of this commonwealth.

'II) And for that the name by which the ſaid fellowſhip is incor-'porated by the letters-patents of Queen Mary is long, and conſiſteth of

* This charter of incorporation was made a pretence for a copper bubble in the famous year 1720.

† The act, though not printed in the ſtatute book, is given at large by Hakluyt. [*Voyages, V.* i, *p.* 369, *ed* 1598.]

‡ Here the marginal note ſays, 'this is meant 'by Alderman Bond the elder.'

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'very many words, therefor be it enacted, that the ſaid fellowſhip, 'company, ſociety, and corporation, ſhall henceforth be called only by 'the name of the fellowſhip of Engliſh merchants for diſcovery of new 'trades; by that name alone to continue a corporation for ever, with 'all the powers and privileges of their ſaid charter, or of any other 'corporation; particularly, they may purchaſe lands not exceeding 100 'merks yearly, &c. And that no part of the continent, iſles, ports, or 'arms of the ſea of any emperor, king, prince, ruler, or governor, be-'fore the ſaid firſt enterpriſe, not known or frequented by the ſubjects 'of this realm, and lying from the city of London northwards, north-'weſtwards, or north-eaſtwards, nor any parts now ſubject to the czar, 'John Bazilowitz, or to his ſucceſſors, ſovereigns of Ruſſia, nor the 'countries of Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Perſia, or the Caſpian ſea, 'nor any part of them, ſhall be ſailed or trafficked into, nor frequent-'ed by any ſubject of England, either by themſelves or their factors, '&c. directly nor indirectly, other than by the order, agreement, con-'ſent, or ratification of the governor, conſuls, and aſſiſtants of the ſaid 'fellowſhip, or the more part of them and their ſucceſſors, upon pain, 'for every offence, to forfeit all ſuch ſhips, with their appurtenances, 'goods, and merchandizes, one moiety to the queen, the other to the 'company.

'1) Provided, however, that it ſhall be lawful for any ſubject of this 'realm to ſail to the port, town, territory, or caſtle of Wardhouſe, or 'to any of the coaſts of Norway, for trade of fiſhing, or any other 'trade there uſed by Engliſh ſubjects.

'2) Provided that, for the better maintenance of the navy and ma-'riners of this realm, it ſhall not be lawful to the ſaid company to tran-'ſport any commodity of this realm to their new trade, but only in 'Engliſh ſhips, and with a majority of Engliſh mariners; and the like 'in bringing into this realm, and into Flanders, any merchandize from 'their new trade; on pain, for every offence, of forfeiting L200, one 'moiety to the queen, and the other ſhall go to any Engliſh port town '(having a decayed harbour) that will ſue for it.

'3) Provided, that no woollen cloths nor kerſies, unleſs they be all 'dreſſed, and for the moſt part dyed within this realm, ſhall be export-'ed to Ruſſia, &c. by the ſaid company, under forfeiture of L5 for 'every ſuch cloth; moiety to the queen, moiety to the clothworkers 'company of London.

'4) Provided, that if in time of peace the ſaid ſociety ſhall diſcon-'tinue wholly for the ſpace of three years the diſcharging their mer-'chandize at the road of St. Nicholas bay in Ruſſia, or at ſome other 'port lying on that north coaſt of Ruſſia, &c. then, during the time of 'any ſuch diſcontinuance, it ſhall be lawful for all the ſubjects of this 'realm to trade to the Narve, only in Engliſh bottoms.

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'5) Provided alſo, that every of the queen's ſubjects inhabiting the 'city of York, and the towns of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, Hull, and 'Boſton, who have for the ſpace of ten years continually traded the 'courſe of merchandize, and who before the 25th of December 1567 'ſhall contribute, join, and put in ſtock with the ſaid company, ſuch 'ſum and ſums of money as any of the ſaid company who hath tho-'roughly continued and contributed to the ſaid new trade from the 'year 1552 hath done, and before the ſaid 25th of December 1567 'ſhall do, for the furniture of one ordinary, full, and entire portion or 'ſhare, and in all things behave himſelf as others of the ſociety are 'bound to do, ſhall from the ſaid 25th of December 1567 be account-'ed free, and as one of the ſaid ſociety and company in all reſpects.'

This laſt clauſe, in favour of thoſe northern ports, was occaſioned by their having been early contributors to the firſt attempt for a north-eaſt paſſage.

We need only farther to remark on this ſtatute, that it was the firſt which eſtabliſhed an excluſive mercantile corporation.

By a ſtatute for regulating the drapers company in the town of Shrewſbury, we learn that the trade in Welſh woollen cloth and lining, commonly called Welſh cottons, friſes, and plains, had for a long time been conſiderable in that town; the drapers company there employing above 600 perſons as ſheermen or friſers. [8 *Eliz. c.* 7.]

1567.—The commotions were now beginning in the Netherlands; and the court of Spain raſhly determining to proceed to extremities with a people who highly prized their liberty, great and terrible were the conſequences: for (as Sir William Temple obſerves), upon the firſt report of the duke of Alva coming into the Netherlands with 10,000 veteran ſoldiers, the trading people of the towns and country withdrew from the provinces in ſuch vaſt numbers, that the ducheſs of Parma, the governeſs, wrote to Philip II, that in a few days above 100,000 men had left the country, with their money and goods, and that more were following every day; ſo great an antipathy (ſays that author) there ever appears between merchants and ſoldiers. The governeſs, foreſeeing the ills that were coming, deſired leave to reſign, and was ſucceeded by the duke of Alva, whoſe ſevere and cruel proceedings, on account of the late inſurrections, and in ſupport of the inquiſition, produced the convulſions, which coſt Europe ſo much blood, and Spain a great part of the Low Country provinces. For after the ſeizure of the Counts Egmont and Horne, ſuch numbers of Netherlanders were perſecuted by Alva, that Germany, the Eaſt Country, Cleves, Embden, France, and England, were filled with thoſe induſtrious people, although the priſons in the Netherlands were likewiſe crowded with ſuch as the cruel governor could detain, many of whom however eſcaped out of priſon. Hence, ſays Meteranus, after Alva had hanged, beheaded, and burnt ſo many,

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yet ſo many more had fled to find ſhelter and bread for their families in foreign parts, carrying thither arts and manufactures, before only known in the Netherlands, that in England the decayed cities and towns of Canterbury, Norwich, Sandwich, Colcheſter, Maidſtone, Southampton, and many others, were filled with manufacturers of woollen, linen, and ſilk, weavers, dyers, cloth-dreſſers, ſilk-throwſters, &c. whoſe poſterity have at this day a conſiderable ſhare of the landed intereſt in Kent, Eſſex, &c. Juſt ſo, above 200 years before (about the year 1360) the Belgians and Flemings, by frequent inundations driven from home, firſt taught the Engliſh the art of making woollen cloth, of which they were before ignorant; being till then only ſkilled in huſbandry, ſheep-keeping, and war; for the Belgians and Flemings then ſupplied the whole world with cloth *. It was now that the fugitive Netherlanders taught the Engliſh to make bayes, ſayes, and other ſlight ſtuffs, as alſo linen, and made their country very populous. So likewiſe the Hollanders, Zealanders, Brabanters, &c. taught not only England, but Germany and other countries, the art of fiſhing, and many other manual arts, whereby thoſe countries greatly increaſed in riches and people. [*Meterani Hiſt. Belg. L.* iii.]

Hereby (ſay alſo our own authors) the *city of Norwich, which Ket's rebellion in the year* 1549 *had almoſt deſolated, learned the manufacture of thoſe fine and light ſtuffs, which have ever ſince gone by its name, and have rendered that city not only opulent, but famous all over Europe.* The bay-makers ſettled chiefly at Colcheſter, and its neighbourhood, in Eſſex, ever ſince famous for that uſeful and profitable manufacture, ſo much in requeſt in the warmer climates of Europe and America. The bayes, ſayes, and other ſlight woollen goods, are what are uſually called the new drapery, as being ſo much later introduced into England than the old drapery of broad-cloth, kerſies, &c.

It may here be noted, that the Flemings in the neighbourhood of Norwich introduced gilliflowers, carnations, Provence-roſes, and other flowers hitherto unknown in England.

Martin Frobiſher now made his firſt voyage for finding a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies, wherein he was aſſiſted by Ambroſe Dudley earl of Warwick. He ſet out with two barks of twenty-five tons each, and one pinnace of ten tons, and entered the ſtrait going into the great bay, ſince called Hudſon's, which he named Frobiſher's ſtrait. He alſo gave names to Queen Elizabeth's foreland, Cape Labrador, Gabriel's iſland, Prior's ſound, &c. which are ſtill retained in charts and maps. He brought home one of the natives, and alſo a kind of bright ſtone, which being tried by the London goldſmiths, contained a great proportion of gold, and are ſaid to have promiſed great matters, if any quan-

* He ought to have ſaid, on this ſide of the Mediterranean ſea.

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tity thereof could be had; which flattering hopes produced a ſecond voyage ten years after, although no north-weſt paſſage was found.

Sir Thomas Greſham, an eminent merchant of London, who in the ſtile of thoſe times was called the queen's merchant, becauſe he had the management of all her remittances, and her other money concerns with foreign ſtates, and with her armies beyond ſea, erected a building in London (then eſteemed a fine one) for the daily public reſort of merchants. The queen would not have that place called, as in other countries, the Bourſe, but gave it the name of the Royal exchange. Its figure is to be ſeen in ſundry books, conſiſting, like the preſent one, of a ſquare piazza, with a building over it, much like that at Greſham college, which was Sir Thomas's own dwelling-houſe. When it was finiſhed, the queen came in perſon, and proclaimed its name with the heralds at arms, trumpets ſounding, &c. It was burnt down in the great conflagration of the year 1666, and ſoon rebuilt in its preſent much greater ſplendour. There was before this time a place in Lombard-ſtreet for the meeting of merchants, but it was now by the increaſe of commerce found to be too ſmall.

We have ſeen, under the year 1564 to 1566, the ill ſucceſs of the French in their attempts to ſettle in Florida. Another attempt was now made by Captain Gourgues, who arriving with three ſhips in Florida, took the Spaniſh forts, and put all the Spaniards to the ſword; but not having ſtores ſufficient for remaining there, he re-embarked, promiſing the Indians to return the following year, and arrived in France in 1568. It was conjectured that the admiral Coligny intended Florida as a laſt refuge for thoſe of his own perſuaſion, the proteſtants of France, foreſeeing that they would probably be overpowered by the catholics; yet no farther attempts were made by the French: And the ſame country was afterwards colonized by the Engliſh, and divided into the provinces of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

We muſt here obſerve, that in all thoſe voyages to Florida, there were many plauſible accounts given of gold and ſilver mines, pearls and pretious ſtones, which later diſcoveries have proved to be entirely fabulous. And this remark may be applied to almoſt all our own firſt Engliſh attempts for ſettlements in the iſlands and continent of America.

1568.—Some ſhips of Biſcay being chaſed by the French into Plymouth, Falmouth, and Southampton, Queen Elizabeth detained the ſum of 200,000 piſtoles, found onboard them, upon a preſumption of its belonging to Spaniards; but ſome Genoeſe merchants, who intended to form a bank in the Netherlands, proving it to be their property, ſhe reſtored it to them: nevertheleſs, the duke of Alva thereupon ſeized the effects of the Engliſh merchants-adventurers at Antwerp, to the value of about L100,000 Sterling; and Elizabeth, by way of repriſal, ſeized the Netherland and Spaniſh ſhips and effects in England,

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to the value of about L200,000 Sterling; for in thoſe times the Netherlanders and Spaniards had more ſhips and effects in England than the Engliſh had in thoſe countries, however different the caſe may be in modern times. This obliged the Engliſh merchants-adventurers to remove from Antwerp to Hamburgh, whence, by the influence of the emperor, they were obliged to remove to Staden, where they remained till the year 1597, though much diſturbed by the Hanſeatic league, becauſe Queen Elizabeth had put the merchants of the Steelyard on an equal footing with her own ſubjects, in reſpect to the cuſtom on cloth, &c. exported. When the Engliſh merchants-adventurers firſt ſettled at Staden, it was ſo unmercantile a town, that there were no other merchants found there; but during the time that company remained there, Staden wonderfully increaſed in wealth and buildings.

Charles IX of France continuing to diſtreſs and perſecute his proteſtant ſubjects, notwithſtanding the manifeſt prejudice of ſuch conduct to the true intereſt of himſelf and his kingdom, by driving great numbers of his moſt induſtrious ſubjects into foreign countries; concerning which hardſhip of his people of her own perſuaſion, Queen Elizabeth, by her ambaſſador Norris, frequently and earneſtly remonſtrated; and particularly in this year, Camden (in her hiſtory) acquaints us, 'that ſhe exhorted him not to incenſe his good people (the proteſtants) by trying arbitrary and dangerous experiments; but rather to beware of thoſe bad miniſters, who, by driving out his beſt ſubjects, did but weaken the power of France to ſuch a degree, as to leave it an eaſy prey to ſuch as deſired to diſturb it.' But not being liſtened to, ſhe thereupon found herſelf obliged to aſſiſt thoſe diſtreſſed people, by generouſly ſending them 100,000 angels (ſays Camden), with warlike ammunition, as they now religiouſly proteſted that they took up arms againſt their king ſolely for their own defence. Queen Elizabeth about this time received and courteouſly entertained all ſuch French proteſtants as fled to England from perſecution at home, whereby ſhe increaſed the riches and populouſneſs of her own kingdom.

The Engliſh Ruſſia company's freſh adventure through Ruſſia into Perſia began in this year, and laſted to 1573, according to Hakluyt, and would have proved exceeding profitable, had they not, in their return acroſs the Caſpian ſea, with Perſian raw ſilk, wrought ſilks of many kinds, galls, carpets, Indian ſpices, turquois ſtones, &c. been robbed by Coſſac pirates, to the value of about L40,000 Sterling, ſome ſmall part of which, however, they recovered by veſſels ſent out from Aſtracan.

The tyranny and cruelty of the Spaniards to the Moors, who ſtill remained in great numbers in the countries of Granada and Murcia, produced a terrible inſurrection of thoſe people, which laſted almoſt two years. For though Ferdinand and Iſabella had conquered Granada, the laſt Mooriſh kingdom in Spain, and driven out vaſt numbers of Moors,

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yet there ſtill remained a great number in Granada and Murcia, who outwardly made profeſſion of chriſtianity to preſerve their property. The bigoted Romiſh clergy had before this time frequently ſet on foot perſecutions againſt thoſe miſerable people, as particularly againſt thoſe of the Albaizin, a quarter in the city of Granada, where great numbers of very rich Mooriſh merchants inhabited, as did alſo ſome of their nobility, and of the blood of their antient Mooriſh kings, reckoned to amount to 10,000 men fit for war. In other towns alſo of Granada, particularly in the mountainous parts, there were above 100,000 families of Moors, moſt of whom were ſhepherds and farmers. All theſe were the deſcendants of thoſe Moors, to whom Ferdinand and Iſabella, on their conqueſt of Granada, had promiſed that they and their poſterity ſhould remain there with all ſafety and liberty, to enjoy their religion, ſo long as they obſerved the laws, and paid taxes as other ſubjects. But that had been long before broke through, after a ſtout reſiſtance by the Moors of Alpuxarra, who were at laſt compelled to become Chriſtians or leave the country. Such as remained in Spain, and conformed outwardly to the eſtabliſhed religion, were termed new Chriſtians by the Spaniards; and they were compelled to ſend their children to ſchools, wherein they were to be taught the Caſtilian tongue only. They were, moreover, forbid to keep any Arabic books in their houſes, the doors whereof were to be kept open on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, that any might enter and ſee what they did. They were now alſo to leave their Mooriſh dreſs, and to wear a Spaniſh one; to leave off the uſe of baths; to aſſiſt at maſs on all Sundays, feſtivals, &c. under ſevere penalties; wherefor they lived in continual vexation. It can therefor be little wondered at, that the Moors, whoſe religion, language, garb, and manners, were now no longer to be tolerated, ſhould rebel. In their firſt fury, they murdered all the Spaniards they could find in the country of Alpuxarra, eſpecially the clergy. They elected a king, and at firſt had a conſiderable force along the coaſt as far as Gibraltar, and fortified ſome poſts among the mountains near the ſhore, in hopes of ſuccours from their brethren of Barbary and Conſtantinople. They were at length diſarmed, when King Philip II promiſed that they ſhould not be moleſted, provided they would behave peaceably, and remove from their inacceſſible caſtles and precipices in the mountains of Andaluſia and Murcia, and ſettle in level countries. In ſhort, this war is ſaid to have coſt Spain 30,000 lives, and five millions of crowns, beſides the perpetual and rancorous hoſtility of the poſterity of thoſe Moors, who preferring their conſcience to their intereſt, had exiled themſelves from their native country, and ſettled on the oppoſite coaſt of Barbary.

On the ſide of the Moors ſo great a multitude of all ages and of both ſexes was deſtroyed as is almoſt incredible! How much wiſer and happier

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had it been for Spain, to have gradually gained them over by gentleneſs and kindneſs to their religion and intereſts, than by blood and violence, which not only increaſe their obſtinacy and abhorrence of their oppreſſors, but impoveriſh and depopulate their country!

1569.—The firſt Engliſh book on the Italian art of keeping merchants' accounts, or book-keeping by double entry, was publiſhed by James Peele (London, 1569, folio). Though his ſtile be now obſolete *, he evidently underſtood the principles of book-keeping as well as ſome who have written much later. In his preface, he takes notice that 'many merchants themſelves were fond of learning of him, and of 'getting their apprentices to be taught by him; and although *the art* '*be in a ſort new in England*, yet it had long been uſed by merchants in 'foreign parts †.'

It appears from *A diſcourſe upon uſury, by Dr. Thomas Wilſon*, that the fund of the orphans of the city of London now paid a regular annual intereſt for their uſe.

Some difference having ariſen between the czar of Muſcovy and the Engliſh Ruſſia merchants, or their factors, the queen diſpatched thither Sir Thomas Randolph, who concluded a new treaty for them with the czar, who again granted them an exemption from all cuſtoms, and (as formerly) leave to tranſport their merchandize to Perſia, &c. though other foreign merchants were not allowed (ſays Camden) to trade beyond the city of Moſcow ‡. The practice of the Engliſh in thoſe times was to tranſport their goods in canoes up the Dwina to Vologda, thence over land in ſeven days to Jeroſlaw; and thence down the great river Volga in thirty days to Aſtracan, near its mouth; whence they croſſed the Caſpian ſea; and thence through the vaſt deſerts to Teverin and Caſbin (cities of Perſia), hoping at length to diſcover Cathay (China). But by reaſon of the war between the Turks and Perſians, and the robberies of the barbarians, the Londoners were diſcouraged from purſuing this laudable enterpriſe, ſays Camden.

As England produced no military ſtores, Queen Elizabeth was obliged to buy all her gunpowder and naval ſtores from the German Steelyard merchants at their own prices, there being as yet but few Engliſh merchants dealing in that way; and this was one of her greateſt inducements to encourage commercial companies, whereby her own merchants of Ruſſia, and of the two elder companies of the Staple, and the merchants-adventurers, were conſiderably increaſing in trade; the

* Inſtead of writing *Dr.* and *Cr.* on the oppoſite pages of his leger, he has *A oweth*, and *A is due to have*.

† If I am right in my opinion (which ſeems ſupported by good authority), that book-keeping by double entry was known to the Romans, it may be preſumed that ſome knowlege of it was kept up through all the darkneſs of the middle ages in Italy; and thence it has got the name of *Italian* book-keeping. *M.*

‡ Camden alſo ſays that the czar gave them houſes for making ropes in, and a track of land five miles in compaſs, with the woods upon it, for making iron. *M.*

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former in the exportation of wool (not as yet legally prohibited), and the latter of cloth, both to the great advantage of the revenue. This made the Hanſeatics labour to render thoſe companies obnoxious to other nations by various calumnies; yet, in ſpite of their malice, an univerſal ſpirit of adventuring in foreign parts for diſcovery and traffic, as well as for improving manufactures at home, dayly increaſed in England, whereby they ſoon became an overmatch in naval ſtrength, commerce, and riches, for the declining Hanſeatics; whoſe threatenings therefor the queen diſregarded; and Werdenhagen, their hiſtorian, a few years after this acknowleges, that the Engliſh in all thoſe reſpects, as alſo in the bravery of their commanders and ſailors, excelled the Hanſe towns; and Hamburgh, though a potent Hanſe town, which had formerly rejected the Engliſh merchants, now began to court their reſidence; in conſequence of which they removed from Emden to Hamburgh, whence they ſoon extended their commerce into Saxony, Pruſſia, and Ruſſia, which gave great umbrage to the Danes.

1570.—The iſland of Scio, or Chio, being taken by the Turks from the Genoeſe, the Engliſh trade to that iſland was interrupted for ſome time. This year the Turks alſo conquered the iſland of Cyprus, which the Venetians had poſſeſſed almoſt a century, which was a further interruption of the commerce of all the Chriſtian ſtates with the eaſtern coaſts of the Mediterranean.

The prince of Orange having withdrawn into Germany to raiſe an army againſt the duke of Alva, ſome ſhips commiſſioned by him, after preying on all Spaniſh ſhips near the Netherlands, landed on the iſle of Voorn, aſſaulted and carried the town of Briel, pulled down the popiſh images in the churches, and making open profeſſion of the proteſtant religion, proteſted againſt the taxes and the tyranny of the Spaniſh government. Whereupon they were forthwith ſeconded by the revolt of moſt of the inhabitants of Holland, Zealand, and Weſt-Friſeland, who expelled the Spaniſh garriſons, and renouncing their fidelity to King Philip II, ſwore allegiance to William prince of Orange as their ſtadtholder. It is needleſs to trouble the reader with a detail of what may be found in all the hiſtories of Europe, viz. the return of the prince of Orange with a freſh army from Germany, whereby he effectually ſupported the revolters, and became the main inſtrument of eſtabliſhing the republic of the ſeven united provinces.

Sir Robert Cotton, in a tract on the manner and means how the kings of England have from time to time ſupported and repaired their eſtates (printed in a book, intitled *Cottoni Poſthuma*, 1651, 8vo), relates, 'that in this 12th year of Queen Elizabeth, the yearly profit of the kingdom *

* The *profit of the kingdom* comprehended the queen's annual income from her manors and lands, her cuſtoms, eſcheats, &c. for ſhe raiſed no taxes on the people in times of peace: and this annual profit was pretty nearly the ſame one year with another.

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(beſide the wards and duchy of Lancaſter), was L188,197:4, and the yearly payments and aſſignments amounted to L110,612:13, of which the houſehold was L40,000, the privy purſe L2000, the admiralty L30,000, which by an eſtimate in May 1604, was L40,000, and is now (1609) ſwoln to near L50,000 yearly, by the error and abuſe of officers! What a prodigious increaſe two centuries have produced in the national revenue and expenditure!

The firſt of thoſe fowls, called by the Engliſh turkeys, and by the French poules d'Indes, were ſaid to have been brought from Mexico, and were this year ſerved up as a great rarity at the nuptial feaſt of King Charles IX of France. Poſſibly our firſt traders to Turkey ſeeing thoſe fowls at Aleppo, &c. might occaſion our calling them turkey fowls.

1571.—An act of parliament for the increaſe of tillage, and the maintenance and increaſe of the navy and mariners of the realm, directs that corn of all kinds may be exported, when the prices at home are ſo low as that no proclamation to the contrary ſhall be iſſued; yet, even in this caſe the queen reſerves the cuſtoms due thereon. [13 *Eliz. c.* 13.] This is the third law made purpoſely for the benefit of the farmers by exportation of corn.

The acts paſſed in the reign of Henry VI for the improvement of the river Lea had hitherto been of little effect: wherefor an act was paſſed [13 *Eliz. c.* 18], directing a new cut or trench to be made within ten years, at the charge of the lord mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, whereby that river was to be made to convey all victuals, corn, and other neceſſaries between Ware in Hertfordſhire and London; whereby a very conſiderable expenſe of land-carriage has been ſaved, and Ware has become a conſiderable town.

The cappers, or knit-cap-makers of England, obſerving the great increaſe of hats made of felt, had before this time obtained an act of parliament for preventing foreign materials from being worked up into hats; but that not anſwering fully, they now obtained a ſecond law [13 *Eliz. c.* 19] purporting, that every perſon above ſeven years of age ſhould wear on Sundays and holidays a cap of wool, knit, made, thicked, and dreſſed in England, and dreſſed only and finiſhed by ſome of the trade of cappers, on the forfeiture of 3/4 for every day ſo neglected to be worn: Excepting, however (out of this act), maids, ladies, and gentlewomen, and every lord, knight, and gentleman of twenty marks land, and their heirs; and alſo ſuch as have born office of worſhip in any city, town, or ſhire, and alſo the wardens of the London companies. Nevertheleſs, the faſhion of felt hats prevailed ſo much, as the very act ſeemed to portend it would, for their ſuperior ſtrength, lightneſs, and beauty; and being a better defence from ſun and rain, the knit caps are long ago driven out, and are now only to be ſeen in ſome of the pooreſt and remoteſt parts of the kingdom.

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This year the ſtreets to Whitechapel-bars and its neighbourhood, in the eaſtern ſuburbs of London, were by law directed to be paved: and alſo all the ſtreets of the town of Ipſwich. [13 *Eliz. cc.* 23, 24.]

We have ſeen the blind zeal of the parliament in the reign of Edward VI againſt uſury, or intereſt for money. By the vaſt quantities of bullion now conſtantly brought from America, and the increaſe of ſhipping, commerce, and manufactures, while very little (if any) of our ſilver was as yet carried to India, there were now conſiderable ſums of money ready to be lent out by ſuch as were not immediately engaged in commerce, nor had laid out their money upon lands. Moreover, money began now to be conſidered to be as much a commodity as other things, and that it was reaſonable its poſſeſſors ſhould improve it as much as thoſe did who poſſeſſed lands, houſes, or merchandize. An act of parliament was therefor paſſed (reviving that of the 37th of Henry VIII, *c.* 9) for eſtabliſhing the rate of intereſt at 10 per cent per annum. The preamble ſets forth, 'that the prohibiting act of King Edward VI had not done ſo much good as was hoped for; but that rather the vice of uſury, and ſpecially by ſale of wares and ſhifts of intereſt, hath much more exceedingly abounded, to the utter undoing of many gentlemen, merchants, occupiers, and others, and to the importable hurt of the commonwealth; as well, for that in the ſaid late act there is no proviſion againſt ſuch corrupt ſhifts and ſales of wares, as alſo for that there is no difference of puniſhment upon the greater or leſſer exactions and oppreſſions by reaſon of loans upon uſury. It was therefor now enacted, that the law of the 37th of King Henry VIII be revived; and that all bonds, contracts, and aſſurances, collateral or other, to be made for payment of any principal money to be lent, or covenant to be performed, upon or for any uſury, in lending or doing of any thing againſt the ſaid act now revived, upon or by which loan or doing there ſhall be reſerved or taken above the rate of L10 for the hundred for one year, ſhall be utterly void.' [13 *Eliz. c.* 8.]

Nevertheleſs, when after reading this clauſe, ſo plainly licencing uſury (that is to ſay intereſt of money, for the word had ſtill no other import than intereſt has in modern times), at 10 per cent, we come to read the next paragraph, it does not convey the moſt advantageous idea of thoſe proteſtant (and one would think more enlightened) lawgivers, thus to juggle with mankind; viz.

'And foraſmuch as all uſury (being forbidden by the law of God) is 'ſin, and deteſtable; be it enacted, that all uſury, loan, and forbearing 'of money, or giving days for forbearing of money, by way of loan, 'cheviſance, ſhifts, ſale of wares, contract, or other doings whatſoever 'for gain; whereupon is reſerved or taken, or covenanted to be reſerv'ed, paid, or given to the lender, contractor, ſhifter, forbearer, or de'liverer, above the ſum of L10 for the loan or forbearing of L100 for

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'one year, ſo much as ſhall be reſerved by way of uſury above the prin-
'cipal, for any money ſo to be lent or forborn, ſhall be forfeited,' &c.

Thus, although the legiſlature knew that every one, who had occaſion, gave intereſt for money, yet the old prepoſſeſſions againſt the lawfulneſs of uſury or intereſt were then ſtill ſo ſtrong and univerſal, that ſomewhat was thought neceſſary to be ſaid againſt the very thing they now found themſelves neceſſitated to re-eſtabliſh for the welfare of the nation.

N. B. By an act of the 39th of Elizabeth [*c.* 18] this act was made perpetual.

Mr. Anthony Jenkinſon, who had before made three voyages to Ruſſia, was now appointed ambaſſador from Queen Elizabeth to the grand-duke John Bazilowitz; but at his arrival he found, that prince had ſuſpended the company's privileges, through the bad conduct of ſome of their ſervants, the envy of ſome irregular Engliſh traders, and the miſrepreſentations of the Ruſſian ambaſſador, returned from England, who could not bring Queen Elizabeth into all his maſter's views. The company had alſo ſuffered many loſſes by ſhipwrecks, by the Poliſh pirates at ſea, and by bad debts, &c. and were now in other reſpects in a bad ſituation: Yet Jenkinſon had ſo much addreſs as to obtain a reſtoration of their privileges from the czar, and ſatisfaction for ſome part of their loſſes, which amounted to above 100,000 rubles; although the greateſt part was never made good to them, notwithſtanding the czar's promiſe.

1572.—Ever ſince the year 1553, the Engliſh had at various times traded to the coaſt of Guinea, notwithſtanding the claim of the Portugueſe to an excluſive right to that coaſt, as the firſt diſcoverers, who had frequently diſturbed the Engliſh and other nations in their trade for gold duſt, Guinea grains, and ivory. But now, the Portugueſe finding, they could not hold all that coaſt ſolely to themſelves, made a treaty of peace with England, whereby all former diſputes were adjuſted, and freedom of trade thither was ſtipulated.

The Hanſeatic ſociety, relying on the many privileges and immunities they enjoyed or claimed, fell into a freſh quarrel with the neighbouring princes, on the following occaſion. In the preceding year, the city of Lubeck had concluded a peace at Stettin with John king of Sweden, after a war of eight years: one of the articles thereof was, that the Lubeckers might freely trade with Livonian Narva, then in the hands of Ruſſia; yet now, the Swediſh monarch finding himſelf more powerful, on pretext of his war with Ruſſia, prohibited the Lubeckers, &c. from reſorting to Narva, and even ſeized their ſhips trading thither. Hereupon the Hanſe towns held this year a grand aſſembly of their deputies for deliberating on this and other points. Thuanus ſays [*L.* li] 'that ſome of the points they agreed on related to their internal go-
'vernment; but that other reſolutions related to foreign ſtates and
'princes, moſt part of which laſt proved ineffectual:' which ſhows that the Hanſeatics were at this time greatly declining in power and influence.

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According to Meteranus [*L.* iii], Queen Elizabeth, in order to quiet the uneaſineſs of her ſubjects for the ſeizure of their effects in the Netherlands in the year 1568, concluded a treaty of commerce with King Charles IX of France at Blois, wherein the Engliſh obtained ample privileges for the vent of their merchandize. But this author adds, that the horrid maſſacre of the French proteſtants at Paris, &c. perpetrated on St. Bartholomew's day this year, rendered the treaty ineffectual, by the terror it ſtruck into the Engliſh merchants. The admiral Coligny, and the reſt of the proteſtants, were decoyed to Paris, on pretence of the nuptials of the king of Navarre, and were moſt inhumanly butchered. The French papiſts gloried ſo greatly therein that medals were ſtruck in its commemoration.

By that treaty [*article* xxiv] the Engliſh were to be allowed a magazine or ſtorehouſe in France, for depoſiting their cloth, wool, &c. as they were wont to have at Antwerp, Bergen-op-zoom, and Bruges; and alſo [*article* xxv] a place for aſſembling themſelves, in order to chuſe their governors and other officers, &c. [*Collection of treaties*, *V.* ii, *ed.* 1732.]

The queen being at this time on bad terms both with Spain and the emperor (the later partly on account of the Hanſe towns), thoſe two articles ſeem to have been intended to induce them to be more favourable to the Engliſh commerce; for in the 16th article the French king ſtipulates, that in caſe any prince ſhall hereafter moleſt the Engliſh in their trade and merchandize in the Netherlands, or in Germany, or Pruſſia, he ſhall interpoſe for their relief; and by the 17th article, he ſhall, in caſe of refuſal and delay, arreſt the perſons and goods of the merchants of ſuch prince being in his territories, till the Engliſh and Iriſh ſo arreſted be reſtored. And in article 20, the queen obliges herſelf to perform the like ſervices for the ſubjects of the French king in ſimilar caſes. Yet ſome think that neither of thoſe monarchs were ſincere in this treaty, Charles's aim being to hoodwink Elizabeth, whilſt he was perpetrating that horrid maſſacre; and Elizabeth's, by this treaty, to bring Spain and the emperor to tractability.

From Hakluyt's ſecond volume we learn, that in this year there reſided at Conſtantinople conſuls from the French, Venetians, Genoeſe, and Florentines, but none from England; the trade in the Levant having, it ſeems, been quite diſcontinued from the year 1553 to the year 1575.

The ſame indefatigable author has publiſhed an Engliſhman's letter to him from New Spain, ſignifying, that ſeven years before this time the Spaniards firſt found out the paſſage from Acapulco to the Philippine iſles; that the city of Mexico contained 50,000 families, 6000 of which were Spaniards; that the city of Tlaſcalla contained 16,000 families, near which place all the cochineal grows; that the beſt ſilver mines were north of the city of Mexico; and that the refining of ſilver with quickſilver was then but a late diſcovery, it having before been done with lead.

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An act of parliament [14 *Eliz. c.* 5] intitled, How vagabonds ſhall be puniſhed, and the poor relieved, directed, that aſſeſſments ſhould be made of the pariſhioners of every pariſh, for the relief of the poor of the ſame pariſh. And this was the firſt legal and effectual parochial aſſeſſment for the poor in England.

1573.—There ſeems to have been much injury done by the Portugueſe, as well on land as on the ſeas, to the Engliſh about this time: For Queen Elizabeth iſſued a commiſſion to her high-admiral, ſundry lords and gentlemen, and two merchants, to inquire into the ſame; wherein ſhe obſerves, that the ſhips, merchandize, and money of her merchants were ſeized, and the debts due to them detained, in the dominions of the king of Portugal, and on the ſeas by his fleets, under his authority, contrary to the ſtrict friendſhip that had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two crowns. Therefor, the queen impowers her commiſſioners to inquire into the complaints of her ſubjects, and to take an account of all the Portugueſe property in her dominions, that compenſation may be made to the ſufferers. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xv, *p.* 721.]

Sir James Ware, in his Annals of Ireland, obſerves, under this year, that 'the money which the queen had ſent to Ireland, from her acceſſion to the crown to this time, amounted to L490,779 : 7 : 6½;' whereas the whole produce of the revenue of Ireland during all that time, viz. for fifteen years, amounted but to L120,000. How happy is the change in theſe reſpects ſince thoſe times in Ireland!

As Burchet's Complete hiſtory of the moſt remarkable tranſactions at ſea, from the earlieſt accounts of time down to the concluſion of Queen Anne's war, is a work which may in general be depended on, he having been ſecretary to the board of admiralty for a long ſeries of years, we ſhall here, from his preface, exhibit the entire navy of Queen Elizabeth, as it ſtood in the year 1573, viz.

1	ſhip of	100 guns.
9	from	88 to 60.
49	from	58 to 40.
Total, 59	ſhips of the line of battle, as they might be reckoned in thoſe days.	
58	from	38 to 20.
29	from	18 to 6.
Total, 146	ſhips.	

Nevertheleſs, he ſays [*p.* 20], that the merchant ſhips of England were then eſteemed the principal part of our maritime power; of which, in the 24th year of Queen Elizabeth (1582) there were reckoned 135,

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many of them of 500 tons each; and in the beginning of the reign of King James, it was computed there were 400, but theſe not of ſo great burden. The ſhips of war belonging to the crown in the time of Queen Elizabeth were only 13, to which 11 were added by King James I. And all, or moſt of the 146 ſhips, called Queen Elizabeth's naval power, conſiſted of merchant ſhips, occaſionally hired by her, excepting her own 13: And it is highly probable, that the ten largeſt ſhips in the above liſt were part of the ſaid 13.

In an eſſay written by Sir Robert Cotton in 1609, [*Poſthuma, p.* 196] he obſerves, 'that in the year 1573, there was brought in an unmea-'ſurable uſe of luxurious commodities in England, as wines, ſpices, 'ſilk, and fine linen; for of the later ſort, of above ten groats the ell, 'there is above L360,000 yearly ſpent, which is half the value of our 'woollen cloths exported, and maketh the ſtate to buy more than they 'do ſell; whereas a good father of a family ought to be a ſeller, not a 'buyer.' Camden, in his hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1574, ſays, the people (he muſt mean only the rich) wore ſilks glittering with gold and ſilver, either embroidered or laced, which the queen in vain endeavoured, by her proclamation, to reſtrain, and to oblige people to conform to a preſcribed rule. Feaſting was much in faſhion at this time; great improvements were alſo made in buildings; and noblemen's and gentlemen's country ſeats were re-edified, in greater beauty and largeneſs than had ever before been known; and certainly (ſays he) to the great ornament of the kingdom, though to the decay of hoſpitality. All which, however, when rightly conſidered, was no other than the natural effects of increaſing riches and commerce.

The proteſtants in France (ſays Burchet in his Naval hiſtory) were become ſo powerful in ſhipping, that in the year 1573, they committed ſpoil, without diſtinction, on all they met, and plundered ſeveral Engliſh ſhips; whereupon Queen Elizabeth ſent out Holſtock, comptroller of her navy, with a ſquadron, who retook ſeveral Engliſh ſhips, ſeized on ſome of thoſe cruiſers, and diſperſed the reſt.

1574.—Bondage was not as yet quite worn out in England, as we find by Queen Elizabeth's commiſſion to her lord treaſurer Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay chancellor of her exchequer, for inquiring into the lands, tenements, and other goods, of all her bondmen and bondwomen in the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerſet, and Glouceſter, viz. ſuch as were by birth in a ſlaviſh condition, by being born in any of her manors; and to compound with ſuch bondmen or bondwomen in thoſe counties for their manumiſſion, and enjoying their lands, tenements, and goods, as freemen. By this commiſſion, probably, conſiderable ſums of money were raiſed for the queen's uſe, the commonalty continually growing richer by the gradual increaſe of the nation's commerce. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 731.]

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1575.—We have before obſerved, under the year 1548, that the Emperor Charles V, for political ends, had allowed a large rate of intereſt on the great ſums he had borrowed of the republic of Genoa, which was alſo for ſome time continued by his ſon King Philip II, and thoſe loans farther increaſed on the ſecurity of the revenues of Spain and Spaniſh America; and although upon the reduction of the intereſt on thoſe debts, Philip had given aſſurances to the Genoeſe that the reduced intereſt ſhould afterward be punctually paid, yet we find that at ſeveral times after, and particularly in the year 1575, he again ſtopped the payment of their intereſt, at a time when diviſions ran high at Genoa between the old and the new nobility. He alſo ordered a reviſal of his accounts with the Genoeſe for fifteen years backward, which greatly alarmed them, as (according to their hiſtorian De Mailly), [*L.* xii.] they had taken ſuch advantage of that prince's neceſſities, as to make eleven, twelve, and ſometimes eighteen per cent intereſt on their loans, whereby the antient nobles alone had drawn annually from Spain a revenue of fifteen millions of gold. And this review of the court of Spain is ſaid to have produced a farther reduction of intereſt on thoſe debts due to Genoa.

In the firſt volume of Hakluyt's voyages (London, 1598, *p.* 413), we have this year the 'requeſt of an honeſt merchant, by letter to a 'friend of his, to be adviſed and directed in the courſe of killing the 'whale.' The anſwer in ſubſtance was, that there ſhould be a ſhip of 200 tons burthen, with proper utenſils and inſtruments. But what is moſt to be noted is, that all the neceſſary officers were then to be had from Biſcay; which ſhews (what is alſo elſwhere to be obſerved) that the Biſcayners were the earlieſt whale-fiſhers of any nation of Europe, excepting however the people of Norway, who were employed in that trade at leaſt as early as the time of King Alfred.

1576.—Many new devices having been found out for impairing, diminiſhing, ſcaling, and otherwiſe lightening the coins of England, or the coins of other realms allowed by proclamation to be current in England, all ſuch arts were declared to be high treaſon. [18 *Eliz. c.* i.]

The ſtreets of the city of Chicheſter were firſt directed to be paved with ſtone. [18 *Eliz. c.* 19.]

An accord being at length patched up between the old and the new nobility of Genoa, after their quarrels had brought the very exiſtence of the republic into great danger, it was now ſtipulated, that the old and new nobility ſhould for ever after be deemed but one body, utterly aboliſhing the former diſtinction of old and new nobles. And as idleneſs is ever pernicious to the public, noblemen were now permitted to exerciſe certain arts or trades, and alſo to practiſe a wholeſale trade or merchandiſe, without any diſparagement of their nobility; provid-

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ed, however, that they ſhould not keep an open or retail ſhop. [*De Mailly, L.* xii.]

Hakluyt acquaints us, that, although the Ruſſia company had an excluſive charter, which, as we have ſeen, was confirmed by act of parliament, yet Alderman Bond (formerly mentioned) had diſputes with that company, becauſe of his trading without their leave to Narva in Livonia, and alſo to Kola, Kegor, &c. in Ruſſian Lapland; but Narva was then under the Swedes.

At this time, and ſome years before, the Ruſſia company had been at conſiderable expenſe in ſending out ſhips for diſcovering a ſuppoſed paſſage through Waygatz ſtrait north-eaſtward to China and the Eaſt-Indies. But they were abſolutely obſtructed by the ice as well as by the intenſe cold.

1577.—The Engliſh genius was not to be diſcouraged by former unſucceſsful attempts for finding a paſſage to China and Eaſt-India without interfering with the Portugueſe by the Cape of Good Hope, nor with Spain by the ſtraits of Magellan; and as they had already attempted in vain a north-eaſt paſſage, there ſeemed now only the north-weſt paſſage to be explored, which we have ſeen had been already attempted by Frobiſher. The Portugueſe and Spaniſh chart-makers and coſmographers were, it ſeems, expreſsly enjoined by their ſovereigns, not to give any kind of light to other nations in this reſpect; becauſe they were juſtly apprehenſive that if there were any ſuch paſſage, it would prove a much ſhorter courſe to India and China than theirs, either by the ſouth-eaſt or ſouth-weſt paſſage. To encourage the Engliſh to this attempt, ſundry treatiſes were publiſhed by Sir Humphry Gilbert, Richard Willes, &c. moſtly founded upon romantic reports, without any ſolid probability. Yet upon ſuch grounds, and the encouragement of friends, Captain Frobiſher now made his ſecond attempt with one of the queen's own ſhips, two barks, and 140 perſons, ſome of whom were gentlemen. He again entered the ſtraits he had named after himſelf in his former attempt, where he found ſtore of the glittering ſtones and ſand he had ſeen in his laſt voyage, with which he now loaded his veſſels. And, as it is needleſs to relate his adventures with the ſavages, ſo often already printed, he returned home the ſame year with his imaginary treaſure, which afterwards, upon a more ſolid trial, proved good for nothing.

Queen Elizabeth iſſued a commiſſion for the reſtitution of ſhips and merchandize taken from the Portugueſe; which reſtitution was thereby declared to be in conſequence of a treaty with the king of Portugal. The ſame commiſſioners were empowered to treat with thoſe of France concerning depredations at ſea, and other injuries on both ſides. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *pp.* 769, 770.]

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Commiſſioners were alſo appointed to inquire into the complaints of ſome Scottiſh merchants, whoſe ſhipping had been plundered by ſome Engliſh veſſels, and to make ſatisfaction at the expenſe of the offenders. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xv, *p.* 779.]

Queen Elizabeth ſent Mr. Edmund Hogan as her envoy to Muley Abdelmelek emperor of Morocco, in which country there were already ſome Engliſh merchants reſident, for whom certain commercial privileges were now obtained. There he found alſo Spaniſh, Portugueſe, and French merchants. Sir William Monſon, in his Naval tracts, obſerves, that by degrees the Engliſh have beaten the Portugueſe out of that trade, though at firſt they laboured to do the like by us.

The ingenious author of the preſent State of England (in 8vo, 1683), obſerves, that about this time pocket watches were firſt brought into England from Germany. Nurenberg is uſually aſſigned for the place where watches were firſt invented, though the time be very uncertain.

1578.—The ſuppoſed gold ore which Frobiſher brought home in former voyages from Meta-incognita (as Queen Elizabeth had named the countries about Frobiſher's ſtraits), together with the hopes of a north-weſt paſſage to Cathai (*i. e.* China), encouraged the queen to appoint commiſſioners for thoſe ends, who at firſt making a ſuppoſed proof of that ore, and alſo aſſigning certain grounds for the probability of a paſſage, Frobiſher was thereupon, in the year 1578, ſent out a third time, with fifteen ſhips, and with miners for the ore, which they were to bring home, and to leave 120 perſons to inhabit Meta-incognita, with three ſhips to attend them. They arrived at the entrance of Frobiſher's ſtraits, loſt one of their ſhips, ſpent their proviſions, and returned home, without leaving any perſons (as they had intended) to ſettle in the country, or making any uſeful diſcovery, or even ſo much as going into the ſtraits. They however loaded their ſhips with 300 tons of the ſuppoſed treaſure, and after much hazard by ice and ſtorms returned home one by one. Their ſuppoſed gold ore, brought home in this and former voyages, was at length found to be of no value, being only a glittering ſand.

Hakluyt gives us an account of the Newfoundland fiſhers from Europe in the preceding year (1577), viz. 100 ſhips from Spain, 50 from Portugal, 150 from France, and 15 from England: That the Engliſh had the beſt ſhips, and therefor gave the law to the reſt, being in the bays the protectors of others; for which it was then, and had been of old, a cuſtom to make them ſome ſort of acknowlegment as admirals; ſuch as a boat-load of ſalt, for guarding them from pirates, and other violent intruders, who often drive them from a good harbour, &c. He ſays, the fiſhery of the Engliſh at Iceland was the reaſon we had not then ſuch numbers of ſhips at Newfoundland; that the Spaniards had

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then next to the Engliſh the beſt ſhips there; that there were there alſo 20 or 30 ſhips from Biſcay, to kill whales for train oil *. His friend, in a letter from Newfoundland, is earneſt for the Engliſh to ſettle at the iſle of Cape Breton, for the benefit of the fiſhery, and in another iſle at the mouth of the great river St. Lawrence. Hakluyt was in thoſe times a moſt indefatigable inquirer after new trades and diſcoveries, and was undoubtedly of great uſe to our adventurers, by giving them much light into the nature and means of diſcoveries, and ſeems to have been a public bleſſing to England in thoſe days.

Queen Elizabeth's firſt public treaty with the ſtates-general of the United Netherlands, after their revolt from Spain, was dated at Bruſſels, 7th January 1578. It is intitled, an offenſive and defenſive treaty of peace with the Belgic ſtates, therein ſtyled the 'prelates, nobles, deputies of cities, members of Brabant, Guelderland, Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Valenciennes, Liſle, Dowai, Orchies, Holland, Zeeland, Namur, Tournay, Utrecht, Mechlin, Frieſland, Overyſel, and Groningen.'

As this treaty was chiefly for the mutual ſupport of each other againſt the exorbitant power of Spain, it is needleſs to be very particular in all its articles.

The firſt article confirms all the treaties made between England and the houſe of Burgundy, unleſs otherwiſe to be ſtipulated.

No tranſaction of importance, relating to peace or war in the Netherlands, ſhall be concluded without the queen's participation, whoſe miniſters ſhall be preſent at all ſuch deliberations.

Mutual general aſſiſtance to each other with equal military forces.

All controverſies among the ſtates ſhall be referred to her arbitration.

If the queen ſhall find herſelf obliged to fit out a fleet for guard of the ſeas, the ſtates, at her inſtance, ſhall join it with forty ſhips of theirs, with ſailors, ſoldiers, and ammunition, to be under the queen's command, and at her expenſe; none of which ſhips to be of leſs burden than forty tons.

Rebels or fugitives from England to get no protection from the ſtates.

The ſtates to make no treaty nor alliance with any prince or ſtate whatever without her conſent.

The preſent and future governors in the Netherlands ſhall ratify and confirm all the articles of this treaty, in the name and by the authority of the catholic king.

Whenever a treaty of peace ſhall be concluded between the ſaid

* There is no mention of whale fins (or whale bone) now in ſo much requeſt for women's ſtays; whence it appears not to have been applied to that uſe in thoſe days.

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ſtates and the catholic king, the ſtates ſhall oblige the ſaid king of Spain to confirm and make perpetual all ſuch of the ſaid articles as the queen ſhall then judge expedient and convenient.

Signed by FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.
THOMAS WYLSON.
CORNELIUS WELLEMAUS.

Sealed with the queen's ſeal, and with the ſeal of the duchy of Brabant, in the name of all the ſtates-general. [*Fœdera, V.* XV, *p.* 784.]

Queen Elizabeth had for a long time kept the Hanſeatics, or Steelyard merchants, in ſuſpenſe with relation to the renewal of their immunities, till her own ſubjects had gradually increaſed in foreign trade and ſhipping. The Hanſeatics at length, finding they could not ſhake her firmneſs, applied to the Emperor Rodolph II, as their ſovereign, urging the neceſſity of compelling her to reinſtate them in their immunities, and particularly that of paying only the antient cuſtom of one per cent. The queen replied to that emperor's remonſtrances, that ſhe had done the Hanſeatics no kind of wrong, having treated them on the ſame footing in which ſhe had found them at her acceſſion to the crown, as it was her ſiſter who had aboliſhed the old duty, and laid on that now ſubſiſting.

This anſwer was far from ſatisfactory; and the Hanſeatics growing louder in their complaints all over Germany, they at length iſſued a prohibition of the Engliſh merchants to reſide any longer at Hamburgh; whereupon the queen publiſhed a declaration, annulling all their antient immunities, and only allowing them the ſame commercial privileges that other foreigners enjoyed. Soon after, ſhe prohibited all foreigners, and particularly the Hanſe or Steelyard merchants by name, from exporting Engliſh wool. This prohibition was ſaid to be owing to the induſtrious proteſtant Netherlanders, lately driven out by the Spaniſh governors, and ſettled in England, who adviſed the queen to forbid the exportation of wool unmanufactured *. This was a freſh blow to the Hanſeatics; and thereupon, in the following year, 1579, their general aſſembly at Lunenburgh laid a duty of $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent on all goods imported into their territories by Engliſhmen, or exported by them; whereupon Queen Elizabeth laid a like duty of $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent on all merchandize imported or exported by the German Steelyard merchants. Thus matters became more and more embroiled between

* The royal author of the *Memoirs of Brandenburg* obſerves, that the manufacturers of that country had made no good cloth, till the French refugees came among them in the year 1685, without a mixture of Engliſh wool; and that, as ſoon as that wool was withheld, the manufacture declined. He adds, that Auguſtus and Chriſtian, electors of Saxony, in imitation of Elizabeth, by inviting Flemiſh artiſts into their territories, put their manufactures in a flouriſhing condition.

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England and the German Hanſe towns, the magnanimous queen being firmly determined never to yield to their unreaſonable demands.

According to Hakluyt, the Engliſh Ruſſia company this year complained of the Hollanders for trading to Kola, a port in Ruſſian Lapland, where it ſeems there was ſo great a trade for fiſh-oil and ſalmon, that the company's ſhips ſometimes brought home 10,000 of thoſe fiſh.

1579.—Though, as we have ſeen under the year 1561, the citizens of Hamburgh had ſmarted for their pretenſion to a ſovereignty on the river Elbe, yet they ſtill kept up the ſame romantic claim. This provoked Frederic II king of Denmark to forbid them all his ports, as he had formerly done; which prohibition was found to be ſo prejudicial to their intereſts, that in order to be relieved from it they were obliged to pay that prince 400,000 livres in five years time.

The prince of Orange, conſidering the emulation among the great men, and the difference of religion in the ſeveral provinces, which could hardly ever be reconciled, and being deſirous to ſecure himſelf, and to eſtabliſh, as far as poſſible, the proteſtant religion, procured the ſtates of Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Friſeland, and Utrecht, to meet at Utrecht in this year; when they mutually and ſolemnly ſtipulated to defend one another, as one joint body, and with united conſent to adviſe of peace, war, taxes, &c. and alſo to ſupport liberty of conſcience. Overyſſel and Groningen were ſoon after admitted into the confederacy, and completed the number of the SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES, which compoſed the moſt potent republic the world had ſeen ſince that of old Rome, and of the greateſt commerce and maritime power that (as a republic) ever was on earth: For that ſo ſmall a ſtate ſhould, betwixt this year 1579 and the year 1609, not only preſerve its independence againſt the mightieſt potentate in Europe, but likewiſe get footing in Flanders, by maſtering the ſtrong and important port and town of Sluyce, with Hulſt, &c. ruin the trade of the moſt famous city of Antwerp, conquer the ſtrong forts of Bergen-op-zoom, Breda, and ſundry other places on the Meuſe and Rhine, &c. alſo attack and annoy ſo great a monarch in his own ports at home, and maugre all the vaſt expenſe of ſuch great exploits, grow rich and opulent, as well as potent, will perhaps ſcarcely obtain credit in another century: but with us it ſerves only to ſhew the immenſe effects of an univerſally extended commerce, and indefatigable induſtry, joined to unparalleled parſimony and economy! Soon after this famous period, the induſtrious and parſimonious traders of thoſe united provinces puſhed into a conſiderable ſhare of that commerce to ſeveral parts of Europe which till then England had ſolely enjoyed. Yet the great and happy acceſſion of the fugitive Walloons to England about the ſame time, whereby the old Engliſh drapery was ſo much improved, and ſundry new and profitable manufactures introduced, did more than counterbalance the loſs of ſome part of the Eng-

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liſh commerce to the Dutch. Nevertheleſs, the immenſeneſs of the fiſhery of thoſe Netherland provinces, with which they about this time ſupplied the moſt part of the world, is almoſt incredible, and could only be deſcribed by ſo great a genius as Sir Walter Raleigh. Their Eaſt-India trade ſoon after this time commenced, and, like all new trades, brought profit in the beginning, frequently even twenty times the original outſet. In brief, the Hollanders ſoon thruſt themſelves into every corner of the univerſe for new means of commerce, and for vending their vaſtly improved manufactures; whereby Amſterdam ſoon became, what it ſtill is, the magazine or ſtaple for almoſt all the commodities of the univerſe.

The popiſh perſecutions at the commencement of the reformation in religion, had driven vaſt numbers of people from Germany, France, and England, to ſeek ſhelter in the ſeventeen provinces of the Netherlands, where the antient liberties of the country, and the privileges of the cities, which had remained inviolate under a long ſucceſſion of princes, gave protection to thoſe oppreſſed ſtrangers, who filled their cities with people and trade. But now when the ſeven provinces were united, and began to defend themſelves with ſucceſs, under the conduct of the prince of Orange and the countenance of England and France, and when the perſecution became much hotter in the Spaniſh Netherlands, all the profeſſors of the reformed religion, and haters of the Spaniſh dominion, retired into the ſtrong cities of this new commonwealth, and gave the ſame date to the growth of trade there, and the decay of it at Antwerp.

It would be too tedious to inſtance all the other cauſes of the vaſt increaſe of the wealth and power of the United Netherlands, in thoſe times and afterwards, ſuch as, the long civil wars, firſt in France, next in Germany, and laſtly in England, which drove thither all that were perſecuted at home for their religion; moderation and toleration to all ſorts of quiet and peaceable people, naturally produce wealth, confidence, and ſtrength to ſuch a country; the natural ſtrength of their country, improved by their many ſluices for overflowing it, and rendering it inacceſſible to land armies; the free conſtitution of their government; the ſecurity and convenience for all mens property in the bank of Amſterdam.

As we apprehend a proper proviſion for the poor in every well-regulated country to be of conſiderable importance to the peace and welfare of ſociety, we ſhall take notice of an act of the 6th of King James VI in Scotland for the puniſhment of vagabonds and ſturdy beggars, and for confining all other beggars to their own proper pariſhes; alſo for taxing all the inhabitants of pariſhes to a weekly contribution for ſuſtaining all their own beggars, and to give paſſes to the poor of other pariſhes: and in poorer pariſhes, the poor to have authentic licences to beg their meat from houſe to houſe.

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in their own pariſh, ſo as to be ſuſtained within the ſame, without being chargeable to others, or to ſtrangers. A very good law this, had it been duly executed. But though it was afterward ratified in the ſame and following reigns, and in the reign of Charles II, work-houſes, called houſes of correction, were appointed for employing the poor in all burghs, and overſeers appointed in every pariſh for collecting contributions for that end; and though all former laws were ratified by laws of the late King William, yet this point is not to this day effectually provided for.

The laws made this year in Scotland againſt the exportation of ſalted fleſh and coals ſeem to us, at this diſtance of time, not ſo well calculated for the benefit of that country; which, breeding an infinite number of black cattle, and producing coals in vaſt quantities, it ſhould ſeem to have been more prudently deviſed, and more for the benefit of that nation, to encourage the exportation of both.

By another Scottiſh act of parliament of this year, every one reſiding in the Netherlands for commerce was to pay L10 Flemiſh, (or about L6 Sterling) as entrance-money, for leave to trade there. Another law of this ſame year confiſcates all the goods and merchandize of non-freemen trading thither; of which confiſcation, two-thirds were to go to the crown, and one-third to the Scottiſh conſervator in the Netherlands. This laſt law was confirmed in the year 1597.

From theſe laws it appears that the Scots trod in the very ſame ſteps with the Engliſh, in relation to excluſive or reſtrictive laws in commercial matters, and alſo perſiſted therein long after England ſaw the inconveniencies of them.

We have ſeen, in various periods of time, that the merchants of England had charters from the crown for regulating their commerce into the Eaſt country, a name of old, and ſtill given by mercantile people to the ports of the Baltic ſea, but more eſpecially in Pruſſia and Livonia. Queen Elizabeth now, agreeable to the genius of the age, granted them a charter, excluſive of all who ſhould not take up their freedom in their company, by the name of the Fellowſhip of Eaſt-land merchants. Their privileges were, 'to enjoy the ſole trade through the Sound, 'into Norway, Sweden, Poland, Lithuania, (excepting Narva, which 'was within the Ruſſia company's charter) Pruſſia, and alſo Pomerania, 'from the river Oder eaſtward, Dantzik, Elbing, and Koningſberg; 'alſo to Copenhagen and Elſinore, and to Finland, (here called an iſle) 'Gothland, Bornholm, and Oeland; to have a governor, deputy, or 'deputies, and twenty-four aſſiſtants, who may make bye-laws, and im-'poſe fines, impriſonment, &c. on all non-freemen trading to thoſe 'parts.' It was principally deſigned by the queen for the encouragement of her own merchants, in oppoſition to the Hanſeatics.

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This was what is called in England a regulated company, i. e. a company trading, not on a joint ſtock, but every one on his ſeparate bottom, under certain regulations. We ſhall ſee this charter farther confirmed by one from King Charles I, in 1629. Nevertheleſs, they have been frequently complained of by the Engliſh merchants as a monopoly, and were therefore curtailed by legal authority (as we ſhall ſee) in the year 1672. And finally, being, with all other monopolizing companies, (not confirmed by parliament) deemed illegal in times of true liberty, after the revolution, in conſequence of the act called the declaration of rights, &c. they do not now exiſt commercially, or otherwiſe, but in name only, which it ſeems they ſtill keep up, by continuing to elect their annual officers; and having (like the merchants of the Staple, another company in ſimilar circumſtances) a little ſtock in our public funds, the intereſt thereof defrays the expenſes of their yearly meetings, which are for no end but to commemorate their former exiſtence in a reſtrictive capacity, and to elect their principal annual officers, now merely nominal, which they ſtill continue to do.

We cannot too much commend the indefatigable induſtry of the famous patriot, (for ſo he juſtly deſerves to be ſtiled) Mr. Richard Hakluyt, of the Middle Temple, London, in ſo earneſtly promoting new diſcoveries and improvements for the benefit of England. In his ſecond volume of Voyages and diſcoveries he directs Morgan Hubblethorne, a dyer, who was ſent into Perſia this year to learn the arts of dying there, and of making carpets, &c. There are (ſays he) perſons there who ſtain linen cloth; it hath been an old trade in England, whereof ſome excellent cloths yet remain, although the art be now loſt in this realm *.

In the ſame year, William Harburn, an Engliſh merchant, ſent into Turkey by Queen Elizabeth, obtained of the ſultan Amurath III, that the Engliſh merchants might in all reſpects as freely reſort and trade to Turkey, as the French, Venetians, Germans and Poles, did at this time; by which conceſſion a foundation was laid for the Engliſh Turkey company, which was ſoon after eſtabliſhed.

1580.—Sir Francis Drake accompliſhed the ſecond circumnavigation of the terraqueous globe. He began it in the year 1577, going through the Magellanic ſtrait, with five ſhips, and 164 men. He pillaged St. Jago of Chili, and other places on the weſt coaſt of America, which was in fact the principal end of his voyage. In ſome of the harbours on this coaſt he found ſhips which had no perſon in them; ſo ſecure were the Spaniards, as not ſo much as to dream of any enemy in thoſe ſeas. He at length took the immenſely rich prize named the Cacofogo, with twenty-ſix ton of ſilver, and eighty pound weight of gold, beſides

* Mr. Anderſon here confounds Hakluyt of Oxford, the collector of voyages, with his couſin of the Middle Temple, who drew up the inſtructions for Hubblethorne, who, as we learn by the inſtructions, was ſent out at the expenſe of the city of London. *M.*

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jewels, &c.—Having now but one ſhip left, in which all his treaſure was embarked, and it being probable that the Spaniards would intercept him ſhould he return through the Magellanic ſtrait, he determined to ſail to the Moluccos, and return home (as the Portugueſe were accuſtomed to do) by the Cape of Good Hope. Being obliged to ſail as far north as 48 degrees, in order to get a good wind, he diſcovered California, which he named New Albion, ſetting up a pillar and plate, on which Queen Elizabeth's name, title, &c. were engraved; the Spaniards having never as yet had footing here. At the Moluccos, and at Java, Drake was well treated, and arrived in England (by the Cape of Good Hope) in November 1580.

On the complaint of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, the queen ſequeſtered the treaſure taken by Drake, or at leaſt a great part of it, for the king of Spain's uſe; but at the ſame time aſſerted the abſolute freedom of her ſubjects to navigate the Indian ſeas as well as thoſe of the king of Spain.

The managers of the Ruſſia company of England are undoubtedly highly to be commended for their various attempts to diſcover a north-eaſt paſſage by ſea to China and India, how unſucceſsful ſoever they proved, and how much ſoever their ultimate views might center in their own private intereſt. In this year 1580, they ſent out Pett and Jackman with two barks, to try a paſſage that way through the ſtraits of Waygatz. After many perils and difficulties from the ice and intenſe cold, one of them returned home unſucceſsful, but the other was never heard of more *.

In this ſame year, King Philip II found means to unite the kingdom of Portugal to that of Spain; a very important acceſſion to the Spaniſh monarchy, had it been managed to the beſt advantage. It remained, however, in this united ſtate till John duke of Braganza took the title of king of Portugal, in the year 1640.

The city (or rather the ſuburbs) of London, being about this time conſiderably increaſed, the queen publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding any buildings to be erected on new foundations within three miles of the city gates, and that only one family ſhould inhabit each houſe. Here Mr. Rapin, in his Hiſtory of England, ſubjoins, 'it were to be 'wiſhed for England that this prohibition had been punctually executed 'even to this day, ſince the city is ſo enlarged that it grows a monſtrous 'head to a body of a moderate ſize, to which it bears no proportion.' Notwithſtanding this obſervation, there are many perſons in modern times who do not view this increaſe in that bad light, and rather think it advantageous, and ſolely owing to the increaſe of our wealth and commerce; and that even this great increaſe of the metropolis is at-

* Pleſcow, a city of Ruſſia near the head of the lake Czudſkoc, is ſaid to have been a famous emporium at this time, and frequented by merchants from Perſia, Tartary, Sarmatia, Livonia, Germany, Britain, and other countries. [*Oderbornii Vita Johannis Baſilidis, Witeberg*, 1585, f. R. 3.] *M.*

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tended with many viſible advantages to the nation, eſpecially in point of the annual ſupplies, and of the public credit, as well as a greater conſumption of the produce of the kingdom, (ſo much for the benefit of the landed intereſt) and of our manfactures of all kinds.

The uſe of coaches is ſaid to have been now introduced in England by Fitz-Allen, earl of Arundel.

1581.—This year the Scottiſh parliament made a ſumptuary law, which laid heavy fines on all under the degrees of dukes, earls, lords of parliament, knights, and landed gentlemen not poſſeſſed of at leaſt L2000 yearly rent (L250 Sterling), who ſhould wear in their clothing or lining any cloth of gold or ſilver, velvet, ſatin, damaſk, taffeties, fringes, paſſments (lace), or embroidery of gold, ſilver, or ſilk; or any lawn, cambric, or woollen cloth made in foreign parts, (with exception of certain officers and magiſtrates); and to the end that all others, thus debarred from foreign fineries, might be ſupplied with cloth and ſtuffs of home manufacture, whereby alſo the poor might be employed, no wool was thenceforth to be exported, under forfeiture, &c. By another ſumptuary law of the ſame year, all under the above mentioned ranks were forbid the uſe of confections, foreign drugs, and coſtly ſpices, which, it ſeems, were then laviſhly uſed at weddings, chriſtenings, and other banquets, by perſons of low eſtate.

This year Queen Elizabeth granted to the city of Briſtol, which had long been a place of very conſiderable magnitude as well as traffic, a new and ample charter, with many immunities, wherein ſhe calls it her city of Briſtol, and terms it a large and populous city.

This year there was publiſhed a moſt judicious pamphlet, intitled, a Compendious examination of certain ordinary complaints of divers of our countrymen in theſe our days. (By W. S.) Therein, public ſpirit, or zeal for the community,—incloſures for paſture, then ſo much clamoured againſt,—the dearth of proviſions,—the decay of towns,—the multitude of ſheep,—the coin's being worn out,—the true ſtandard and intrinſic value of money, compared with that of foreign nations,—wool, againſt its exportation,—our extravagant love of foreign wares,—and ſundry other national points of great importance, are all handled ſo maſterly, and in ſo pure a diction for the time he wrote, as to give room for conjecturing it might have been penned by direction of the queen's miniſters, ſince ſcarcely any ordinary perſon, in thoſe early days, could be furniſhed with ſo copious a fund of excellent matter.

That author, ſpeaking of the arts to be cheriſhed in cities and towns, finely obſerves, 'that often even one minute manufacture, made peculiar to any one town, has enriched it. I have (ſays he) heard ſay, 'that the chief trade of Coventry was heretofore in making blue thread; 'and then that town was rich, even upon that trade, in a manner, only; 'and now our thread comes all from beyond ſea; wherefor that trade

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'of Coventry is decayed, and thereby the town likewiſe. So Briſtow '(Briſtol) had a great trade by making of points, and that was the 'chief myſtery (manufacture) that was exerciſed in the town.'

This author is moſt juſt in his opinion of keeping up the purity, parity, and quantity or weight, of the ſilver coin; alſo in pleading for the eaſy admiſſion of foreign artificers into our cities and towns, &c.

Several good laws were made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth for the preſervation of the timber of England, and more eſpecially of the woods growing within a certain diſtance from London, or the river Thames, both for the uſe of ſhipping and of buildings at land. As iron-mills, or works near London, were the great deſtroyers of timber and woods, it was now enacted that no new iron-work ſhould be erected within twenty-two miles of London, nor within fourteen miles of the river Thames, nor in ſeveral parts of Suſſex, near the ſea, therein named; neither ſhould any wood, within the limits deſcribed, be converted to coal or other fuel for making of iron. [23 *Eliz. c.* 5.]

A ſubſequent act [27 *Eliz. c.* 19.] prohibited the erection of any new iron-works in Surry, Kent, and Suſſex; and ordered that no timber of one foot ſquare from the ſtub ſhould be uſed as fuel for any iron-work.

We find in *Camden's Annals*, that Mr. Thomas Randolph was at this time in the office of chief poſtmaſter of England; but how it was managed does not ſo clearly appear; though from King Charles I's eſtabliſhment of the poſts, in the year 1635, it ſhould ſeem there were but very few regular poſt-carriages till then in England *.

By an act of parliament [23 *Eliz. c.* 9] for aboliſhing certain deceitful ſtuff uſed in dying of cloth, &c. 'logwood, or blockwood, of late 'years brought into this realm, is expreſsly prohibited to be uſed by 'dyers, the colours thereof being falſe and deceitful to the queen's ſub-'jects at home, and diſcreditable beyond ſea to our merchants and 'dyers.' In the ſequel we ſhall ſee the reputation of logwood fully eſtabliſhed.

The queen having ſettled preliminaries at Conſtantinople two years before for the trade to Turkey, ſhe now incorporated a number of eminent merchants for that end, viz. Sir Edward Oſburn, an alderman of London; Thomas Smith, Eſq. Richard Staper, and William Garrett, merchants. In their charter of incorporation ſhe ſets forth, 'that Sir 'Edward Oſburn and Richard Staper had, at their own great coſts and 'charges, found out and opened a trade to Turkey not heretofore in 'the memory of any man now living, known to be commonly uſed 'and frequented by way of merchandize, by any the merchants, or any 'ſubjects of us or our progenitors: Whereby many good offices may

* Camden ſays nothing further of Randolph's office, than merely calling him 'equorum diſpoſitorum præfectus.' *M.*

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'be done for the peace of Chriſtendom, relief of chriſtian ſlaves, and 'good vent for the commodities of the realm, to the advancement of 'her honour and dignity, the increaſe of her revenue, and of the gene- 'ral wealth of the realm. She therefor grants unto thoſe four mer- 'chants, their executors and adminiſtrators, and to ſuch other Engliſh- 'men (not exceeding twelve in number) as the ſaid Sir Edward Oſborn 'and Richard Staper ſhall appoint to be joined to them and the other 'two before-named perſons, and their factors, ſervants, or deputies, for 'the ſpace of ſeven years, to trade to Turkey, in ſuch manner as the 'ſaid company ſhall agree between themſelves: during which time 'they may make by-laws for their good government (not repugnant 'to the laws of the kingdom). Nothing to be tranſacted without the 'conſent of the governor for the time being, (Sir Edward Oſborne 'being hereby appointed the firſt governor). The trade to Turkey 'to be ſolely to them, their factors and ſervants, during the ſaid term; 'and any other ſubjects trading thither, either by ſea or land, without 'their licence, to forfeit ſhips and goods, moiety to the crown, moiety 'to the company. For the laſt ſix of the ſaid ſeven years this com- 'pany ſhall export ſo much goods to Turkey as ſhall annually pay at 'leaſt L500 cuſtom to the crown, (except in caſe of ſhipwreck, &c.) 'Proviſo, that in caſe this excluſive grant ſhall hereafter appear to be 'inconvenient, the queen may revoke the ſame upon one year's previ- 'ous notice; and the queen, during the ſaid term, may nominate two 'perſons to be added to the ſaid number of patentees, with the ſame 'privileges, &c. as the reſt herein named. Laſtly, if at the end of 'the ſaid ſeven years theſe grantees deſire it, the queen will grant other 'ſeven years to them, provided (as aforeſaid) the ſaid excluſive trade 'ſhall not appear to be unprofitable to the kingdom.'

Nothing can be more cautiouſly penned than this charter; and particularly we may obſerve, that by the firſt proviſo the queen in effect kept it in her own power to diſſolve them at any time, on giving one year's notice.

Sir William Monſon in his Naval tracts, (written in 1635) aſſigns the following reaſons that England did not ſooner enter directly on the Turkey trade for Perſian and Indian merchandize, but till now ſuffered the Venetians to engroſs that trade entirely, viz.

'I) Former times did not afford ſhipping ſufficient for it.

'II) We could not; becauſe of the great danger of falling into the 'hands of the Turks,' (he means the Barbary Moors), 'who in thoſe 'days were ſo ignorant of our nation, as to think England to be a town 'in the kingdom of London.

'That the Venetians in thoſe times ſent their argoſies, or argoſers,' (the corrupt name for a certain kind of great ſhip, conſtructed after the make of thoſe of Raguſa) 'yearly to Southampton with Turkey, Per-

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'ſian, and Indian merchandize. The laſt argoſer that came thus from 'Venice was unfortunately loſt near the iſle of Wight, with a rich car-'go and many paſſengers, in the year 1587.'

1582.—The queen's letters to the grand ſignior were received with much civility, being delivered to him in the year 1582 by her ambaſſador Hareborn, whom ſhe impowered to ſettle conſuls in the ſeveral ports, and to eſtabliſh laws or rules to be obſerved by the Engliſh trading to Turkey. With the firſt factors, the indefatigable Hakluyt [*V.* ii, *p.* 164.] ſent excellent inſtructions 'for inquring into the nature of dy-'ing ſtuffs of Turkey, and into the art of dying; alſo what ſpecies of 'thoſe might be produced in England, and how beneficial ſuch new pro-'ductions would have been to us; which he inſtances in that of ſaffron, 'firſt brought into England by a pilgrim, and alſo woad, originally 'from Tholouſe in Languedoc; the damaſk-roſe was firſt brought in-'to England by Dr. Linacre, phyſician to King Henry VII and King 'Henry VIII; Turkey fowls about fifty years paſt, [viz. about 1522.] 'the artichoke in King Henry VIII's time; and of later times the 'muſk-roſe, and ſeveral ſorts of plums by the Lord Cromwell, out of 'Italy; the apricot by King Henry VIII's French gardener:' (but here is no mention as yet of peaches nor of nectarines). 'And now within theſe 'four years, (1578) have been brought into England from Vienna in 'Auſtria divers kinds of flowers called tulipas, and thoſe and others pro-'cured thither a little before from Conſtantinople. And it is ſaid that 'ſince we traded to Zante, (this muſt have been but lately) the plant that 'beareth the coren is alſo brought into this realm; and although it 'bring not fruit to perfection, yet it may ſerve for pleaſure and for 'ſome uſe *. Many other things have been brought in that have de-'generated by reaſon of the cold climate; ſome things brought in have 'through negligence been loſt: and Archbiſhop Grindal brought the 'tamariſk plant from Germany, and many people have received great 'health by this plant.' On the commencement of the Engliſh trade to Turkey, the merchants having occaſion to attend the queen and council, they had there great thanks and commendations for the ſhips they then built of ſo great burden, with many encouragements to go forward for the kingdom's ſake, (ſays the author of the Trade's increaſe, who adds, that the ordinary returns of this trade at the beginning were three for one).

England, by entering into a direct trade to Turkey, procured all the commodities of Greece, Syria, Egypt, Perſia, and India, much cheaper than formerly. And (ſays Sir William Monſon) when the Venetians ſerved us with thoſe rich eaſtern wares, by the way of the Red ſea, and

* This ſhews that it was then but juſt introduced, and not well known.

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down the Nile to Alexandria, and alſo by way of the caravans to Aleppo, they alſo were wont to take freight in their ſhips from port to port, whereas now (1635) all ſtrangers are more deſirous to employ our own ſhips in that ſervice. Jacobs [*Lex mercatoria, p.* 9.] alleges, (upon what authority I know not) 'that the Barbary merchants were 'incorporated in King Henry VII's time; but that company decaying, 'out of their ruins aroſe the Levant or Turkey company, who, firſt 'trading with Venice, and then with Turkey, furniſhed England that 'way with Eaſt-India commodities, which, till then, were brought to us '(moſtly) by land, and to the Portugueſe alone by long ſea,' &c.

This year the ſhip Suſan of London, mounting thirty-four guns, carried out to Turkey the Engliſh ambaſſador Hareborn, who now firſt ſettled peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which piratical ſtates had taken many ſhips belonging to London, Briſtol, &c. And Hareborn having eſtabliſhed all the Engliſh factories in Turkey, notwithſtanding the malice of the French and Venetians, returned over land to England.

The ſame year a voyage to China was attempted from England with four ſhips; which, however, went no farther than the coaſt of Braſil, and returned home for want of proviſions, after having fought with ſome Spaniſh ſhips of war on that coaſt.

Mezeray, in his Hiſtory of France, acquaints us that the yearly revenue of their king, Henry III, was now got ſo high as thirty-two millions of livres, (or L3,200,000 Sterling) a livre being at this time equal to two ſhillings Engliſh.

The Hanſeatic merchants, in their complaints to the diet of the empire againſt England, aſſerted, that by the high duty laid on woollen cloth in England, it was become (ſays Werdenhagen) twice or thrice as dear as it had before been: that hence ſprung the vaſt increaſe of England's wealth, 200,000 cloths being yearly exported thence, three fourths whereof were carried into Germany; and from thence a great part was carried into Poland, Denmark, and Sweden: that the remaining fourth part was ſent to the Netherlands and to France; but little or none into Spain; from whence it was eaſy to infer the immenſeneſs of the profit accruing to that nation thereby. The only remedy therefor was to baniſh the Engliſh merchant-adventurers out of the empire; and abſolutely to prohibit all manner of Engliſh woollen manufactures, as what they judged would effectually bring the queen to terms with the Hanſe towns. The queen had ſome friends in this diet, who, together with her own able envoy, Gilpin, long and ſtrenuouſly defended her and her merchant-adventurers. Yet in the end, the intereſt of the Hanſe towns prevailed with the diet, who paſſed ſentence againſt the Engliſh merchants, and abſolutely prohibited all Engliſh woollen goods: yet Gilpin by a ſtratagem obtained that the ſentence ſhould not be executed till the deciſion

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of another diet; and our merchants were afterward permitted to remove from Staden to Hamburgh, where they were well received.

In this year the Ruſſia company ſent out no fewer than eleven ſhips, well armed, for fear of enemies and pirates.

Pope Gregory XIII ordered ten days to be cut off from this year, becauſe 365 days and 6 hours exceeded a year by 11 minutes; one day therefor is gained in about 132 years; by which means, from the year 325, when the council of Nice was held, to this year 1582, 10 whole days were gained. This was called the new ſtile, and doubtleſs the juſteſt; though we and other proteſtant ſtates kept to the old ſtile till very lately.

1583.—Such was the cuſtom and policy of thoſe times, that Queen Elizabeth was obliged, for the protection of the ſhips of her Ruſſia company, (ſays Camden in her Annals) to obtain the king of Denmark's permiſſion for the company's ſhips freely to navigate the North ſea, by the coaſts of Norway and Lapland to the haven of St. Nicholas; and in caſe of foul weather, &c. to take ſhelter either in Iceland or Norway, even in ports by former agreements prohibited, provided they did not trade there without that king's licence; for which privileges the company were to pay him 100 roſe nobles annually, during the term of this grant.

Queen Elizabeth ſent Sir Jerom Bowes to Ruſſia: but the miniſters of the new czar, Pheodore Juanowitz, being, as ſome ſaid, corrupted by Dutch preſents, he returned home without being able to obtain a renewal of the company's excluſive privileges. The writers of thoſe times acquaint us, that, beſides the main commodities ſent from England to Ruſſia, viz. cloths, ſilks, velvets, &c. they carried thither coarſe linen cloth *, old ſilver plate, all kinds of ſmall mercery wares ſerving for the apparel of both ſexes, as linen and ſilk girdles, garters, purſes, knives, &c. Yet what by the expenſe of the firſt diſcovery, (thirty years ago) and the large preſents ſince beſtowed on the czar and his miniſters, and the falſe dealings of others there, it had coſt the company about L80,000 before it could be brought to any profitable account; and even at this time, from the fickle temper of the czar and his people, the encroachments of the Hollanders, and the expenſe of ambaſſadors, &c. all born by the company, this trade now ſtood on a very precarious bottom. Camden in his Hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth ſays that this new czar promiſed to remit to our company half of the cuſtoms paid by other nations, in conſideration of their having been the firſt diſcoverers of the way thither by ſea. In other reſpects he added to their privileges out of regard for the queen; at the ſame time accuſing the company of having dealt falſely with his people; and no other anſwer than this could

* Great quantities of linens of various kinds are now imported *from* Ruſſia: ſuch are frequently the vaſt alterations in commerce.

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Dr. Fletcher obtain, who was ſent afterwards ambaſſador on this behalf to Ruſſia, in the year 1588.

The laſt part of the preceding paragraph we have taken from a curious and judicious treatiſe of Captain Carliſle's, who was ſon-in law to Sir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate to Queen Elizabeth; and who this year alſo ſet forth the hazard of the Engliſh in their voyages to Turkey from the piratical ſtates of Barbary, for prevention whereof it coſt about L2000 yearly in preſents; and the like hazards in our trade to Italy, our ſailors being obliged to pay large ranſoms to the Algerines for their redemption from ſlavery. Moreover, the Venetians, envying our advancement in thoſe trades, have loaded us with high duties on our merchandize, and on theirs which we bring back.

Yet (ſays Captain Carliſle) we drive a great trade with Spain and Portugal, who take off much of our wares to their Indies.

Carliſle had, by the intereſt of Sir Francis Walſingham and others, raiſed L1000 ſubſcription at Briſtol, for an attempt to ſettle in America; and had propoſed to the Ruſſia merchants to raiſe L3000 more at London; which L4000 they deemed ſufficient to ſettle 100 men in their intended plantation.

Captain Carliſle judiciouſly diſplays the many benefits which would accrue to England by making a ſettlement in North America: Such as the great conſumption of our woollen and other manufactures; taking off our idle and burdenſome people; the great likelihood of rich mines; and ſtill more, of our raiſing naval ſtores in America, which we are now obliged at high prices to take from other nations; that this propoſed ſettlement may alſo be greatly helpful to the fiſhery in thoſe ſeas; and as there are grapes in plenty in America, and olives may be eaſily propagated there, both wine and oil may be had in abundance: Furs alſo, and ſkins in abundance.

Pippins (according to the author of the Preſent ſtate of England, printed anno 1683) were firſt planted in England about this time in Lincolnſhire, prior to thoſe of Kent.

In the year 1578 the queen had granted a patent to Sir Humphry Gilbert (half-brother to Sir Walter Raleigh) and his aſſigns, to make diſcoveries weſtward, and to ſettle a colony. Accordingly, (after ſundry diſcouragements) he ſailed this year from Plymouth with five ſhips; and at Newfoundland was aſſiſted by the Engliſh fiſhing ſhips there in taking poſſeſſion of that iſland for himſelf, under the crown of England. He had carried with him many artificers, with toys, &c. for traffic. There he ſet up the queen's arms, and gave leaſes to many perſons for ſtages to cure their fiſh; the Portugueſe, French, and Spaniſh ſhips crews agreeing thereto. He thence ſailed to Cape Breton, and to the continent of North America, where he loſt one of his ſhips. Meeting with many other diſaſters, he returned homeward; but Sir Humphry and

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all in his ſhip were loſt in a great ſtorm, and only one ſhip got ſafe home to Falmouth. Walter Raleigh, then a young man, was deeply engaged in this project.

The ſame year a ſhip of 250 tons belonging to Southampton ſailed on a voyage to Braſil and Rio de la Plata; but was in going thither unfortunately loſt on the coaſt of Guinea.

Adrian Gilbert got the queen's patent to himſelf and others for five years, for the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage to China, &c. by the title of the Colleagues of the fellowſhip for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage; which ſcheme came to nothing.

The queen-mother of France, Catharine de Medici, aſſiſting the baſtard of Portugal, Don Antonio, with ſhips and troops, he got poſſeſſion of one of the Azores or Weſtern iſlands; but the Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of twelve galleys and fifty galleons, meeting with that of France, totally defeated it. Voltaire in his General hiſtory of Europe (part v.) thinks, that this was the firſt time that galleys were ſeen in the Ocean, (*i. e.* without the Mediterranean ſea) it being, ſays he, very ſurpriſing that they ſhould have been brought the diſtance of 1000 leagues to thoſe ſtrange ſeas. When Louis XIV, long after this time, ſent ſome galleys into the Ocean, it was falſely ſuppoſed to have been the firſt attempt of that kind: yet this attempt was, it is true, more hazardous than that of the Spaniards, the Channel being more tempeſtuous than the Atlantic ocean. The mercantile Venetian and Genoeſe galleys, which formerly reſorted to England, were very probably of a more ſolid ſtructure than thoſe ones which are only fit for ſummer expeditions within the Mediterranean.

1584.—Sir Walter Raleigh, whoſe great genius inclined him to new enterpriſes and diſcoveries, this year procured a ſociety of gentlemen and merchants to ſubſcribe a conſiderable ſum of money for forming a ſettlement on the continent of North America; and on Lady-day 1584 Queen Elizabeth granted them a charter for that purpoſe. Amidas and Barlow, with two veſſels, were accordingly ſent; but they failed about 1000 leagues out of their way: for the ſhort courſe to the northern parts of America not being as yet known, they ſteered the wonted courſe of the Spaniards, by the Canary iſles, and thence into the trade-wind to the Caribbee iſlands; thence ſailing through the gulf of Florida, they anchored on the coaſt of the country now called Virginia; where, making ſome inſignificant trade with the natives with toys for their furs, they returned home with gain (as they ſaid) and greatly magnified the richneſs of the country, in order to encourage a ſecond adventure. They brought home ſome pearls, and tobacco, (the firſt of that ſort that had been ſeen in England). The queen ſeemed fond of this deſign; and either ſhe herſelf, or Sir Walter Raleigh, gave the country the name of Virginia, which indeed they truly repreſented to be a

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pleaſant country, abounding in fine woods, deer, hares, wild fowl, fiſh, vines, currants, &c.

Raleigh therefor obtained Queen Elizabeth's patent to himſelf, &c. for the poſſeſſion of ſuch remote lands, not then inhabited by Chriſtians, as they ſhould diſcover in ſix years, of which they thereby had the property granted to them for ever, reſerving to the crown the fifth part of all gold and ſilver ore found therein; with power to ſeize to their proper uſe all ſhips with their merchandize that ſhall without leave plant within 200 leagues of this intended ſettlement; excepting, however, the queen's ſubjects and allies fiſhing at Newfoundland, &c. grants free denization to the planters and their poſterity reſiding there. Powers are alſo granted to the patentees for making bye-laws there, not repugnant to thoſe of England. N. B. In this and ſome other patents of thoſe times, there was no diſtinct place, longitude, nor latitude fixed or limited for ſuch plantation, although undoubtedly North America was the country intended.

In the ſame year Jerom Horſey, the queen's and the Engliſh Ruſſia company's agent, is ſaid to have obtained more benefits of the czar Theodore Ivanowitz than could be got in twenty preceding years. The czar ſent Horſey over land with his compliments to the queen, who ſent him back to him with her's: after which he took leave a ſecond time, returning with the czar's preſents for Queen Elizabeth. He was very honourably received at the new caſtle of Archangel, and coming to St. Nicholas, at the ſea-ſide, he was ſaluted with the cannon of the Engliſh, Dutch, and French ſhips: which alſo plainly ſhews that this company's excluſive trade before this was quite abrogated *.

1585.—Next year Captain John Davis with two barks from Dartmouth firſt ſailed into the ſtraits now ſo well known by his name, and after proceeding to the northward as far as 66 deg. 40 min. returned home the ſame year, as all others ſince have done, without diſcovering a north-weſt paſſage. At this time we find they knew the uſe of ſomewhat like the harpoon, with which they killed a porpoiſe; but though many whales fell in their way, they knew not yet the right manner of killing them.

The fate of the noble commercial city of Antwerp muſt not be overlooked in the hiſtory of commerce. That moſt beautiful city, which had long flouriſhed in the greateſt opulence, the fruit of unrivalled commerce and manufactures, was now beſieged and taken by the duke of Parma, the governor of the Spaniſh provinces in the Netherlands.

* Camden expreſsly aſſerts that this czar gave free permiſſion to the merchants of all nations to trade to Ruſſia, and anſwered Elizabeth's demand of a renewal of the excluſive privileges, granted by his father to the Engliſh company in the White ſea, by a propoſal that ſhe ſhould throw the trade open to all her ſubjects; which ſhews, that the Ruſſian prince was not ignorant of the principles of commerce, and of the intereſt of his country. *M.*

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For three days together the Spaniſh ſoldiers wallowed in the plunder of the city, from which they carried off at leaſt two millions of piſtoles, beſides which, an incalculable quantity of rich merchandize and furniture was deſtroyed by fire. Almoſt 3000 of the inhabitants fell by the ſword, 1500 were burnt or trodden to death, and as many were drowned in the Scheld.

The ruin of this famous city gave the finiſhing blow to the commerce of the Spaniſh Netherlands. The fiſhing trade removed into Holland. The noble manufactures of Flanders and Brabant were diſperſed into different countries. The woollen manufacture ſettled moſtly in Leyden, where it ſtill flouriſhes. The linen removed to Harlem and Amſterdam. About a third part of the manufacturers and merchants who wrought and dealed in ſilks, damaſks, taffities, bays, ſayes, ſerges, ſtockings, &c. ſettled in England, becauſe England was then ignorant of thoſe manufactures: and the reſt of the merchants of Antwerp, (more eſpecially the proteſtants) would probably alſo have ſettled in England, but that foreign merchants paid double cuſtoms, and were alſo excluded from all companies or ſocieties of commerce, as were alſo foreign journeymen from ſetting up to be maſter-workmen, or even partners in any trades but ſuch as the Engliſh were unacquainted with. And thus, through the madneſs of Spaniſh popiſh bigotry, and of arbitrary power, commerce and manufactures, driven from their Netherlands, proved the means of enriching moſt of the countries of Europe weſt and north of the Mediterranean ſea. A moſt ſerious memento to all nations!

To this perſecution of the Flemiſh proteſtants the kingdom of Sweden is ſaid to be indebted for its greateſt improvements. They firſt taught the Swedes to make iron cannon, and other iron, copper, and braſs manufactures; for before this time moſt of the Swediſh iron was only run into pigs and ſent to Dantzic, and other parts of Pruſſia, to be forged into bars; juſt as the Engliſh formerly ſent their wool into Flanders, to be made into cloth by the Flemings.

Malynes, in his treatiſe intitled Free trade, (8vo, 1622, *p.* 68) obſerves, that no nation trafficked ſo much to Antwerp, in bulk of ſtaple commodities, as England. This, ſays he, is aſſerted by Botero, who relates, that, two years before the taking of Antwerp, all the merchandize of Chriſtendom which were vended there in one year being valued by the officers of that city, the Engliſh merchandize alone amounted to four fifths of the whole!

Though Antwerp was the moſt opulent city in the weſtern parts of the world, yet as moſt part of its commerce was carried on by the ſhips of foreign nations, it had not much ſhipping properly of its own, compared with thoſe of modern London and Amſterdam. So that when it was ſacked, the ſhipping removed with the nations they belonged to,

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which was one reaſon that it could never recover its former commerce, as the Dutch forts on the Scheld, below it, was another, and more cogent one. In its glory it contained 13,500 private houſes, 42 churches, 22 markets, and 220 ſtreets. From the Scheld on which it ſtands, in the figure of a creſcent, were cut eight principal canals into the city for loaded ſhips to go into the heart of it. Not only England and Holland have happily felt the advantages of the wild conduct of Spain, in their perſecution of the proteſtants of the Netherlands, by a very conſiderable acceſſion of induſtrious manufacturers; but likewiſe ſundry cities of Germany were thence ſtocked with induſtrious inhabitants: particularly, the count de Hanau thereupon erected what is called the new town of Hanau (much finer than the old one), ſince, however, increaſed by the perſecution of the French proteſtants by Louis XIV.

It was ordered by the dean, high ſteward, and burgeſſes of Weſtminſter, that the number of ale-houſes ſhould not exceed one hundred, viz. ſixty for St. Margaret's pariſh, twenty for St. Martin's, and twenty for St. Clement's and the Savoy precinct. The inhabitants of St. Margaret's pariſh thus appear to have exceeded thoſe of all the reſt of the liberty by oneſixth part; and as there were, when Maitland wrote, (about the year 1740) 1164 ale-houſes in that city and liberty, he rightly enough eſtimates the whole to be about twelve times as large in his time as it was then.

Sir Richard Greenville ſailed for Virginia, by the old round about way above deſcribed, with ſeven ſhips loaded with arms, ammunition, and proviſions, and with men for a ſettlement. He began with planting at Roanoke iſle, lying about five leagues from the continent *, in 36 degrees north latitude, where he left 108 men, who, neglecting to prepare their proviſions in due ſeaſon, and going far up the country in queſt of mines, (for golden dreams were then univerſal) moſt of them were either deſtroyed by the natives, or periſhed for want; and the few, who ſurvived, were taken up by Sir Francis Drake on his return from the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, who took them all home with him, even although they had ſown corn there, very near ripe, ſufficient for two years ſuſtenance. And they were but juſt gone, when a ſhip, fitted out at the ſole coſt of Sir Walter Raleigh, arrived there with all ſorts of conveniences; as did Sir Richard Greenville ſoon after, with three other ſhips, with a farther ſupply: But finding the places quite deſolate where the Engliſh planters had ſettled, they all returned home †.

* The iſland of Roanoke is ſcarcely five *miles* from the coaſt of North Carolina; for ſo that part of America was called, after the indiſcriminate name of Virginia was reſtricted to the province now ſo called. *M.*

† In theſe accounts there ſeems to be ſome confuſion reſpecting the time and the names of perſons, owing to the careleſſneſs of writers and tranſcribers. Camden, (in his *Annals of Elizabeth*) ſays, that to the beſt of his knowlege, the firſt tobacco ever ſeen in England was now brought from Virginia: and he obſerves, that in a few years afterwards tobacco taverns (or ſmoking houſes) were as common in London as beer-houſes or wine-taverns. *M.*

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The ſeven United provinces this year ſent deputies to Queen Elizabeth, with requeſt to take their provinces under her protection, or elſe to grant them ſufficient aid during their war with the king of Spain. She refuſed to be their ſovereign, but ſent to their aſſiſtance the earl of Leiceſter to command her troops, conſiſting of 5000 foot and 1000 horſe, and to be governor of their provinces. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xv, *pp.* 793 *et ſeqq.* *Collection of treaties*, *V.* ii, *p.* 83, *ed.* 1732.]

The ſtates-general, as a ſecurity for her expenſes, put her in poſſeſſion of the town of Fluſhing, and the fort of Rammekins, in Zealand, and the town of Brill, with its forts; which were to be reſtored upon payment of the queen's diſburſements. This is called the treaty of Nonſuch, concluded the 10th of Auguſt 1585.

It would be to little purpoſe to recount all the private adventures of Engliſhmen againſt the Spaniards in America in Queen Elizabeth's reign; yet Drake's grand expedition (though undertaken only by private adventurers) with 25 ſhips, and 2300 men, may merit a brief account. He ſacked the town of St. Jago at the Cape de Verd iſles. He ſailed thence to the Weſt-Indies, and took and pillaged the city of St. Domingo: then he took the city of Carthagena, and obliged them to ranſom it. The ſeaſon being far advanced, he found himſelf obliged to return homeward, without following his original ſcheme, which was to march over land to Panama on the ſhore of the South ſea. Wherefor he ſailed by the coaſt of Florida, where he ſacked the fort of St. Auguſtine, and found about L2000 in money, with 14 braſs cannon. Next he called at the infant Virginia colony, and carried the people home with him, as already noted. Hakluyt makes the whole booty of this expedition not to exceed L600,000, and ſays they loſt therein 700 men: it therefor did not fully anſwer expectation.

This year Queen Elizabeth granted a patent to the earls of Warwick and Leiceſter, and to forty more, for an excluſive trade to the dominions of Morocco during twelve years; to the emperor whereof, Muley Hamet, ſhe ſent her miniſter, Roberts, who remained three years there, and obtained ſome privileges for the Engliſh; particularly, that none of the Engliſh ſhould in future be made ſlaves in his dominions.

The Algerine pirates now firſt venturing into the Ocean, (according to Morgan's Hiſtory of Algiers, *V.* ii, *p.* 588) with three ſhips attacked and pillaged the chief town of the Canaries, carrying home much booty, and many captives.

The violences of the duke of Alva, and the ſubſequent ſack of Antwerp, had forced ſuch multitudes of people to take ſhelter at Amſterdam, that in a few years after it increaſed above one half; and new ramparts, ditches, &c. were made round the increaſed part of the city. Werdenhagen obſerves, that at one time 19,000 people retired from Antwerp into Holland, and moſtly to Amſterdam; whereby Antwerp, not

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only the fineſt city of all Brabant, but almoſt of all Europe, was miſerably ſtripped of its wealth and proſperity, whilſt riches, arts, ingenuity, and induſtry crowded into Amſterdam, in a manner ſo ſudden as hardly to be paralleled in ſtory; ſo that it now became the chief city of traffic in all the Netherlands. For as the great penſionary De Witt obſerves, in his *Intereſt of Holland*, although Antwerp was, in reſpect of its good foundation and far-extended traffic, the moſt renowned merchandizing city that ever was (till then) in the world, ſending many ſhips backward and forward from France, England, Spain, Italy, &c. and making many ſilk manufactures, yet Brabant and Flanders were too remote and ill-ſituated for erecting at Antwerp, or near to it, the fiſhery of haddoc, cod, and herring, and for making that trade as profitable there as it might be in Holland. The king of Spain deſired to weaken that ſtrong city, (which he thought too powerful) and to diſperſe the traffic over his many other cities. The merchants of Antwerp, being neceſſitated to forſake that city, choſe Amſterdam to ſettle in, (which before the troubles was the next great city of commerce in the Netherlands) becauſe the iſles of Zealand were not ſo well ſituated for inland commerce; and there was then no toleration of religion either in France or England. In the latter country alſo there were heavy duties on goods exported and imported; and their guilds or halls excluded foreigners: nevertheleſs, one third part of the dealers in, and weavers of, ſays, damaſks, ſtockings, &c. went caſually into England, becauſe thoſe trades were then new to the Engliſh, and therefor under no halls or guilds. Another great part went to Leyden; and the traders in linen fixed at Harlem. The Flemiſh fiſhing went alſo to Holland; though ſtill the villages of Flanders and Brabant retained much manufacture, by means of land carriage into France and Germany. What Botero ſays, in his Treatiſe of the cauſes of the magnificence and greatneſs of cities, was even now certainly true of the cities of Flanders, viz. that they were the moſt mercantile and the moſt frequented cities for commerce and traffic in all Europe; a principal cauſe whereof was, that the infinite quantity of merchandize imported and exported paid but a very ſmall cuſtom.

At this time the new-erected republic of the United provinces was in great diſtreſs, as not only King Henry III of France, but Queen Elizabeth of England, had again refuſed to be their ſovereigns. The ſagacious queen foreſaw that when ſhe was once engaged againſt Spain in defence of that ſovereignty, it would be almoſt impoſſible to tell, when ſhe ſhould be able to retreat with honour and ſafety; but the powerful aid ſhe intended to give the ſtates-general ſhe might either leſſen or increaſe at pleaſure. She now therefore ſtipulated to ſupply the ſtates with 5000 foot and 1000 horſe, and to pay thoſe troops whilſt the war laſted, but to be repaid at the end of it; the three forts already men-

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tioned remaining in her hands by way of ſecurity for the ſame, and for L100,000 in money, which ſhe had formerly lent them.

Sir Bernard Drake, with a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, was now ſent to Newfoundland, where he took ſeveral Portugueſe ſhips laden with fiſh and oil, (Portugal being now united to Spain) which is all that we meet with material concerning that iſland during the reſt of this century.

1586.—Miſſelden [*Circle of commerce, p.* 54, *ed.* 1623, 4to] relates, that Queen Elizabeth now confirmed all the former charters of the company of Engliſh merchant-adventurers, granting them the like authority to hold their courts, and to exerciſe their trade in Germany as amply as they had formerly done in the Netherlands, with ſtrict prohibition to all not free of that company to trade within their limits *. Whereupon the city of Hamburgh invited them again to ſettle there, and the company ſent thither two commiſſioners: yet the imperial and Spaniſh party in the ſenate ſo far prevailed, that the commiſſioners were obliged next year to go over to Staden, where they fixed the company's ſtaple to good purpoſe. Before this time, Staden was unfrequented by merchants; but in ten years that the company reſided there, Staden found a great change for the better, till the year 1597, when the company was forced to leave it.

Captain John Davis with three ſhips made his ſecond voyage for the north-weſt paſſage; but finding no paſſage in the ſtraits of his name, attempted it farther ſouth, where he loſt ſome of his men by the natives; and returned after bartering toys for ſome hundreds of ſeal-ſkins.

The Hanſeatic towns on the Baltic ſhores, and particularly Wiſmar and Lubeck, ſtill continued to have a conſiderable commerce while they continued to ſail directly to Spain with their own veſſels; but from this time forward, (ſays their hiſtorian Werdenhagen) by means of ſuch numbers of Netherlanders as had fled to Hamburgh, that city puſhed on a much greater commerce to Spain. From this period moſt authors date the great, but gradual, declenſion of the Hanſeatic towns on the Baltic ſea, and more eſpecially that of Wiſmar; the magnificent churches, auguſt market-place, town-houſe, capacious wine-cellars, and the large and ſtately private houſes of which city, ſufficiently teſtify its antient great trade and opulence.

At this time flouriſhed the famous Daniſh aſtronomer Tycho Brahe, who made ſome aſtronomical diſcoveries and improvements, which proved very beneficial to navigation, and conſequently to maritime commerce.

According to Gemelli, the Chineſe about this time granted to the Portugueſe the rocky iſle of Macao, below Canton, then inhabited by rob-

* Miſſelden ſays, he peruſed the original charter.

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bers, on condition of expelling them, as they accordingly did; and there they built and fortified the town of that name, which they hold to this day, paying tribute and cuſtoms to the Chineſe. Since the Portugueſe were expelled from Japan, Macao is become quite inconſiderable, having but five ſhips left: it contained 5000 Portugueſe, and 1500 Chineſe in the year 1699.

The ſame year Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out from Plymouth two ſmall veſſels, which at the Azores took five Spaniſh ſhips; and, after ſome other exploits, returned home with a good booty.

Thomas Cavendiſh now commenced the ſecond Engliſh circumnavigation of the earth at his own expenſe, which he effected in two years and two months, by the old route through Magellan's ſtrait, and home by the Cape of Good Hope, having loſt two of his three ſhips. He took a rich Spaniſh ſhip from the Philippines, and deſtroyed other ſhips and ſome towns in the South ſeas. But neither this nor Drake's circumnavigation were intended for making uſeful ſettlements in thoſe remote parts, for the benefit of commerce, as moſt certainly they might eaſily have done; their object being only to pillage the Spaniards, together with ſome tranſient commerce.

In this ſame year the earl of Cumberland and Sir Walter Raleigh jointly ſent out ſome ſhips to privateer on the Spaniards in the South ſeas: but this undertaking proved unfortunate, and a great loſs to theſe two enterpriſing geniuſes.

Hakluyt acquaints us, that Jerome Horſey now obtained of the czar Theodore Juanowitz, new privileges for the Engliſh Ruſſia company, (though not excluſive ones) ſuch as a freedom from certain tolls or taxes, &c. But it ſeems they were in this new grant prohibited from carrying their goods to the new caſtle of Archangel, and obliged to uſe the old warehouſes and the harbour of St. Nicholas. As this is the ſecond time that we find mention of the new caſtle of Archangel, it is probable there was then no town of that name, and that this new caſtle has ſince grown up into the town of Archangel.

We are indebted to De Witt's *Intereſt of Holland* for the following remarks on the earl of Leiceſter's conduct in Holland in this year, viz. 'that although during the troubles on the ſcore of religion, many Flemiſh and Brabant clothiers and merchants retired to Holland, yet 'were they preſently in great danger of being driven out again by the 'earl of Leiceſter, who, by the intereſt of the clergy, his courtiers, and 'Engliſh ſoldiers, endeavoured to make himſelf lord of the country, 'iſſuing very prejudicial placarts againſt traffic and navigation, deſigning by ſurpriſe to have ſeized on the three greateſt trading cities, viz. 'Amſterdam, Leyden, and Enckhuyſen.' In another place he ſays, 'that 'Leiceſter's edict at Utrecht, in the year 1586, prohibiting ſtores of 'war, proviſions, or even merchandize, as alſo letters, from being car-

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'ried to the Spaniards or their allies, &c. had like to have marred all 'the advantages which the fall of Antwerp had brought to Holland, 'had not the French, Scots, Danes, and Vandalic Hanſe towns, inter- 'poſed, whereby that edict was fruſtrated. Nevertheleſs, the bare ter- 'ror of its being to take place made very many trading people leave 'the Netherlands, who ſettled at Hamburgh, Bremen, Embden, Staden, '&c.' The later edict, Thuanus [*L.* lxxxv.] thinks, was in order to raiſe money for carrying on the war, by obliging all nations to purchaſe free navigation at high prices. Great, however, as thoſe two authors are, it may be conſidered that the later was a Frenchman, and the other ſtrongly frenchified, and a violent republican, and foe to England *.

1587.—Sir Walter Raleigh had his mind ſo intenſely ſet upon a plantation in North America, that he again ſent out three ſhips and 150 perſons of both ſexes. Theſe planters Raleigh's ſuperintendant ſettled on the iſland of Roanoke, where he found the ſecond colony had been deſtroyed by the natives. He rebuilt the fort and houſes, calling the place the city of Raleigh; and leaving 115 men in his new ſettlement, he returned home, where he remained about three years before he could obtain the neceſſary ſupplies which he had promiſed to bring in the year after he left the colony. When he arrived in 1590, with ſupplies of men and ſtores in three ſhips, he found that ſuch of the colony as remained alive had removed to a place on the continent called Croatoan, that word being carved on the trees. To this place they intended to ſail in ſearch of the colony; but a ſtorm unfortunately ariſing, the ſhips loſt their anchors and cables, and proviſions alſo failing, they agreed to return home, leaving that miſerable colony to periſh, to the ſhame of that age; for though Raleigh was in trouble about this time, yet ſurely the queen and nation ſhould have had compaſſion on thoſe poor men, left amongſt ſavages in a wilderneſs.

Thus was this ſcheme of a plantation in Virginia quite laid aſide during all the reſt of Queen Elizabeth's reign; and all the great expenſe of Raleigh and the other adventurers utterly thrown away, beſides the loſs of many mens lives.

A law was made in Scotland, whereby the legal intereſt was not for the future to exceed L10, or an equivalent of five bolls of victual, for L100 by the year, thus valuing five bolls equal to L10 Scots. [*11th Parl. Ja. VI, c.* 52.]†

The law made in the reign of King James I, for ſending deputies or commiſſioners to parliament, to repreſent the leſſer barons or freehold-

* Camden's account of Leiceſter's conduct is nearly the ſame with thoſe of the foreign authors here quoted. *M.*

† Contracts made before the date of this law were to remain valid. *M.*

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ers, having been much neglected, it was now re-enacted; and the regular repreſentation of the ſhires, and alſo of the cities and burghs, was ever after conſtantly kept up. [*Ib. c.* 113.]

In this king's reign there were ſundry ſtrict laws made for confining commerce in Scotland to the freemen of burghs; ſo far that no workman or craftſman ſhould be permitted to carry on his craft or calling, in any adjacent ſuburb of a free burgh, even though the ſuburb ſhould be no way ſubject to the burgh.

About this time the queen granted to the Steelyard merchants of the German Hanſe towns the very ſame commercial privileges and immunities, in point of cuſtoms on commerce, as were enjoyed by her own natural-born ſubjects; provided, however, that her Engliſh merchants at Hamburgh were equally well treated; which yet did not give them entire content. In the mean time the queen, being at war with Spain, gave the Hanſe towns due notice not to carry into Spain, Portugal, nor Italy, proviſions, naval ſtores, or implements of war, for the king of Spain's uſe, under forfeiture thereof, and even of corporal puniſhment.

In England, as well as in other European countries, where there was any conſiderable commerce, the ſalaries, and dayly wages or pay of artificers, ſoldiers, ſailors, labourers, &c. were conſiderably enhanced about this time, occaſioned partly by the general increaſe of commerce, and partly by the great acceſſion of ſilver bullion annually imported from the Spaniſh colonies in Mexico and Peru.

The count of Eaſt-Frieſland wrote to Queen Elizabeth, complaining of the Hollanders, who had blocked up his river Ems, and even part of his town of Embden, ſo as to hinder the exportation of corn, &c. on pretence of ſuch proviſions being carried to the Spaniards, their enemies, while at the ſame time they themſelves ſent 200 veſſels yearly, with corn, and other proviſions, &c. to their mortal enemy the king of Spain's country, for the ſake of gain. The count tells the queen, how much he had formerly encouraged her merchant-adventurers when ſettled at Embden; alſo, how much even they were obſtructed in carrying their cloth into the interior parts of the empire, by the interruption of his people's commerce by the Hollanders; and that he had encouraged her merchants, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the imperial and Hanſeatic cities to obſtruct it. [*Fœdera, V.* xvi, *p.* 6.] Yet the company was not now at Embden, but had removed from Hamburgh to Staden.

Queen Elizabeth having intelligence of the formidable preparations of Philip II of Spain for an invaſion of England, ſent out Sir Francis Drake with a fleet of forty ſhips to the coaſt of Spain, where he deſtroyed many ſhips, particularly about 100 veſſels laden with proviſions and ammunition, near Cadiz and Liſbon. He alſo took a rich Portugal

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carrack from Eaſt-India at the Azores, out of the papers whereof (ſays Camden, in Queen Elizabeth's hiſtory) the Engliſh ſo fully underſtood the rich value of the Eaſt-Indian merchandize, and the manner of trading into the eaſtern world, that they afterward ſet up a gainful trade, by eſtabliſhing a company of Eaſt-India merchants at London. He alſo took an argoſie full of rich merchandize.

The damages, which the Spaniards ſuffered from Drake, obliged them to poſtpone the intended invaſion of England. But another greater, and ſeemingly more effectual, cauſe of deferring it, does equal honour to commerce, and to Sir Francis Walſingham, the ſecretary of ſtate, who, by the aid of Thomas Sutton, Eſq. (who was afterward founder of the charter-houſe hoſpital in London), and alſo of the queen's merchant Sir Thomas Greſham, and of ſome others, found means to get all the Spaniſh bills of exchange proteſted, which were drawn on the merchants of Genoa, and which were to ſupply Philip for carrying on his preparations. A merchant of London, ſays Biſhop Burnet, [*Hiſtory of his own times*, *V.* i, *p.* 313] being very well acquainted with the revenue and expenſe of Spain, and of all that they could raiſe, and knowing alſo that their funds were ſo ſwallowed up, that it was impoſſible for them to victual and fit out their fleet, but by their credit on the bank of Genoa, he undertook to write to all the places of trade, and to get ſuch remittances made on that bank, that he might have ſo much of the money in his own hands, as there ſhould be none current there equal to the great occaſion of victualling the Spaniſh fleet. He reckoned that the keeping of ſuch a treaſure dead in his hands, until the ſeaſon of victualling was over, would be a loſs of L40,000: and he managed the matter with ſuch ſecrecy and ſucceſs, that the fleet could not be ſet out that year. At ſo ſmall a price (ſays the biſhop), with ſo ſkilful a management, was the nation ſaved at that time. Wheeler, the ſecretary and hiſtoriographer of the Engliſh merchant-adventurers company, alſo aſſerts, that the fellowſhip of merchant-adventurers were likewiſe, on this ſame occaſion, aſſiſting to the queen in like ſort, at the mart of Kiel in Holſtein. All which demonſtrates the great importance of mercantile credit, and its influence, when well conducted, in matters of even the higheſt ſtate concern to a nation.

In the ſame year John Davis, with three ſhips from Dartmouth, undertook a third voyage for a north-weſt paſſage to China, &c. In this voyage, he met with a Biſcay ſhip, which he judged to be upon the fiſhing for whales. Nothing materially different happening in this attempt from the two former, he returned home without finding any paſſage, having gone up his former-named ſtrait to no effect. All theſe three voyages were much encouraged by the lord treaſurer Burleigh, Sir Francis Walſingham ſecretary of ſtate, and other noblemen, and

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alſo by ſeveral merchants. Thoſe great men knew, from what had already been diſcovered, as alſo from the frame and ſtructure of the terraqueous globe, that ſooner or later more diſcoveries would be made; and that as it would greatly redound to the benefit of their country, ſo it would no leſs advance their own glory to be the inſtruments of ſuch great benefits to their country.

1588.—King Philip II of Spain, though diſappointed of invading England in the year 1587, ſent his fleet and troops out againſt England in the memorable year 1588. Camden aſſerts that it was the beſt appointed of men, ammunition, and proviſions, of all that ever the Ocean ſaw, and called by the arrogant appellation of the invincible armada. It conſiſted of

130 ſhips of all kinds,
19,290 ſoldiers,
8350 ſailors,
2080 galley ſlaves,
2630 cannon.

The lord admiral, Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, was the chief commander of the Engliſh fleet this year; Sir Francis Drake vice-admiral; Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobiſher rear-admirals. The whole Engliſh fleet conſiſted of but 76 ſhips paid by the queen, and 38 by the city of London; beſides 83 coaſters, &c. ſent by ſeveral other ſea-ports; in all 197 veſſels great and ſmall *, beſides thoſe of Holland and Zealand. Some of our veſſels, filled with combuſtible matter, and ſent among the Spaniſh ſhips, are ſaid to have given riſe to the terrible invention of fire-ſhips †.

The pompous and tremendous *armada* of Spain, partly by the valour of the Engliſh navy, which, though much inferior, had many engagements with them in the Channel, and that of the ſtates of the new Belgic republic, partly by the duke of Parma not joining them with his land and ſea forces from the Netherlands, and partly by violently tempeſtuous weather, after loſing many ſhips and men, was obliged to retire north about by the coaſts of Scotland, and thence home to Spain, by the weſt coaſt of Ireland. On the coaſt of Scotland, they loſt many ſhips, and (according to Camden) had above 700 ſoldiers and ſailors wrecked there, who, by the interceſſion of the prince of Parma to King James, and with the conſent of Queen Elizabeth, were afterward ſent

* Stow, that circumſtantial and indefatigable writer, gives the names of moſt of the Engliſh fleet, of which ſixteen ſhips of war were furniſhed by the Londoners, and ten by the ſociety of merchant-adventurers. There are alſo liſts of the Spaniſh and Engliſh forces in a manuſcript of the Cotton library, Julius, F. vi, No. 106, 107. *M.*

† The Engliſh may have invented fire-ſhips at this time, though it is certain that the Tyrians, 1920 years before, deſtroyed Alexander's works by a fire-ſhip, and the Conſtantinopolitans, A. D. 716, deſtroyed the Saracen fleet by the ſame means. *M.*

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over to the Low Countries; but thoſe who were wrecked on the Iriſh coaſts were almoſt every where put to the ſword. And thus were not only England, Scotland, Ireland, and the new republic of the United Netherlands, preſerved from imminent deſtruction, but alſo the equilibrium of the general liberties of all the reſt of Europe, as well as the proteſtant religion in Britain and elſewhere; for at this time Spain was undoubtedly the moſt potent monarchy in Europe, although by miſconduct, and the growing power of Holland and England, and ſoon afterward of France (when its civil wars ſubſided), that kingdom ſoon after this time began to ſhew evident ſymptoms of a decline. Out of 134 ſhips, which for this great attempt came out of Liſbon, only 53 returned; only one of the galleaſſes of Naples, and one of the four great galleons of Portugal; and only 33 of the 91 galleons and hulks of other provinces; ſo that in all Spain loſt 81 ſhips, and 13,500 ſoldiers and mariners, beſides much treaſure *.

Grotius, in his Hiſtory of the Netherlands [*L.* i, *p.* 171] obſervesupon this occaſion, that the glories of Greece and Rome were fully equalled by the valour and fortune of the Engliſh, though their advantages over Spain were more ſlowly and more ſafely obtained; and all the time they fought with the Spaniards they loſt not one capital ſhip, nor above an hundred men; whereas the Spaniards ſuffered every extremity of miſery, loſt many capital ſhips, and near five thouſand men.

Daniel Rogers, whom the queen had ſent to Denmark with compliments of condolence on the death of Frederic II, and to cultivate the friendſhip of the tutors of the young king, was commiſſioned alſo to remonſtrate againſt the arreſtment of ſhips at the Sound for the offences of individuals, and againſt the evaſion of the antient treaty, whereby the privilege of fiſhing at Iceland was to be renewed to the Engliſh every ſeven years. He alſo demanded, that the toll for paſſing the Sound ſhould not be paid till the return of the ſhips from the Baltic, and then in the uſual money of Denmark; that owners ſhould not be liable to ſuffer for frauds committed by the maſters of their veſſels; that the packages (or wrappers) of cloths ſhould not be charged with duties: and that the toll called *laſt-gelt* ſhould be remitted to the Engliſh. But the Danes, who were diſpleaſed that the Engliſh failed to Ruſſia by the North ſea, inſtead of paſſing through their Sound, evaded comply-

* The antient ſemicircular line of battle was ſtill in uſe. In one of the engagements in the Channel, the Spaniſh fleet was drawn up in that form, and the two points of the ſemicircle or creſcent were ſeven miles aſunder. Neither was the old method of conducting a ſea engagement by grappling the hoſtile ſhips, and fighting hand to hand, ſo far exploded, but that ſome of the Engliſh officers propoſed it to the commander in chief, who prudently declined a mode of fighting, wherein the ſuperior ſize and lofty ſides of the enemy's ſhips would have given them a decided ſuperiority over his low-built veſſels, and which would have entirely thrown away the great advantage which his faſt-ſailing ſmall veſſels had in the agility of their manœuvres. [*Camdeni An. ad an.* 1588.] *M.*

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ing with his demands, on pretence of their king being under age. [*Camdeni Ann. Eliz. ad an.* 1588.]

As the number of men in a nation is of the utmoſt importance, we ſhall here quote a paragraph from the anonymous author of a ſmall folio treatiſe, intitled, the Happy future ſtate of England [1689, *p.* 249.] He ſays, that Mr. Pepys (ſecretary of the admiralty) ſhewed him a paper, ſtating, that the whole number of men in the realm of Spain, taken by a ſecret ſurvey, ſome time, as is ſuppoſed, before the year 1588, was but 1,125,390, excluſive of the regular and ſecular clergy. Now, we may here note, that if it be true, as is generally preſumed, that the grown-up men of a country are about one fourth part of the whole people, then multiplying 1,125,390 by four, gives for the population of Spain about this time 4,501,560 ſouls; the ſmallneſs of which number, in ſo extenſive a country, is eaſily to be accounted for, when we duely conſider their driving out ſuch vaſt numbers of Moors and Jews, and their receiving no foreign ſupplies in their ſtead; their ſending out continually ſuch numbers of their own people in the preceding eighty years, to plant their American dominions; and alſo the conſuming and deſtructive wars of the Emperor Charles V, and of his ſon King Philip II, in the Netherlands, Italy, &c. There are even many of opinion, that Spain does not at preſent contain above five millions of ſouls.

About this time there were annually manufactured in Cambray 60,000 pieces of cambric, which being valued, one with another, at 40 florins each, amount to 2,400,000 florins, or about L240,000 Sterling yearly. [*Thuani Hiſt. L.* lxxxix, *ad an.* 1588.]

The Happy future ſtate of England relates [*p.* 127] that in a remonſtrance of the corporation of the trinity-houſe in the year 1602 to the earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral of England (extant in Sir Julius Cæſar's collections) it is ſaid, that in the year 1588, Queen Elizabeth had at ſea 150 ſail of ſhips, whereof only 40 were her own *, and 110 belonged to her ſubjects. And that in the ſame year there were likewiſe 150 ſail of Engliſh merchant ſhips, of about 150 tons one with another, employed in trading voyages to all parts and countries. The queen's 40 ſhips carried 12,000 men, or 300 in each ſhip; the 110 hired ones 12,100, or 110 in each ſhip, on an average; and the 150 trading ſhips carried 6000 ſeamen, or 40 in each ſhip. But the remonſtrance farther adds, that in a little above twelve years ſince the year 1588, the ſhipping, and the number of our ſeamen, were decayed about one-third part. This decay of our maritime power was doubtleſs owing to the wars with Spain, the great loſs of ſhipping in thoſe wars,

* Though England was then, next to Spain, the moſt powerful maritime ſtate in Europe, the largeſt of thoſe ſhips did not exceed the ſize of a modern fourth rate.

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and in the many private expeditions and adventures of our people to America, Africa, &c. *

Both before and after the year 1588, upon Spain's complaining that the Engliſh ſhips frequented the Indian ſeas, Queen Elizabeth (as Camden and others obſerve) declared that the ocean was free to all, foraſmuch as neither nature, nor regard of public uſe, do permit the excluſive poſſeſſion thereof. The like anſwer ſhe made to the king of Denmark, who ſet up a claim to the ſovereignty of the ſeas of Norway and Iceland, becauſe he was lord of the ſhores on both ſides, ſaying, that the kings of England never prohibited the navigation and fiſhing on the Iriſh ſea or channel, even though they be lords alſo of both ſhores. Yet in the caſe of the Ruſſia company's ſhips, we have ſeen under the year 1583, the queen partly complied with the Daniſh claim. How different this ſtile is from that of the writers in the two following reigns, and of ſome even of later times on this ſubject, will be ſeen in its proper place.

In this ſame famous year, the cheſt at Chatham was founded, being a contribution for the relief of maimed and ſuperannuated Engliſh mariners, out of which penſions are paid to them for life, by the advice of Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, &c. It was at firſt only a voluntary monthly contribution of the mariners out of their pay, for the ſuccour of their wounded brethren, but was afterward made perpetual by Queen Elizabeth. By an act of the rump parliament [*anno* 1649, *c.* 24] for aboliſhing deans and chapters, and ſelling their lands, we find that this cheſt had been uſually kept at the Hill-houſe at Chatham, which, with its gardens, &c. had belonged to the dean and chapter of Rocheſter. Till the noble foundation of Greenwich hoſpital by King William III, this was the only charity of that kind for diſtreſſed ſailors. Gibſon, in his additions to Camden's Britannia, obſerves that the navy of England has always owed more to the county of Kent than to all the other counties of England together, on account of the number and importance of the places of that county ſubſervient to the royal navy, which, beſides Chatham yards, docks, &c. has Greenwich, Deptford, Woolwich, Sheerneſs, and Dover ſubſervient to it. How much theſe dock-yards, ſtore-houſes, &c. have been increaſed and improved ſince Camden's time, and even ſince the firſt edition of Gibſon's additions (*anno* 1692), would require a volume fully to deſcribe. And there are additions, enlargements, and very uſeful and beautiful improvements conſtantly making to thoſe places, and alſo to the two famous ports of Portſmouth and Plymouth, inſomuch that the king's yards alone appear like large towns of themſelves. And as a beginning is made for

* The truth of this decay may be doubted, if upported only by the authority of a remonſtrance. Has any year of this century paſſed without ſomebody aſſerting that the country was ruined? *M.*

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the like end at Milford haven, it is to be hoped authority will effectually complete the fortifications, docks, &c. of that incomparable haven, even in this generation.

Dr. Gyles Fletcher being ſent ambaſſador to Ruſſia, obtained (though not without difficulty) a renewal of certain former grants, ſuch as liberty for the Engliſh Ruſſia company to trade through Ruſſia into Perſia; alſo payment of part of the debts due by Ruſſian ſubjects to that company; and that no Engliſhman reſiding in Ruſſia ſhould be reputed of the company, unleſs acknowleged and authorized by them. But the czar would never be brought to allow the company its original excluſive trade to this country; for which, and other cauſes, their trade was at this time very much decayed*.

A ſhip and pinnace from London made a proſperous voyage to Benin on the weſt coaſt of Africa. Queen Elizabeth alſo in the ſame year granted a patent for ten years to ſome merchants of Exeter and other towns in Devonſhire, and two London merchants, for an excluſive trade to the rivers Senegal and Gambia in Guinea, becauſe the adventuring of a new trade cannot be a matter of ſmall charge and hazard to the adventurers in the beginning: provided, however, that at any time after the date hereof, the queen, or ſix privy counſellors, may in writing revoke this patent, upon ſix months notice. So here is another inſtance of little more than the name of an excluſive company to be depended on for any certain determined time.

1589.—Queen Elizabeth, determined upon revenge for the Spaniſh invaſion, took the frugal method of authorizing and encouraging private adventurers to undertake it at their own coſt, the queen only ſupplying them with ſix of her own ſhips, to which the Dutch joined ſome ſhips. For this end, Sir Francis Drake for the ſea ſervice, and Sir John Norris for the army, procured many to join with them in ſo promiſing a project, taking with them Don Antonio the pretender to the crown of Portugal. Stow makes the number of ſhips aſſembled for that end to be 146, and 14,000 men (Camden ſays 11,000 ſoldiers and 1500 ſailors); but Rapin only 80 ſhips and 11,000 ſoldiers. With this force they landed at Corunna in Gallicia; and the lower town they took, but could not the higher. Next they took Peniche, and thence the army went over land, and the fleet proceeded to Liſbon, to attack Portugal, in behalf of the baſtard Don Antonio prior of Crato (pretending to that crown in oppoſition to Philip of Spain, in poſſeſſion of it): Yet there were ſo many Spaniſh troops in and near that city, that they could not take it. After taking Caſcais, at the mouth of the Tagus, to recompenſe their charges (ſays Camden), they took about ſixty hulks (or fly-boats) of the Ger-

* Camden ſays, that Fletcher could obtain no better anſwer from the czar than his predeceſſor got in the year 1583. [*Annales ad an.* 1583.] *M.*

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man Hanſe towns, laden with wheat and warlike ſtores, to furniſh a new armada againſt England, and kept the cargoes, but diſcharged the ſhips. Thoſe ſhips, leſt they ſhould be taken, had ſailed by the Orkneys, the Weſtern iſles of Scotland, and the weſt ſide of Ireland, becauſe Queen Elizabeth had forewarned the Hanſe towns that they ſhould not carry any victuals nor proviſion for war into Spain nor Portugal, under pain of loſs of ſhips and goods. Yet although this was a legal capture, it nevertheleſs gave Queen Elizabeth much trouble for ſeveral years after, in anſwering the remonſtrances from the empire, and alſo from Poland and Dantzick, they being deeply concerned in this ſeizure, and in the end produced a total breach between England and the Hanſe towns. At length, after ſacking Vigo, they returned home to England with 150 pieces of cannon and a very rich booty (ſays Camden), though others thought otherwiſe, and that all their achievements and booty did not recompenſe the charge and the loſs of 6000 of their ſoldiers and ſailors. This is perhaps the greateſt privateering enterpriſe (if it may properly be ſo termed) of any in the later ages of the world.

In the ſame year the brave and enterpriſing earl of Cumberland, with ſeveral ſhips, ſailed on a private adventure to the Azores or Weſtern iſles, where he took many good prizes from the Spaniſh and Portugueſe Weſt-Indies, &c. ſeized on, and ranſomed, the town of Fayal, and returned home with a great booty, though much diſtreſſed by ſtorms, &c. At the Azores Lord Cumberland met with three or four Scottiſh ſhips, who ſupplied him with wine and water; and this is the firſt account we have met with of Scottiſh ſhips making ſo long a voyage *.

It is ſcarcely worth recording, that in the ſame year an abortive privateering adventure was attempted from Plymouth, with three ſhips, for the South ſeas of America, one of which was of 340 and another of 300 tons; but none of them could get through the ſtraits of Magellan, and all the three were loſt in returning, only ſix men getting home to give this account.

William Lee, A. M. of St. John's college in Cambridge, invented an engine or ſteel loom, called the ſtocking-frame, for knitting, or weaving, ſtockings. This was but twenty-eight years after we had firſt learned from Spain the method of knitting them by wires or needles. Mr. Lee's invention has proved a conſiderable benefit to the ſtocking manufacture, by enabling England, in after times, to export vaſt quantities of ſilk ſtockings to Italy, &c. where it ſeems (by Sir Joſiah Child's excellent Diſcourſes on trade, publiſhed in the year 1670) they had not then got the uſe of the ſtocking-frame, though little ſhort of 100 years after its invention: yet Dr. Howell, in his Hiſtory of the world, [*V.* ii,

* It appears by a letter from King James to Queen Elizabeth, [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 336] that ſome of the Scottiſh merchants, in the year 1598, (and probably alſo ſooner) traded to the Canaries, which are ſtill more diſtant than the Azores. *M.*

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p. 222.] makes this invention eleven years later, viz. in 1600; and adds, that Mr. Lee not only taught this art in England and in France, but his ſervants did the ſame in Spain, Venice, and in Ireland.

Henry IV king of France greatly enlarged the ſilk manufactures in that kingdom. Before this time the ſilk-worm and mulberry trees had been propagated only in the Lionois, Dauphine, Provence, and Languedoc; but this king not only carried it as far north as Orleans, but brought ſilk to be an univerſal manufacture in France. Mezeray ſays, that he alſo planted mulberry trees near Paris, and attempted to breed ſilk-worms at the Tuillieries, Fountainbleau, and the caſtle of Madrid, but without ſucceſs.

The manufacture of cloth, both woollen and linen, in France, was likewiſe much increaſed in that king's reign, as alſo many other mechanical works: ſo that the French (ſays De Witt in his Intereſt of Holland) could now ſupply others with more manufactures than foreigners could take off; whereas formerly the bulk of the people of France ſubſiſted by tillage and vine-dreſſing.

1590.—About the year 1590 the invention of the teleſcope, or ſpying-glaſs, was diſcovered, which is juſtly eſteemed one of the moſt uſeful and excellent diſcoveries of modern times, though produced by mere chance. The common account is, that two children of one Janſon, a ſpectacle-maker at Middleburg in Zealand, being at play in their father's ſhop, and looking through two pieces of glaſs which were at ſome ſmall diſtance from each other, the weathercock of the church ſteeple appeared to them unuſually large, and much nearer. Of this they inſtantly told their father, who, ſurpriſed alſo at firſt, made the experiment of fixing two ſuch pieces of glaſs in brazen circles or cylinders, ſo as they might be placed nearer or farther at pleaſure. Janſon very ſoon improved this diſcovery ſo much, that he preſented a teleſcope twelve inches long to Prince Maurice, and another to the archduke Albert. Wotton (in his Reflections upon antient and modern learning) relates, that Prince Maurice, conjecturing that they might be of great uſe in war, deſired him to conceal his ſecret; and for that reaſon his name was ſo little known, that neither Des Cartes nor Gerard Voſſius had ever heard any thing of him, when they attributed this invention to Jacobus Metius of Alcmaer. None of thoſe firſt teleſcopes, however, were above eighteen inches long; neither were they properly framed for making aſtronomical obſervations, till Galileo, aſtronomer to the grand duke of Tuſcany, hearing of the diſcovery, made ſuch great improvements, as have gained him, in the opinion of many, the honour of the invention itſelf, by giving to the teleſcope the appellation of Galileo's tube. Some, indeed, make this noble invention to have happened eleven years later, and aſſert that J. Baptiſta Porta, a noble Neapolitan, was the firſt inventor; but the general belief is as above. Our incomparable Sir

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Iſaac Newton was the inventor of the reflecting teleſcope, conſiſting of ſpecula or mirrors, inſtead of lenſes, which has been ſince much improved, and is much more exact and uſeful than refracting ones. The microſcope, which magnifies the ſmalleſt object ſo as to be diſtinctly viewed, was diſcovered in the year 1621; and it is ſaid this happened both in Naples and Holland at the ſame time *.

By the teleſcope aſtronomy is brought to a degree of perfection unattainable by the antients. Navigation (and conſequently commerce) is likewiſe much aſſiſted from a more perfect diſcovery of the heavenly bodies; and whole volumes have been publiſhed on the amazing diſcoveries made by the help of the microſcope.

We have the beſt authority for fixing the date of the firſt manufacture of ſail-cloth in England in the year 1590, being the preamble to an act of parliament, [1 *Jac. I, c.* 23] reciting, that, 'whereas the cloths 'called mildernix and powel-davies, whereof ſails and other furniture 'for the navy and ſhipping are made, were heretofore altogether 'brought out of France and other parts beyond ſea, and the ſkill and 'art of making and weaving of the ſaid cloths never known or uſed in 'England until about the 32d year of the reign of the late Queen 'Elizabeth, about what time, and not before, the perfect art or ſkill of 'making and weaving of the ſaid cloths was attained to, and ſince practiſed and continued in this realm, to the great benefit and commodity 'thereof,' &c.

As we ſtill excel all the nations upon earth both in naval power and in maritime commerce, every thing relative to either ſhould, as far as is practicable, come to us at the firſt hand. Yet, though it may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange that a nation in thoſe days, very far from being eminent in ſhipping, ſhould have ſo long ſupplied us with this great article, it ought to be conſidered that they were, in thoſe days and long before we fell into it, eminent for the manufacture of many kinds of excellent cloths made both of flax and hemp; and that perfection, in almoſt every art, is not to be attained but by very ſlow degrees.

The ſtates-general of the United Netherlands wrote to Queen Elizabeth, complaining of the great and exceſſive damages done to their merchants and people by her ſhips of war, as well in her ports as on the ſeas, in their return homewards from the weſtern parts, (i. e. Spain and Portugal), amounting, as by vouchers, to 1,600,000 florins. They ſubjoin, that the people of the United provinces do not depend either on the intrinſic riches or extent of their country, both being very inconſiderable; but their whole dependence is on their navigation and traffic, which muſt be inviolably ſupported, otherwiſe their merchants will withdraw into other countries, and the ſtates will be rendered ut-

* Mr Anderſon might have alſo found the invention of the microſcope aſcribed to Zacharias Janſon by an author quoted by Wotton, p. 180. *M.*

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terly incapable of carrying on the preſent war againſt the king of Spain; that at this very time their ſhips, ſailing towards the Weſt, and to France, and returning, are dayly more and more pillaged and robbed by the queen's ſubjects, who are ſo cruel as to oblige the Hollanders, whom they rob, to give it to them under their hands, that the goods they are robbed of are fairly bought of them by the Engliſh; and in fine, that their people can no longer endure ſuch cruel uſage, which will in the end redound to the diſadvantage of her dominions:—wherefor, they urge her to a ſpeedy and effectual redreſs, &c.

To theſe complaints the queen's council replied, that ſuch as had really ſuffered damage, had either already had ſatisfaction, or ſhould have it, upon proper application; and that the queen would ſpeedily ſend over to Holland a perſon of diſtinction, in order to ſettle with the ſtates all the matters complained of.

The captures which the ſtates called robberies, were the conſequences of the Dutch trading to the Spaniſh territories, (here cautiouſly hidden under the words weſtern parts), notwithſtanding that the ſtates, as well as the queen, were at war with Spain. A practice which the Dutch have at all times not only uſed, but pleaded for, even in their offenſive alliances with Great Britain, and much more when in a ſtate of neutrality; of which we have no need to produce inſtances, becauſe they are innumerable, and many very recent ones too.

In the ſame year 1590, a ſecond voyage was made from London, with the ſame ſhip and pinnace as in the year 1588, to Benin in Africa, which likewiſe was proſperous. In both voyages their cargoes outward were linen and woollen cloths, iron manufactures, bracelets of copper, glaſs beads, coral, hawks bells, horſes tails, hats, &c. and they brought home Guinea pepper, elephants teeth, oil of palm, cotton cloth, and cloth made of the bark of trees.

In Giovanni Botero's ſecond book of the Cauſes of the magnificence and greatneſs of cities, [*c.* 8] he tells us, that excellent ſugars were produced in the iſland of Madeira, where at preſent in our days we hear of none at all *.

The ſame year is memorable for the gallant behaviour of ten Engliſh merchant ſhips returning home from Conſtantinople, Venice, &c. which in the ſtraits of Gibraltar fought twelve Spaniſh galleys carrying 300 men each, and after ſix hours made them fly, without loſing one man, although the Spaniſh galleys loſt many men, and were greatly hurt.

The province of Samoieda (the moſt northerly part of the Ruſſian territories) was now brought under the Ruſſian monarchy, it having

* It is equally deſerving of attention, that the wine of Madeira about this time (viz. in 1588) had acquired the excellent character which it ſtill retains; and that great quantities of it were exported to various countries, and *eſpecially to England*. The ſame Portugueſe author alſo notes the excellency of the confections and conſerves of ſugar in Madeira. [*Pigafetta, in Purchas, B.* vii, *c.* 4, § 2.] *M.*

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been hitherto unknown to Ruſſia, as lying in a violently-cold climate, oppoſite to Nova Zembla. Thoſe new tributaries are now ſaid to have agreed to pay two ſable ſkins yearly per head to the czar, whereby the trade to Ruſſia was greatly increaſed.

The country of Siberia lying ſouth of Samoieda had been diſcovered and reduced a little before this time, and has ſince been greatly improved, and thereby has conſiderably increaſed the revenue of Ruſſia, not only from their fine furs of many kinds, but from their excellent iron-works, as alſo from their ſturgeon, ſalmon, &c. in great quantities, to the conſiderable increaſe of the commerce of Ruſſia.

Queen Elizabeth now farmed her cuſtoms at L42,000, and afterwards at L.50,000, to Sir Thomas Smith, who had long had them at the rent of L14,000. Such an advance is a good evidence of the great increaſe of the commerce of England.

Till about this time, ſays Sir Philip Medows, (in his excellent Obſervations concerning the dominion and ſovereignty of the ſeas) from the Memoirs of the duke de Sully, the whole naval ſtrength of the crown of France was about half a dozen of ſhips of war (ſuch as they were) at Breſt and Rochel, and about a ſcore of galleys in the Mediterranean. But this king (continues he) dreſſed a new plan of the French monarchy; and though his great deſigns were interrupted by an immature death, and alſo by a ſucceeding minority, yet the great Cardinal Richlieu reſumed it again. He firſt taught France that the fleur de luces could flouriſh at ſea as well as on land, and adorned the ſterns of his new-built ſhips with this prophetic inſcription:

"Florent quoque lilia ponto."

Queen Elizabeth, knowing the good effects of a potent navy, made ſeveral prudent regulations therein. Mr. Burchet, in his Naval hiſtory, relates, 'that ſhe aſſigned L8970 yearly for the repairs of her fleet.' How mean ſuch a ſum would be thought at preſent for ſuch a purpoſe needs not to be obſerved; her own ſhips (as we have ſeen) were but few; and money in thoſe days went much farther for all things than in our days.

It is undoubtedly true that the number, wealth, and ſplendour of large and populous cities are in general the beſt ſymptoms of the ſtate of commerce every where; nevertheleſs, in great arbitrary monarchies, as in France, Ruſſia, Turkey, Perſia, &c. the cities, which are the uſual reſidence of their monarchs, and of their courts, nobles, guards, &c. may be large and ſplendid without having a generally-proſperous commerce in their reſpective countries. Giovanni Botero, an eminent Italian author, who about this time wrote an excellent ſmall treatiſe on the cauſes of the magnificence and greatneſs of cities, gives us the ſeveral cauſes or means of making cities great and magnificent; ſuch

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as, the commodious ſituation, good ſoil and roads, deep and ſafe havens and rivers, colonies, good government, ſchools, privileges, induſtry, &c. All which, though neceſſarily conducive to make a great and rich city, will never attain the end without commerce and manufactures, and foreign or maritime trade where it can be had. Among the kingdoms of Chriſtendom, (ſays he) the greateſt, richeſt, and moſt populous is France, containing 27,000 pariſhes, and 15 millions of people; ſo fertile by nature, and ſo rich through the induſtry of her people, as not to envy any other country; and by means of the reſidence of the kings of ſo mighty a kingdom ſo long at Paris, that city is become the greateſt in Chriſtendom, containing about 450,000 people. What he adds is remarkable, though ſurely not ſtrictly true even then, and much leſs ſo in our days, at leaſt with relation to England, viz. the kingdoms of England, Naples, Portugal, and Bohemia, as alſo the earldom of Flanders, and the dukedom of Milan, are ſtates, in a manner, of equal greatneſs and power; ſo that the cities wherein the princes of thoſe ſame countries have for any long time made their reſidence have been, in a manner, alſo alike, as London, Naples, Liſbon, Prague, Milan, and Gaunt, which have each of them, more or leſs, 160,000 inhabitants *. But Liſbon is indeed ſomewhat larger than the reſt, by means of the commerce of Ethiop, (i. e. Africa) India, and Braſil; as is likewiſe London, by means of the wars and troubles in the Low countries; and Naples is, within theſe thirty years, grown as great again as it was. In Spain there is not a city of any ſuch greatneſs, partly becauſe it has been, till of late, divided into divers little kingdoms, and partly through want of navigable rivers, to bring ſo great a quantity of food, &c. into one place, for maintaining an extraordinary number of people. The cities in Spain of moſt magnificence are thoſe where the antient kings and princes held their ſeats, as Barcelona, Saragoſſa, Valentia, Cordova, Toledo, Burgos, Leon, &c. being ſuch as paſs not the ſecond rank of the cities of Italy. Yet he allows Granada, where the Mooriſh kings ſo long reigned, and Seville, through the diſcovery of America, to be greater than thoſe other cities; and Valadolid (by means of the former long reſidence of the kings of Spain, though no city) may compare with its nobleſt cities; and alſo Madrid is much increaſed, and continually increaſing, by the court which King Philip keeps there. Cracow, through the former long reſidence of the kings of Poland, and Vilna, by that of the great dukes of Lithuania, are the two moſt populous cities in Poland. In Ruſſia, Volodimer, Great Novogrod, and Moſcow, are the moſt eminent cities, as having been all three the ſeats of their great dukes, though at this day Moſcow, their

* It muſt be obſerved, that the quotations are here taken from the Engliſh tranſlation, printed in 1606.

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preſent reſidence, is ſo great and populous as to be reckoned one of the four cities of the firſt rank in Europe, which are Moſcow, Conſtantinople, Paris, and Liſbon. In Sicily, Palermo is the chief, being equal to cities of the ſecond rank in Italy *. Rome, whoſe majeſty exceedeth all the world, would ſhe not be more like a deſart than a city, if the pope held not his reſidence therein, with the greatneſs of his court, the concourſe of ambaſſadors, prelates, princes, with an infinite number of people ſerving both him and them; if, with magnificent buildings, conduits, fountains, and ſtreets, it were not gloriouſly adorned; and if, with all theſe means, it did not draw and entertain ſuch a number of merchants, tradeſmen, ſhopkeepers, artificers, workmen, and labourers? [*B.* ii, *c.* 1.]

In *B.* ii, *c.* 2. he inquires, 'what the reaſon is, that cities, once 'grown to a certain greatneſs, increaſe not onward according to that 'proportion?' After remarking on the increaſe and decreaſe of old Rome, he ſubjoins, and in like manner, ſince it is 400 years [i. e. 572 years from this year 1762] ſince Milan and Venice had as many people as they have at this day, how comes it to paſs that the multiplication goes not onward accordingly? Some anſwer, that plagues, wars, deaths, &c. are the cauſes: but this gives no ſatisfaction, becauſe theſe have always been. Others give a more trifling anſwer, viz. God governs the world; which we know was alſo always ſo. My anſwer may not only ſerve for cities, but alſo for the univerſal theatre of the world: I ſay then, that the augmentation of cities proceeds partly out of the virtue generative of men, and partly out of the virtue nutritive of cities. Now, foraſmuch as men are at this day as apt for generation as they were in the times of David or Moſes, if there were no other impediment, the propagation of mankind would increaſe without end, and the augmentation of cities would be without term; and if they do not increaſe *in infinitum*, I muſt needs ſay it proceeds from the defect of nutriment and ſuſtenance ſufficient for it, which are gotten either out of their own territories or elſe from foreign countries. Now, to have a city great and populous, it is neceſſary that victuals may eaſily be brought into it, and that ſuch city have the means for that end, by overcoming all obſtacles. Now, that greatneſs which depends on remote cauſes, or hard means, cannot long endure, and every man will ſeek his advantage and eaſe where he may find it beſt: great cities are more ſubject to dearths than ſmall ones; and plagues afflict them more grievouſly and frequently, and with a greater loſs of people. So that although men were as apt to generation in the height of old Roman greatneſs as in the firſt beginning thereof, yet for all that the people increaſed not proportionably, becauſe

* By cities of the ſecond rank in Italy, he underſtands ſuch as contain under an hundred thouſand inhabitants.

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the virtue nutritive of that city had no power to go farther; and in ſucceſſion of time, the inhabitants finding much want, and leſs means to ſupply the ſame, either forbore to marry, or elſe fled their country; and for the ſame reaſons, mankind, grown to a certain complete number, hath grown no farther; and it is 3000 years or more that the earth was as full of people as at preſent; for the fruits of the earth, and the plenty of victual, do not ſuffice to feed a greater number. Man firſt propagated in the Eaſt, and thence ſpread far and near; and having peopled the continent, they next peopled the iſlands; thence they paſſed into Europe, and laſt of all to the new world. The barrenneſs of ſoils, ſcarcity of neceſſaries, inundations, earthquakes, peſtilences, famines, wars, &c. have occaſioned numberleſs migrations; and even the very driving out by force of the younger people, and in many countries the ſelling of them for ſlaves, in order to make more room for ſuch as remained; all which are the let and ſtay that the number of men cannot increaſe and grow immoderately.

At this time, according to the ſame author, the city of Paris far exceeded, in number of people, and in abundance of all things, all other cities of Chriſtendom, Moſcow excepted; and Liſbon was the next greateſt city of Chriſtendom. Yet we of the preſent age ſee London exceed any of them all, unleſs Paris, according to ſome, ſhould be excepted.

The ſame Botero, ſtill ſpeaking of the cauſes of the greatneſs of cities, obſerves, 'that it is not one particular advantage alone that will effect 'ſuch greatneſs, but the many before-named advantages concurring; 'alſo ornaments, (like thoſe truely grand ones of Rome, Venice, &c.) 'eaſineſs of acceſs, and of carriage, and fruitfulneſs of the neighbouring ſoil. Thus Piedmont hath plenty of corn, cattle, wines, and excellent fruits, and yet hath not one great city: and the like in England, London excepted; for although it abounds in plenty of all good 'things, yet there is not another city in it that deſerves to be called 'great: as may alſo be ſaid of France, Paris excepted, which city, 'however, is not ſituated in the fruitfulleſt part of that great kingdom *.'

1591.—There was held at Lubeck a general aſſembly of the deputies of the Hanſe towns, at which thoſe of Roſtock, Dantzick, Bremen, and Hamburgh, were preſent, where they treated of their rights, immunities, &c. which they alleged the queen of England dayly endeavoured to impair; whereupon they ſent letters to her, written with great heat. The queen in a contemptuous manner anſwered thoſe letters, telling

* Botero ſays, that France poſſeſſes four *magnets*, which attract the wealth of other countries, viz. *corn*, which is exported to Spain and Portugal: *wine*, which is ſent to Flanders, England, and the coaſts of the Baltic; *ſalt*, made by the heat of the ſun on the ſhore of the Mediterranean, and alſo of the Ocean as far north as Saintoigne. The fourth conſiſts of *hemp* and *cloth*, of which, and of cordage, great quantities are carried to Liſbon and Seville, for the ſhipping; and the exportation of the articles of this fourth claſs is incredibly great. [*Reſpub. Galliæ, p.* 573.] *M.*

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them, that although they had written to her with ſo little reſpect, ſhe imputed that rather to their amanuenſis, or ſecretary, than to themſelves; at the ſame time letting them know how much ſhe deſpiſed their menaces. [*Thuani Hiſt. L.* 100.]

Some members of the Engliſh Turkey, or Levant, company, having, about the year 1584, carried part of their cloth, tin, &c. from Aleppo to Bagdat, and thence down the river Tygris to Ormus in the Perſian gulf, and thence farther to Goa, for an attempt to ſettle a trade to Eaſt-India over land, for that end carried the queen's recommendatory letters to the king of Cambaya, and to the king of China. They found the Venetians had factories at all thoſe places, and were therefor great enemies to this attempt of the Engliſh, who, however, ſoon after travelled to ſundry other places in India, and to Agra, the great Mogul's capital; alſo to Lahor, to Bengal, to Pegu, Malacca, &c. and returned by ſea to Ormus, and ſo up the Tygris to Bagdat, Bir, and Aleppo, and laſtly to Tripoly in Syria, and ſailed thence in an Engliſh ſhip to London this year (1591), having made many uſeful remarks and diſcoveries on the nature of the Eaſt-India commerce, preparatory to their intended voyage by ſea to India, now actually going out.

We now find the firſt inſtance recorded in the *Fœdera* of an excluſive patent for the ſole right of printing and publiſhing a book granted by the queen to Richard Wright of Oxford, authorizing him to publiſh an Engliſh tranſlation of Tacitus, and prohibiting all others from printing the ſame during his life, or importing any Engliſh tranſlation whatever of Tacitus from beyond the ſea *. [*Fœdera, V.* xvi, *p.* 96.]

Chriſtiern IV, king of Denmark, in anſwer to Queen Elizabeth's complaints of exactions from the Engliſh merchants, with reſpect to the toll

* This Engliſh tranſlation of Tacitus has eſcaped the reſearches of the laborious Fabricius. And ſeveral earlier excluſive grants for printing particular books have eſcaped Mr. Anderſon.

In the year 1534 Henry VIII gave the univerſity of Cambridge the privilege of appointing three ſtationers and printers, natives or foreigners, who might print and ſell all books licenced by the chancellor of the univerſity, or his deputies. But he does not ſay that nobody elſe ſhall print or ſell the books. [*Fœdera, V.* xiv, *p.* 543.]

1539.—He directed Lord Crumwell to ſuperintend the printing of the Engliſh Bible, and gave the excluſive privilege of printing it for five years to any perſons who ſhould be appointed by him. [*Fœdera, V.* xiv, *p.* 649.]

1542.—The ſame king gave Antony Marlar, citizen and haberdaſher of London, the excluſive privilege of printing the Bible in Engliſh for four years. [*Fœdera, V.* xiv, *p.* 745.]

1547.—Edward VI gave Reginald Wolf for life the office of his printer and bookſeller for Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, books, for grammars, and for maps and charts, with a ſalary of L1 : 6 : 8 a-year; and he prohibited all other printers from invading his privilege. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 150.]

1551.—Laurence Torrentine, a German, printer to Coſmo duke of Florence, having printed an edition of Juſtinian's Pandects from the celebrated copy, which had been preſerved at Piſa (but previouſly at Amalfi) King Edward prohibited all his ſubjects from reprinting it, either without, or with, notes or additions, for the ſpace of ſeven years. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 255.]

None of theſe grants were to the authors. But, 12th March 1563, Queen Elizabeth granted to Thomas Cooper of Oxford, and his aſſigns, the ſole right of printing and publiſhing his dictionary, entitled '*Theſaurus utriuſque linguæ Latinæ et Britannicæ*,' for twelve years, and prohibited all abridgements or other attempts to pirate the work. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 628.] This is clearly a literary property veſted in the author; and it is, if I miſtake not, the earlieſt certain inſtance of it upon record in Great Britain. *M.*

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in the Sound, vindicated his collectors, and in his turn complained of ſome Engliſh pirates, who frequently robbed his ſubjects of their ſhips and merchandize; which violences were ſo heinous and intolerable that he could neither conceal nor endure them longer. He therefor requeſted ſhe would forthwith redreſs them, and thereby prevent his doing it himſelf, though unwillingly, &c. [*Fœdera, V.* xvi, *p.* 105.] Probably the ſeizures of the Daniſh ſhips, carrying naval ſtores, &c. to Spain, were the ſubject of his remonſtrance.

We have a letter to Queen Elizabeth from the elector palatine, in anſwer to her's to him, expreſſing his ſorrow that the archbiſhop of Bremen, by command of the Emperor Rodolph, had abſolutely prohibited the ſenate and people of Staden from any commerce with the Engliſh merchant-adventurers, or from ſuffering them to reſide there, even although four years ago the ſenate had made a contract with the Engliſh company for their reſidence there. He tells the queen that this prohibition was violently obtained, by means of the Spaniſh ambaſſadors, and of certain factious Hanſeatics, who are only grieved they do not enjoy the advantages which the ſaid contract procured for Staden; and he promiſes his good offices for procuring redreſs. We have a like promiſe from the elector of Saxony to the queen on the ſame ſubject. [*Fœdera, V.* xvi, *pp.* 106, 111.]

The Hanſe towns endeavoured to force the town of Elbing in Pruſſia to diſcountenance the Engliſh merchant-adventurers, by forbidding their reſort thither; but the Elbingers underſtood their own intereſt too well to part with ſo advantageous a branch of commerce. They therefor wrote a reſpectful letter to Queen Elizabeth, acquainting her with the diſpleaſure of the other Hanſeatics, both againſt them and Staden, on this account. They alſo told her, that the Hanſeatics had lately held a general diet at Lubec, but that their reſolutions were kept very ſecret; but they (the Elbingers) were reſolved to leave the matter to be conſidered by the king and diet of Poland; and in the mean time, under her majeſty's protection and authority, they would go on, as their inclinations led them, in favour of her merchants. And King Sigiſmund of Poland, in a reſpectful letter to the queen, alſo declared his approbation of the Engliſh merchant-adventurers reſiding at Elbing, or any where elſe in Poland. [*Fœdera, V.* xvi, *pp.* 135, 154.]

At length the firſt voyage * from England to Eaſt-India was undertaken in this year, with three ſhips; but it was rather a privateering adventure againſt the Portugueſe than a proper mercantile voyage, for they took ſeveral of that nation's ſhips. In their way to India they had loſt ſo many men by ſickneſs near the Cape of Good Hope that they

* Linſchotten [*p.* 170] ſays, that before he ſailed from India (in January 1589) they had heard of an Engliſh ſhip having paſſed the Cape of Good Hope. *M.*

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were obliged to ſend one of their ſhips home, and proceeded with only two to India; moreover, in a ſtorm beyond that cape, they loſt company of Captain Raymond in the principal ſhip, which was never heard of more. So that only Captain Lancaſter's ſhip arrived in India, which alſo met with many grievous misfortunes: and on her return, ſailing to the Weſt-Indies, whilſt the captain and moſt of his men went on ſhore to look for proviſions on an uninhabited iſland, ſix of the ſailors ran away with the ſhip; and at the end of three years this unfortunate captain was brought home, ſeveral of his men having periſhed for want at that place.

The Portugueſe, who had ſettled at Angola, having been routed in a battle with the natives, applied to the king of Spain for freſh aſſiſtance, to enable them to complete their conqueſts.

Several gallant achievements of the Engliſh happened in this year againſt the ſhipping, towns, &c. of Spain in America and elſewhere, as related long ſince fully by ſo many others; but beyond all was that unparalleled reſiſtance made by the gallant Sir Richard Greenville, in the queen's ſhip the Revenge, in which he ſuſtained a cruel engagement for fifteen hours againſt fifteen great Spaniſh galleons, at the Azores, till his ſhip had neither men nor ammunition for defence any longer, and therefor yielded, as it is finely related by Sir Walter Raleigh.

The temporary Guinea company of England now made a third voyage, and traded with the natives with iron-ware, &c. in exchange for elephant's teeth, hides, &c.

This year a fleet of ſhips ſailed from St. Malo for Canada, where the French had been ſettled long before. They were wont in thoſe times to fiſh at the iſles in the bay of St. Laurence for morſes, or ſea-horſes, whoſe teeth were then ſold much dearer than ivory, though now eſteemed of little value; they alſo made much oil from thoſe animals. The coloniſts being ſupported from France, the country became well peopled near the north bank of the vaſt river St. Laurence, where there are ſundry towns, forts, and improvements; inſomuch that the Baron Lahontan, who had been governor there, and publiſhed an account of the country, computes the French inhabitants to be 180,000 perſons, which ſurely is rather too many. Lahontan mentions a kind of prophecy or foreſight in the Canadians, that their colony would one day be conquered by New-England, &c. which, to our comfort, has proved true.

1593.—In the year 1593, two of Queen Elizabeth's own ſhips of war joined in partnerſhip with ſome merchant ſhips *, fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh, and commanded by Sir John Boroughs, Sir Martin Frobiſher, and Sir Robert Croſs. They firſt took a Biſcayner of 600 tons, laden with iron ſtores for the Weſt-Indies; next they forced a

* It was then cuſtomary for the royal ſhips to join with the adventurers of London, Briſtol, &c.

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great East-India carrack on shore at the Azores, where it was burnt; soon after they met with the greatest of all the East-India carracks, homeward bound, of 1600 tons, with 700 men, and 36 brass cannon, which they took, though with great slaughter, and carried her into Dartmouth, where she surprised all who saw her, being the largest ship ever seen in England. The cargo consisting of the richest spices, calicoes, silks, gold, pearls, drugs, China ware, or porcelain, ebony wood, &c. moderately valued at L150,000, was divided amongst the adventurers, of whom the queen was the principal. The possession of such immense foreign riches greatly encouraged the English to go directly to the East-Indies purely on a mercantile account.

Queen Elizabeth this year granted a second patent for a trade to Turkey or the Levant. The former one, being only for seven years from 1581, must have expired in 1588; yet it does not appear by any thing in Hakluyt, who is in other respects an exact writer, that it was again renewed till this year, when fifty-three persons (consisting of knights, aldermen, and merchants,) had the queen's patent for twelve years. It recites, that Sir Edward Osborn (hereby appointed the first governor for one year), William Harborn, Esq. &c. had not only established the trade to Turkey, at their great cost and hazard, but also that to Venice, Zant, Cephalonia, Candia, and other Venetian dominions, to the great increase of the commerce and manufactures of England; wherefor the queen now incorporates them by the name of the governor and company of merchants of the Levant; the governor and twelve assistants to be elected yearly. The limits of their charter to be, I) The Venetian territories; II) The dominions of the grand signior by land and sea; and lastly, through his countries overland to East-India, a way lately discovered by John Newberry, Fitch, &c. as already related. The said patentees, their sons, apprentices, agents, factors, and servants, solely to trade thither for twelve years;—may make bye-laws for their good government. If their ships and goods shall be lost at sea, the company may draw back the customs they had paid for the same. Shall have thirteen months allowed for re-exportations of the merchandize they bring home, without paying any custom for such re-exportation, so as they belong solely to Englishmen, and in English bottoms. Four good ships, with ordnance and munition for their defence, and with 200 English mariners, shall be freely permitted to go at all times during the said twelve years; provided, that if the queen be at war, so as to have occasion for those four ships, then, upon three months notice by the lord admiral, that the queen cannot spare the said ships from the defence of the realm, the company shall forbear sending them out until her navy shall return home. The company may have a common seal, and may place in the tops of their ships the arms of England, with a red cross in white over the same, as heretofor they have used. No other subjects

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ſhall trade within the company's limits. And whereas the ſtate of Venice has of late increaſed the duties on Engliſh merchandize carried thither, and on Venetian merchandize exported from thence in Engliſh ſhips; for redreſs thereof, the queen forbids the ſubjects of Venice, and all others but this company, for the ſaid twelve years, to import into England any of the fruits called currants (being the raiſins of Corinth), or wines of Candia, unleſs by the company's licence under their ſeal, upon pain of forfeiture of ſhips and goods, half to the queen and half to the company, and alſo of impriſonment; provided always, that if the Venetian ſtate ſhall take off the two new impoſts, then this reſtraint touching currants and wines of Candia ſhall be void. The company may admit to be new members any who ſhall have been employed as their factors, &c. And the queen gives leave for eighteen perſons more (three of whom to be aldermen of London, by her herein named) to be of the ſaid company, upon each of them paying L.130 to this company towards their paſt charges in eſtabliſhing the ſaid trades. Members not conforming to the rules, payments, and regulations of the company, ſhall forfeit their right to be of the ſaid company, whereupon the company may elect others in their ſtead. If this patent ſhall hereafter appear to the queen not to be profitable to her or to the realm, then, upon eighteen months notice, it ſhall ceaſe and determine. And, on the other ſide, if, at the expiration of the ſaid twelve years, this trade ſhall appear to be advantageous, then this company may, on their petition to the queen, have a new grant of twelve years more. Dated the 7th of January, in the 34th year of her reign.

N. B. There was formerly a particular branch of this company, which was called the Morea company, and which traded with a joint ſtock. But this general Turkey company has from the beginning been only what is called a regulated company.

In the ſame year, Sir Walter Raleigh had formed a deſign on the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, and alſo to ſurpriſe the port of Panama in the ſouth ſea; but that enterpriſe, like very many ſuch, was fruſtrated by contrary winds. The immenſe riches annually brought home by the Spaniſh and Portugueſe fleets from the Eaſt and Weſt Indies occaſioned ſo many attempts of the Engliſh to intercept them, that though Raleigh was now diſappointed of his deſign on the Weſt-Indies, yet the great Eaſt-India carrack before mentioned made amends for his expenſe of the equipment of fifteen ſhips for the Weſt-India expedition.

Whilſt thoſe enterpriſes were made beyond ſea, our general commerce occaſioning a gradual increaſe of the ſuburbs of London, the humour of diſmal apprehenſions therefrom, which had moved Queen Elizabeth to iſſue a proclamation againſt it in the year 1580, in this year infected the parliament ſo far as to enact, I) That no new buildings ſhould be erected within three miles of London or Weſtminſter. II)

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That one dwelling-houſe, either in London or in Weſtminſter, ſhould not be converted into more. III) That no inmates or underſitters ſhould be in the places aforeſaid. IV) That commons or waſte grounds lying within three miles of London ſhould not be incloſed. And thereto was added, V) That the length of a ſtatute mile for the future ſhould be eight furlongs, each furlong containing forty poles or perches, and every pole to contain ſixteen feet and a half in length; ſo that an Engliſh mile was hereby to contain 1760 yards in length. [35 *Eliz. c.* 6.]

We may here obſerve, that as this law was doubtleſs made by the influence of the landholders, with a view to prevent their people from leaving the country to ſettle in London, which made their rents fall, for want of a ſufficient demand (as they then imagined) for proviſions, &c. in their reſpective countries; the landed gentlemen in our days underſtand their true intereſt much better, and therefor have forborn ſuch ſort of complaints, although the ſuburbs of London be at leaſt four times as large as they were then; ſince it is certain, that people from the country ſettling in London can afford to uſe and conſume conſiderably more in quantity, and better in quality, of the proviſions, manufactures, &c. produced in the country, than the ſame number of people could have done, had they remained there.

Queen Elizabeth gave a commiſſion to the enterpriſing George Clifford, earl of Cumberland, for fitting out any number of ſhips of war by him and his aſſociates, not exceeding ſix, at his and their expenſe, for annoying the dominions of Spain, or of any others not in amity with her; and ſhe granted them the uſe of two of her own ſhips of war, to be victualled and manned at their expenſe, to join their own ſhips. The ſpoils ſhe empowers the earl to divide amongſt the ſubſcribers to the expedition.

This ſquadron, conſiſting of eleven ſhips, was deſtined to intercept the Portugueſe carracks bound to Eaſt-India; but failing of that, he went and ſacked the iſle of Lancerota, one of the Canary iſles. From thence he ſailed to the Weſt-Indies, and took the town of Porto Rico, with an intent to ſettle at it, and to make it the principal ſtation for his future enterpriſes againſt the Spaniards in thoſe parts. He therefor turned out all its inhabitants; but by diſeaſes there he loſt 700 men in forty days, whereupon he returned home with leſs booty than glory.

The plague being now in the city of London, the queen iſſued a proclamation, which ſhews the antient greatneſs of Bartholomew fair in that city, though now dwindled into nothing, in ſubſtance as follows: Whereas the ſickneſs is in ſundry places in and about London; to prevent its being communicated to other parts of the realm, ſhe expreſsly prohibits the keeping of Bartholomew fair, there being wont to be a general reſort of all kinds of people out of every part of the realm to it; therefor there ſhould not be any market kept in the uſual place of

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Smithfield for any wares, nor ſtalls or booths for merchandize; but the open place of Smithfield ſhould this year be only for the ſale of horſes and cattle, and of ſtall-wares, as butter, cheeſe, and ſuch like, in groſs, and not by retail, and for two days only. And for the vent of woollen cloths and linen cloth, to be ſold in groſs, and not by retail, the ſame ſhould be all brought within the cloſe yard of St. Bartholomew's *, where ſhops are there continued, and have gates to ſhut the ſame place in the night-time; and this to continue but three days. The ſale of leather to be kept in the outſide of the ring of Smithfield, as hath been accuſtomed, without erecting any ſhops or booths for the ſame. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 213] At this time it is ſaid that the account of the numbers dying weekly in London began to be kept, though it was not till the year 1663 that the weekly bills of mortality were regularly kept, thoſe at this time being only taken occaſionally, on account of the plague.

Some Engliſh ſhips now made a voyage to Cape Breton, at the entrance of the bay of St. Laurence, for morſe and whale fiſhing (ſays Hakluyt), which is the firſt mention found of the later fiſhery by the Engliſh; and although they found no whales there, they however found on an iſland 800 whale-fins, where a Biſcay ſhip had been loſt three years before; and this too is the firſt mention of whale-fins or whale-bone by the Engliſh.

By the trade to Archangel, the Engliſh were now well acquainted with the northern ſeas, where they carried on a great fiſhing, or hunting rather, for morſes (as the Ruſſians called them †), beyond the North cape at Cherry iſland, ſo named from Alderman Cherry, but called by the Dutch Bear iſle. But it ſeems thoſe amphibious creatures became afterwards ſo ſhy, that the moment they ſaw any man they ran into the ſea; whereupon the Engliſh fell into the whale fiſhery, though not quite ſo early as this time.

It was enacted, that when wheat did not exceed the price of 20*ſ* per quarter, peas and beans 13*ſ*4, barley and malt 12*ſ* per quarter, they might be exported in Engliſh ſhips, paying cuſtom, 2*ſ* for wheat, and 1*ſ*4 for the other grain per quarter. [35 *Eliz. c.* 7.]

1594.—The parliament of Scotland now paſſed an act, that in reſpect of the great dearth and ſcarcity of fleſh meat, the time of Lent ſhould be aſcertained, viz. from the 1ſt of March to the 1ſt of May incluſive; during which no fleſh meat ſhould be ſold nor eaten but by ſick perſons; neither throughout the reſt of the year ſhould fleſh meat be eaten on Wedneſdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. Moreover, neither lambs nor calves under a year old ſhould be ſlain before Whitſunday yearly. This

* That cloſe yard of St. Bartholomew's is now called Cloth-fair.

† The Engliſh call them ſea-horſes, and the Dutch and French, ſea-cows.

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was merely a new political Lent, which did not pretend to have any relation to religious abſtinence. The landholders might ſurely have more effectually promoted the increaſe of fleſh meat, by enabling their tenants to take long leaſes of their farms, whereby they might have had time ſufficient for raiſing ſheep and oxen, and increaſing their butter, cheeſe, poultry, &c. This law was doubtleſs very favourable to the fiſheries of Scotland, which was probably the motive for enacting it.

The emperor Rodolph II having written a letter to Queen Elizabeth in the preceding year reſpecting the grievances daily complained of by the maritime cities of the Baltic league (i. e. the Hanſe towns), the queen now diſpatched Dr. Perkins as her envoy to the emperor to vindicate her conduct towards the German Steelyard merchants of the Hanſe confederacy. That envoy gave the following account to the emperor's miniſters, viz.

That the antient privileges which they formerly had in England, becauſe of their great abuſe of them, and in conſideration that they were become incompatible with the good ſtate of the realm, had been abrogated in the reign of Edward VI; yet Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign, granted them the trade of her own ſubjects, until at length, in the year 1577, an aſſembly of the Hanſe deputies at Lubeck decreed to forbid the Engliſh merchants trade at Hamburgh; and yet at this time, notwithſtanding all their unkind dealing, her majeſty offereth them the privileges of her own ſubjects, in caſe that they will ſuffer ſome convenient trade to the Engliſh merchants in their cities. And for that, in all kingdoms, ſome old uſages and privileges, by change of circumſtances, uſe to be taken away, eſpecially if ſome great abuſe of them happen, the Hanſes have no cauſe to complain of England, but of themſelves; wherefor it hath been taken ſomewhat unkindly that a mandate of late hath been given (meaning by the emperor) againſt the Engliſh trade at Stoade *. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *pp.* 212, 253—*Camdeni Annales*, *L.* iv.]

An engine was erected at Broken-wharf, in London, for conveying the Thames water into the ſeveral ſtreets of that city by leaden pipes into every houſe. [*Stow's Annales*, *p.* 1279.]

The author of a Collection of voyages undertaken by the Dutch Eaſt-India company, and of an account of ſeveral attempts to find out the north-eaſt paſſage (8vo, 1703), in his introduction remarks, that 'if the 'Spaniards had not ſeized on the Hollanders' ſhips, and expoſed their 'perſons to the rigour of the inquiſition, probably they had never ex-'tended their navigation beyond the Baltic ſea, the northern countries, 'England, France, Spain, and its dependencies, the Mediterranean, and

* This clauſe relates to the decree of the German diet, which Gilpin's dexterity had defeated, as already noted.

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'the Levant.' But neceſſity obliging that people to the practice of commerce, 'they were obliged to try new ways of getting by ſea to far 'diſtant countries, in order to avoid meeting with the Spaniards and 'Portugueſe.' Being debarred from ſailing to the Eaſt-Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, they determined to attempt a way thither by ſteering firſt north-eaſt, and then along the coaſt of Tartary, in order to reach China, Japan, India, &c. Accordingly, William Barents, with three ſhips, this year ſailed round Norway and Lapland, and to the north coaſt of Nova Zembla, but could go no farther for the ice; and yet thoſe who returned home retained great hopes of ſucceſs when farther trial ſhould be made.

Captain James Lancaſter was now fitted out with three ſhips by ſome merchants of London, and was joined by ſome Dutch and French freebooters. They took thirty-nine ſhips from the Spaniards, and then attacked the port of Fernambuc in Braſil, and took the lower town and haven, driving the inhabitants to the upper town. There they loaded fifteen ſhips with the merchandize of a great Eaſt-India carrack, which had been wrecked there, and with ſugar, Braſil wood, and cotton, and returned home ſafe. [*Camden's Elizabeth, Engliſh edition*, 1635, *p.* 434.]

1595.—The ſtates of Holland, and Maurice prince of Orange, now ſent out Barents with ſeven ſhips on a ſecond attempt for a north-eaſt paſſage, through Waygate's ſtraits, between the ſouth ſhore of Nova Zembla and the north coaſt of Samoieda; but after many endeavours to paſs the ſtraits, they were ſo obſtructed by ice from the Tartarian ſea that they were obliged to return home this ſame year.

In Strype's edition of Stow's Survey of London, we find, that in conſequence of the calamitous dearth of corn in the preceding year, the lord mayor ordered a ſurvey of the number of poor houſekeepers within his juriſdiction, which amounted to 4132; ſo that, allowing them to be about a fourth part of all the houſes in London, the whole might be about 17,000 houſes, though at preſent about 24,000. This increaſe is owing to ſundry void ſpaces being built up into ſtreets and courts ſince the reformation from popery, and alſo later, ſince the great conflagration in the year 1666. This cannot be more clearly evinced than by one ſingle inſtance, viz. that before the conflagration, all that large court named Exchange-alley, fronting the ſouth gate of the Royal exchange, quite through into Lombard-ſtreet ſouth, and into Birchin-lane eaſt, whereon are now ſo many lofty ediſices, was then but one ſingle merchant's houſe and garden; and the like may be inſtanced of ſundry other places in the city. Yet, by the farther great increaſe of commerce, the merchants and wholeſale dealers of London now begin rather to leſſen the number of houſes, and conſequently of inhabitants, by turning many dwelling-houſes into ſtore-houſes for merchandize. Moreover, by a late ſtatute [33 *Geo. II*] the city of London is em-

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powered to make new openings and ſtreets therein, for the conveniency and ornament thereof, in which a conſiderable progreſs has already been made.

The vaſt increaſe of the ſuburbs of London toward the cloſe of Queen Elizabeth's reign demonſtrates the great increaſe of the commerce of England better than a whole volume of ſpeculative reaſoning. It is not material to make different ſections thereof, and therefor we have brought them all together, whether a little before or after this year.

It ſeems that about this time the grounds called Spitalfields began to be built on for weavers, &c. as was alſo Hog-lane in that part which had lately had fair rows of elm-trees all along, now turned into houſes, on both ſides, from Houndſditch to Whitechapel church.

'In the middle of this century there was not a ſingle houſe between 'St. Catherines and Wapping; but now there is a continued ſtreet 'from the tower all along the river, almoſt as far as Radcliff, inhabited 'by ſailors and victuallers.

'Northward the ſuburbs have been leſs increaſed than on the eaſt 'and weſt ſides; yet there was an increaſe about this time on that ſide 'alſo. Where the buildings on the weſt ſide of Smithfield ſtand, was 'formerly a very large pond of water; and where the place called the 'Sheep-pens is, was a field with growing elms, and the place of execu-'tion for criminals. Afterward, in King Henry VI's reign, they be-'gan to build the ſpace between the ſaid pond and the river of Wells '(now Turnmill brook), which runs into Fleet-ditch; and afterward 'that pond was drained and built on, and ſo down that ſtreet now 'called Cow-lane, and alſo Chick-lane, and Hoſier-lane, &c.; ſo that 'the buildings there are ſo increaſed, that now remaineth not one tree 'there.'

Some other additions were made about Clerkenwell, about or near this time, where the fields, gardens, and avenues of the great priory of St. John of Jeruſalem, and alſo the convent on the north ſide of Clerk-enwell green, ſtood, &c.

Weſtward (without Newgate), the great ſtreet named Holborn, and its contiguity, has been gradually built quite up to the village of St. Giles's in the fields. [*Stow's Survey—Howell's Londinopolis.*] But as the greateſt increaſe thereabout was chiefly in the next century, we muſt refer thereto.

Queen Elizabeth had written to King Chriſtiern IV of Denmark for his leave that a merchantman of Harwich might freely reſort for fiſhing to the ſmall iſle of Weſtmony, adjacent to the great iſland of Iceland, as in former years. The Daniſh king anſwered, that her ſubjects had been prohibited from reſorting thither, becauſe they took the liberty of fre-quenting it without aſking leave, contrary to antient treaties: but if they would comply with thoſe antient treaties, they ſhould be free to

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fiſh at Iceland, the port of Weſtmony alone excepted; the fiſhery of that port being now, as well as antiently, appropriated for the uſe and ſervice of his own court. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 275.]

Sir Walter Raleigh having in the preceding year ſent out a ſhip for making diſcoveries in the country of Guiana, of which he had, unhappily and fatally, formed very exalted ideas with reſpect to its immenſe treaſures and great cities, from falſe information, this year ſailed thither himſelf with ſeveral ſhips, and many worthy and experienced gentlemen and mariners. He firſt ſeized the fort on the iſle of Trinidad, where he learned that Guiana extended above ſix hundred miles up from that coaſt; and there he alſo received abundance of freſh but very falſe accounts of rich mines and great cities, and particularly the vaſt and rich city named El Dorado, or Manoa, the ſuppoſed capital of Guiana. On this romantic preſumption, Raleigh, with an hundred men in boats, ſailed four hundred miles up the great river Oronoque, enduring great fatigues for a whole month, but without meeting with any great city, though he ſaw many Indian nations on its banks: but it beginning to ſwell on account of the approach of their winter, he found himſelf obliged to return to his ſhips before he could reach that imaginary golden city: he is, however, ſaid to have brought back ſome plates of gold, which he had obtained from the bordering nations who traded with Guiana. He had, it is ſaid, been encouraged to this attempt by his couſin the lord admiral Howard, and by Sir Robert Cecil ſecretary of ſtate, to whom he dedicated his account of it.

In this ſame year, Sir Amias Preſton, with three ſhips, burnt Porto Santo at the Madeiras; thence ſailing to the Weſt-Indies, he deſtroyed ſome of the Spaniards' towns there (poorly defended doubtleſs), and returned home with ſome booty, though probably leſs in value than the expenſe incurred. And Sir Francis Drake, with ſix of Queen Elizabeth's own ſhips, twenty-one private ſhips and barks, and 2500 men, ſailed from Plymouth to the Weſt-Indies, where (the Spaniards knowing of their coming) he did but little execution againſt their towns; ſo well had they now fortified almoſt every where, being ſufficiently warned by former diſaſters: there he fought with part of a Spaniſh fleet ſent againſt him, with little advantage. Next he attempted with 750 men to get croſs the iſthmus of Darien to Panama on the South ſea, but the Spaniards had ſo fortified the roads that they were forced to come back to their ſhips. In their return homeward, both Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins (two moſt gallant commanders) died at, and were buried in, their element,—the ſea.

The officers and ſailors of the Dutch ſhips which had been ſent laſt year to try a paſſage by the north-eaſt to China and India giving ſtill great hopes of being able to find ſuch a paſſage, which they computed would be about 2000 miles nearer than the uſual way, the ſtates-general

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and the prince of Orange were encouraged to ſend out ſeven ſhips, under Barents again, with all ſorts of merchandize, and with money to trade with, hoping to get through Waygat's ſtraits. Their ſmalleſt ſhip was directed to return with the news of the other ſix ſhips having doubled cape Tabin, which was counted the extreme point of Tartary, or, at leaſt, when they ſhould be gone far enough to ſteer to the ſouthward, without being in danger from the ice; but finding the ſame obſtructions in the ſtrait, and yet more at the farther end of it, from the mountains of ice at the entrance of the Tartarian ſea, they returned to Holland after they had been four months and an half on that voyage.

The Hollanders finding from their firſt attempt that it was apparently impracticable to ſail to China and India by the north-eaſt, at length determined this year to force their way thither by the Cape of Good Hope, which they performed with wonderful courage and ſucceſs. Four ſhips ſailed from Holland in April 1595, and returned home (all but their biggeſt and moſt leaky ſhip, which they burnt) in twenty-nine months, flushed with ſucceſs and big with hopes, though, by reaſon of the oppoſition of the Portugueſe and Javaneſe, it did not fully anſwer expectation in point of preſent gain. This firſt undertaking was ſet on foot by nine merchants of Amſterdam, with a capital of only 70,000 guilders.

From the arrival of the Dutch in India the Portugueſe juſtly date the ruin of their affairs in that country. Yet Dr. Gemelli Careri aſſigns another very probable cauſe of the decline of the Portugueſe in Eaſt-India, viz. their conqueſt of Braſil; for finding much more profit by that rich colony, they ſlighted Eaſt-India, and neglected to ſend ſufficient ſupplies for preſerving what they already poſſeſſed there. This is ſo certain, ſays Gemelli, that the king of Portugal was ſeveral times in the mind of abſolutely abandoning Eaſt-India, had not the miſſionaries made him ſenſible, that if he did ſo, all the chriſtians of thoſe countries would again fall into idolatry and mahometaniſm. To ſay the truth, one may venture to pronounce, that the original cauſe of their ruin in India was the too great number of their conqueſts there, too far aſunder to be effectually ſuccoured, whilſt they were engaged in war againſt the Dutch in Europe, as well as in India and Braſil.

1596.—King Philip II of Spain again making great preparations againſt England, Queen Elizabeth wiſely determined by all means to prevent his attempts on her coaſts; and as the beſt means for that purpoſe would be to attack and annoy him in his own ports, for that end ſhe ſent out 126 ſhips of war, ſeventeen whereof were her own ſhips, the remainder being, as uſual, hired ones. They carried 7360 land-ſoldiers; and were joined by a Dutch ſquadron of twenty-four ſhips; all being under the command of the earl of Eſſex and the lord admiral Howard. The gallant and ſucceſsful attack and ſacking of the famous

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and ſtrong port and city of Cadiz is in all our hiſtories at large, and therefor improper in this work to be enlarged on. There they burnt and deſtroyed much ſhipping and more riches, and demoliſhed all the forts; all which together were eſtimated at twenty millions of ducats of real loſs and damage to Spain. Much rich booty was brought home, together with two galleons and a hundred braſs cannon, and two hundred other pieces of ordnance were either taken or ſunk in the ſea. Eleven of the king of Spain's beſt ſhips, forty-four merchant ſhips, and an immenſe quantity of naval ſtores, ammunition, proviſions, &c. were deſtroyed; and for ranſom of their lives they agreed to give hoſtages for the payment of 520,000 ducats. This, in ſhort, was a very glorious exploit, and did not a little raiſe the credit of the queen, and of her naval and land-forces, as well as of her miniſters and commanders. In this attack the Engliſh employed ſix ſhips of Lubeck and Dantzick to board the Spaniſh galleons, the admiral being unwilling to hazard the queen's own ſhips.

Nevertheleſs, Philip, determined on making repriſals for ſo great an inſult, diſgrace, and loſs, aſſembled his whole marine force at Liſbon, with all the foreign ſhips in his ports; as alſo a body of land-forces, and many Iriſh fugitives, intending an invaſion either of England or Ireland. But a violent tempeſt ariſing, deſtroyed the greateſt part of his ſhips, whereby an end was put to the invaſion for the preſent year.

Sir Anthony Shirly, after cruiſing on the coaſts of New Spain and the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, landed on the iſland of Jamaica, and having plundered St. Jago de la Vega its principal town, left the iſland.

Sir Robert Dudley and others ſent out three ſhips with intent to trade to China, of which, and its rich commerce, the Engliſh had heard ſo much. Wood, the commander in chief, had Queen Elizabeth's letters to the emperor of China. But all that we know of this unfortunate voyage is, that they never got ſo far as Eaſt-India; but after encountering ſtorms, ſickneſs, and famine, were at length driven on the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, having only four men left alive, who were made priſoners, and their ſhips ſeized. [*Purchas*, *B.* iii, *c.* § 2.]

In this year the Hollanders attempted a third (and the laſt) time a north-eaſt paſſage to China, but were very unfortunate therein, loſing one of their two ſhips; and Barents, with ſuch men as were left alive, wintered miſerably in Nova Zembla, and out of their battered ſhip fitted out a ſmaller one, and with infinite hazards and difficulties returned home to Holland, Barents, however, dying in his return.

1597.—Two laws were made at this time for relief of the aged and maimed poor; the one was for the amendment and improvement of a law [35 *Eliz. c.* 4.] for charging every pariſh with a weekly tax for the relief of ſick, hurt, and maimed ſoldiers and mariners, by enabling any perſon to erect for thoſe purpoſes hoſpitals and houſes of correction, and

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for that end to purchaſe goods or lands, not exceeding the yearly value of 200l.; the other laid a farther tax on every pariſh for the relief of ſoldiers and mariners, the higheſt rate of any pariſh being eightpence, and the loweſt twopence, weekly. [39 *Eliz. cc.* 5, 21.]

We have a ſecond inſtance this year of the fallibility of ſome acts of parliament relating to commerce, in a corroboration [39 *Eliz. c.* 11] of an act [23 *Eliz. c.* 9] which 'prohibited the uſe of logwood or block-'wood in the dying of cloths, &c. as a practice falſe and deceitful; di-'recting all logwood, wherever found, to be burnt, and that neither 'cloth nor wool ſhould thereafter be dyed therewith *.' Nevertheleſs, in after times, logwood has proved extremely profitable, uſeful, and proper in dying. And it is in our days found to be a great inconveniency to our commerce that our logwood-cutters are perpetually diſturbed in the bay of Campechy by the Spaniards, pretending an excluſive property in that bay, though never yet planted by them, as will be ſeen under the year 1662 and 1717.

The parliament of Scotland again prohibited the exportation of wool, and ordained, that craftſmen ſtrangers be brought home for working it up. [*Act Ja. VI, parl.* 15, *c.* 250, *ed. Murray.*] They laid a duty of five per cent on all foreign cloth and other merchandize imported; but allowed peers, barons, and freeholders, without paying any cuſtom, to ſend their own goods beyond ſea, for their own particular uſe; and to import wines, cloths, and other furniture, only for their own particular uſe, but not to make merchandize thereof, conformable to the laws and liberties granted to them before. [*Parl.* 15, *c.* 251.] This ill-judged exemption fruſtrated the whole intent of the ſtatute, as the landed men of every country (and eminently ſo of Scotland), with their retinues, were then the great bulk of the people, and undoubtedly the principal conſumers of foreign merchandize; beſides, that under colour of the above exemptions, many frauds might be, and doubtleſs were, committed.

They alſo prohibited the importation of Engliſh woollen goods; the ſame cloth (ſays the act) having only for the moſt part an outward ſhow, wanting that ſubſtance and ſtrength which ofttimes it appears to have, and being one of the chief cauſes of the tranſportation of gold and ſilver out of this realm:—the only true and ſolid reaſon for this law. [*Parl.* 15, *c.* 252.]

They enacted this ſame year, that three new towns be erected in different parts, for the better entertaining and continuing of civility and

* The Engliſh were not inſenſible of the utility of logwood in dying, but they were ignorant of the method. Mr. Hakluyt, in his inſtructions to Hubblethorne the dyer, when he was ſetting out for Perſia, therefor recommended to him to endeavour to learn the method of fixing the colour given by it. *M.*

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polity within the Highlands and iſles, viz. one in Kentire, one in Lochaber, and a third in the iſle of Lewis *. [*Parl.* 15, *c.* 263 †.]

At this time the intereſt of the Hanſeatic and imperial cities of Germany, coinciding with that which the crown of Spain had at the imperial court, produced a mandate from the emperor Rodolph to the town of Staden no longer to entertain the comptoir or company of the Engliſh merchant-adventurers. [*Fœdera, V.* xvi, *p.* 326.] Being thus forced to leave Staden and all other parts of the German empire, the company was invited to ſettle in Groningen. At the ſame time the town of Embden and the dukes of Holſtein and Brunſwick wrote to Queen Elizabeth, profeſſing, though they were obliged to ſubmit to the emperor's order, their readineſs to ſerve her in any other reſpect ‡. Wheeler, the hiſtoriographer of the merchant-adventurers company, aſſerts, that eleven or twelve other towns in the Netherlands vied with each other for the reſidence of the company.

The merchants of the Hanſe towns flattered themſelves that Elizabeth would gladly reſtore their antient privileges in England, in order to recover thoſe of the Engliſh merchant-adventurers in Germany; but her intentions were very different; for, knowing that their privileges were repugnant to the great commercial intereſts of England, after demanding, for the ſake of decorum, a revocation of the imperial edict, ſhe, without further delay, directed a commiſſion to the mayor and ſheriffs of London to ſhut up the houſe inhabited by the merchants of the Hanſe towns at the Steelyard in London; and moreover, ordered all the Germans there, and every where elſe throughout England, to quit her dominions on the very day on which the Engliſh were obliged to leave Staden; whoſe expulſion thence was, it ſeems, deferred till now. From this time the place called the Steelyard was never again applied to that uſe.

At our final parting with the Steelyard merchants, we may obſerve that they had in old times been a kind of a bank for our kings whenever they wanted money at a pinch; but they were ſure to be well paid in the end for ſuch aſſiſtances.

The capture of ſixty of the Hanſe towns ſhips, loaded with corn and naval ſtores for Spain, in the year 1589, by the Engliſh, widened the

* Nothing appears to have been done in conſequence of this act till the year 1602 (but according to Moyſe 1599), when the iſland of Lewis was granted (as countries in America were about this time) to ſome gentlemen of Fife; the colony being drawn from that maritime ſhire, as ſuppoſed acquainted with the fiſhery, '*a ſource from which Scotland ought naturally to derive great wealth.*' But the reſiſtance of the iſlanders fruſtrated the ſcheme. A ſecond attempt was made in 1605 with no better ſucceſs. [*Spotſwood's hiſtory, pp.* 468, 490.] It was reſerved for a Dutch colony to introduce fiſhing and trade in Lewis, and to build the village, or burgh, of Stornoway, which was till a few years ago the only town in the Weſtern iſlands. *M.*

† Many other laws for the regulation of commerce and police were enacted by the Scottiſh parliament in this ſeſſion. *M.*

‡ The duke of Brunſwick appears to have had a penſion of 500 merks a-year from Elizabeth.

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breach with the Hanſeatics, which doubtleſs proved greatly beneficial to England in the end; for the Engliſh found means to get their cloths, &c. imported into Germany, though not in ſo open and direct a manner as before: and the merchant-adventurers company have obtained a flouriſhing reſidence at the city of Hamburgh even to this day.

From Sir William Monſon's Naval tracts [*printed in Churchill's Collection of voyages, V.* iii] it appears that the earl of Cumberland was the firſt Engliſh ſubject that built a ſhip ſo large as eight hundred tons burden; which ſhip, with ſome others, he now employed in an expedition at his own private expenſe againſt Spain.

This year there was a definitive treaty concluded (at Weſtminſter) with the ſtates-general of the ſeven United provinces, concerning the payment of the money expended in their defence, being L800,000 Sterling by computation; alſo for what ſhould afterward be expended; and moreover, for the redelivery of the cautionary towns; alſo for the ſtates aſſiſting England with thirty or forty ſhips of war in caſe of being attacked by Spain. All that has any immediate relation to our general ſubject, is the ſlender burden of thoſe ſhips of war, ſo very ſhort of ſuch in our days, viz. the one half of them were to conſiſt each of 200 tons burden, and the other half of between 100 and 200 tons. [*Fœdera, V.* xvi, *p.* 340—*Collection of treaties, V.* ii, *p.* 120, *ed.* 1732.]

1598.—The Engliſh merchants trading to Denmark complained of the Daniſh officers violently ſeizing their merchandize; to which the Danes replied, that thoſe goods were juſtly condemned by the laws of Denmark, as not having been truely entered at the cuſtom-houſes, viz. ſkins, tin, cloth, &c. ſhort entered. This ſtiffneſs of the Daniſh court (then favouring the Spaniards) produced a ſharp remonſtrance from the queen, which procured a remiſſion of ſo much of the confiſcations as amounted to 30,000 dollars: but, on the other hand, the king of Denmark demanded redreſs from Queen Elizabeth for certain piracies of the Engliſh on his ſubjects; for now (ſays Camden, in his Hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth) there began to grow controverſies about ſuch matters, meaning the carrying of contraband goods, as naval ſtores, &c. to the Spaniards.

The ſeveral trials for a north-weſt paſſage to China, by Hudſon's and Davies's ſtraits, and for a north-eaſt paſſage on the north ſide of Nova-Zembla, or through the ſtraits of Waygatz, and the annual voyages to Archangel, had ſo accuſtomed the Engliſh to thoſe boiſterous ſeas, that ſome of the Ruſſia company now occaſionally commenced, for the firſt time, the fiſhery for whales near Spitzbergen, where thoſe huge animals are found in greater numbers than any where elſe that we yet have diſcovered *.

* The abundance of whales in the South ſea was quite unknown in Mr. Anderſon's time. *M.*

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The Dutch Eaſt-India merchants now ſent out Heemſkerck on a ſecond voyage to Eaſt-India, with eight ſhips; who returned home in the year 1600, laden with the five uſual kinds of ſpices, viz. cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and mace.

And ſo fond were the Dutch of this trade, that they would not wait for the return of thoſe eight ſhips, but in 1599 ſent out three other ſhips; and ſo they went on yearly, making vaſt returns of profit to the proprietors, all Europe being in thoſe times extremely fond of ſpices, to a much greater degree than at preſent.

The Hollanders now alſo ſent out four ſhips, commanded by Oliver Van Noort, on a new adventure, which, after various accidents, ſailed through Magellan's ſtraits into the South ſea; and thence on to the Eaſt-Indies, where they had ſundry encounters with the Spaniards and Portugueſe: and after ſome trading for pepper, they returned home by the Cape of Good Hope; this being the fourth navigation round the globe; but the firſt performed by the Dutch.

1599.—The route to Archangel was ſo well known, and ſo much frequented at this time, that, according to Werdenhagen, the Hanſeatic hiſtorian, even ſo far as from Venice, at leaſt one ſhip annually reſorted thither for commerce. So much was all Europe by this time improved in the arts of commerce and navigation.

The queen, by proclamation, ſtrictly enjoined all letter-of-marque ſhips to give ſecurity before they ſet ſail, not to injure the ſubjects of nations in amity with her; and as ſome complaints of piratical practices by ſuch ſhips had been made by the Danes and French, ſhe appointed commiſſioners to inquire into, and redreſs them. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 362.]

At this time (according to Grotius' Annals of the Netherlands) the ſea ports of Holland, and other parts of the united provinces, generally built 2000 new ſhips every year. A thing almoſt incredible, did it not proceed from ſo reputable and illuſtrious an author *.

King Henry IV of France (according to Mezeray) now prohibited all foreign manufactures, as well of ſilk as of gold or ſilver, pure or mixed, at the requeſt of the merchants of Tours, who undertook to make quantities of ſuch manufactures ſufficient for the whole kingdom; yet, graſping at more than they could perform, and being alſo complained of by the city of Lyons, (juſtly ſtiled the golden gate of France), as thereby deſtroying their famous fairs, as well as leſſening the king's cuſtoms, that edict in favour of Tours was revoked. Yet (as Puffendorf obſerves) thoſe new manufactures of France, and more eſpecially that of ſilk, did afterward draw great wealth into that kingdom.

* Surely all the boats muſt have been included in the number. In no one year have half ſo many veſſels ever been built in the whole of the Britiſh dominions. *M.*

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This year Queen Elizabeth ſent John Mildenhall over land, by Conſtantinople, to the court of the great mogul, to apply for certain privileges for the Engliſh company, for whom ſhe was then preparing a charter for trading to Eaſt-India, in which he was long oppoſed by the arts and preſents of the Spaniſh and Portugueſe jeſuits at that court, whereby they prepoſſeſſed the mogul againſt the Engliſh; ſo that it was ſome years before he could entirely get the better of them *.

1600.—Elizabeth wrote to King Chriſtian IV of Denmark, complaining of his people, who had ſeized on ſome Engliſh fiſhing veſſels on the high ſeas northward, remote from land; and ſhe tells that king, 'that 'the high ſeas were free for fiſhing by the conſent of all nations;' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 395] which was her conſtant ſtile on this ſubject. This ſeizure was probably made ſomewhere near Iceland or Norway, on pretence of the Engliſh not having firſt aſked leave of the Daniſh court before they went to fiſh in thoſe ſeas, agreeable to a convention formerly made with Denmark. All diſputes about the fiſhing there are long ſince at an end.

In a treatiſe, entitled *England's grievance diſcovered in relation to the coal-trade* (1655) we ſee, that Newcaſtle upon Tine had obtained charters from King Henry III, Edward I, and III, Richard II, Henry IV, and Queen Elizabeth; the lateſt of hers being in this year 1600, wherein ſhe deſcribes it as a town of merchants, a mart or market of great fame, and ſtuffed with a multitude of merchants dwelling therein: and whereas it is an antient town, and has time out of mind had a certain guild or fraternity, called hoaſt-men, for the diſcharging and better diſpoſing of ſea-coals, grind-ſtones, rub-ſtones, and whet-ſtones, in and upon the river and port of Tine, though not as yet incorporated; ſhe therefor now (in the 43d of her reign, though that book by miſtake ſays the 13th) 'incorporates them by the name of the governor, 'ſtewards, and brethren of the fraternity of hoaſt-men of Newcaſtle.' By this and former charters it appear, that this famous town had great juriſdiction on the river Tine, from the ſea ſeven miles above the town, in point of navigation, admiralty juriſdiction, fiſhery, &c. And alſo that Newcaſtle had been ſerviceable to former princes in their wars, by ſupplying them with mariners and ſhips, as, down to our own time, it has ever been in all our naval wars.

Dr. Davenant, an able author, (in his *New dialogues*, *V.* ii, *p.* 93, *ed.* 1710) affirms, that the gold and ſilver coin at this time in England did not exceed four millions, which were the tools we had to work with

* He alſo met with much trouble by means of two Italian merchants at Agra. The Italians, who ſeem to have had no idea that the navigation by the Cape of Good Hope was poſſible to them, had about this time made ſeveral attempts to extend their correſpondence and trade to India over land. [*Purchas*, *B.* iii, *c.* 1, § 3—*Linſchotton*, *pp.* 145, 154, 155, 191,—and ſee above in the year 1591.] *M.*

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when we first began to make a figure in the commercial world, which was near that period of time.

Our own Turkey merchants first, and the Dutch East-India company next, who had got the start of us in the East-India trade, keeping up the price of pepper from 8*s* to 4*s* per pound, we being at war with Spain, and so could not get spices from Lisbon at first hand, Queen Elizabeth now determined to enter her people directly upon a commerce to East-India.

Accordingly, on the 31st of December 1600, she granted a charter to George earl of Cumberland, and 215 knights, aldermen, and merchants, that, at their own cost and charges, they might set forth one or more voyages to the East-Indians, in the country and parts of Asia and Africa, and to the islands thereabouts, divers of which countries, islands, &c. have long sithence been discovered by others of our subjects; to be one body politic and corporate, by the name of the 'governour and 'company of merchants of London trading into the East-Indies;' to have succession; to purchase lands, without limitation; to have one governor and twenty-four persons, to be elected annually, who shall be called committees, jointly to have the direction of the voyages, the provision of the shipping and merchandize, also the sale of the merchandize, and the management of all other things belonging to the company. Sir Thomas Smith, alderman of London, was to be the first governor, and a deputy-governor to be elected in a general court; both the governors and all the committees to take the oath of fidelity: as also, every member to take an oath, before being admitted, to traffic as a freeman of this company. The company, their sons, at twenty-one years of age, their apprentices, servants and factors in India or elsewhere, may, for fifteen years from Christmas last, freely and solely trade, by such ways and passages as are already found out, or shall hereafter be discovered, into the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and all the islands, ports, towns and places of Asia, Africa, and America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the straits of Magellan, where any traffic of merchandize may be used to and from every of them, in such manner as shall from time to time be limited and agreed on at any public assembly or general court of the company, any statute, usage, diversity of religion or faith, or any other matter to the contrary notwithstanding; so as it be not to any country already possessed by any christian potentate in amity with her majesty, who shall declare the same to be against his or their good liking. Either the governor or deputy-governor must always be one in general assemblies, when they may make all reasonable laws, constitutions, &c. agreeable to the laws of England, for their good government, by plurality of voices, and may punish, by fines and imprisonment, the offenders against their laws. The queen grants to the company an exemption from paying any customs for the first four voyages; and for

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cuſtoms which ſhall afterwards be payable for merchandize from India, the company ſhall be allowed to give their bonds, payable one half in ſix months, and the other half in ſix months after. For merchandize loſt at ſea outward bound, the cuſtoms ſhall be allowed to the company out of the next cargo ſhipped off. India merchandize, that ſhall have paid the cuſtoms, may, until the end of thirteen months, be re-exported by any ſubjects without paying farther cuſtoms. The company may export in their firſt voyage, now preparing, L30,000 in foreign coin or bullion, ſo as at leaſt L6000 thereof be firſt coined in the queen's mint, and the like for the ſubſequent voyages, provided the company firſt import at leaſt ſo much foreign coin or bullion in gold or ſilver into this realm, of which L6000 ſhall be coined as aforeſaid. The company may ſend yearly to Eaſt-India ſix good ſhips and ſix pinnaces, with 500 mariners, unleſs the navy royal goes forth. None of the queen's ſubjects, but the company, their ſervants, or aſſigns, ſhall reſort to India without being licenced by the company, upon pain of forfeiting ſhips and cargoes, with impriſonment till the offenders give L1000 bond to the company not to trade thither again. Nevertheleſs, for the encouragement of merchant ſtrangers and others to bring in commodities into the realm, the queen gives power to the company to grant licences to trade to Eaſt-India; and ſhe promiſes not to grant leave to any others to trade thither during the company's term without their conſent. The majority of any general meeting of the company may admit apprentices, ſervants, factors, &c. to the fellowſhip or freedom of the company. The ſilver to be exported ſhall only be ſhipped at the ports of London, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and ſhall be duely entered by the cuſtomhouſe officers, without paying any cuſtom for the ſame. Gold and ſilver imported ſhall be entered before landing the ſame. Provided, that in caſe this charter ſhall hereafter appear not to be profitable to the crown and realm, then, upon two years notice to the company, their charter ſhall ceaſe and determine: but if otherwiſe, then the queen promiſes, at the end of the ſaid fifteen years, upon the company's ſuit, to grant them a new charter for fifteen years longer. This is the ſame Eaſt-India company which, through many various viciſſitudes, exiſted under the ſame denomination till the year 1708, when it was abſorbed in the preſent united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies.

N. B. The original ſhares ſubſcribed were L50 each.

About the cloſe of the ſixteenth century decimal arithmetic was invented by Simon Stevin of Bruges. [*Wotton's Reflections upon antient and modern learning, c.* 30.]

1601.—The patentees of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company immediately raiſed the ſum of L72,000, (though not in one joint ſtock or common capital, as in ſucceeding times, there having been no joint ſtock in this company till the year 1613), and this year ſent out their firſt fleet for

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India, commanded in chief by Captain James Lancaſter, having one ſhip of 600 tons, one of 300, two of 200 each, and one of 130 tons, as victualler to the whole fleet, carrying 480 men, and L27,000 in money * and goods, the remainder of the L72,000 being abſorbed in the purchaſe of the ſhips, artillery, ammunition, proviſions, &c. At Acheen, in the iſle of Sumatra, they loaded ſome of their ſhips with pepper; but not meeting with enough, and ſailing thence for the ſtraits of Malacca, they completed their cargoes by the capture of a Portugueſe ſhip of 900 tons, loaded with calicoes, &c. and ſailing thence to Bantam, they delivered the queen's letter and preſents to the king, as they had before done the like to the king of Acheen, and both kings ſent letters and preſents for Queen Elizabeth, and granted privileges to the company. So, having ſettled factors at Bantam, they ſailed homeward, and arrived in the Downs in September 1603, having made this firſt voyage proſperouſly in two years and ſeven months.

Sir William Monſon, in his Naval tracts, obſerves, upon the Eaſt-India company's ſending out their firſt fleet, the Eaſt-India trade was written againſt in England, and was alſo briefly anſwered under the following heads, viz.

I) It exhauſts our treaſure.

'*Anſwer*. We may by this trade draw as much ſilver from other 'countries as we ſend to India.'

II) It will deſtroy our mariners by the great difference of climates.

'*Anſwer*. As long voyages breed the beſt mariners, this of Eaſt-India 'will rather increaſe than diminiſh their number.'

III) It will be the decay of our ſhipping by the worms, unleſs ſheathed with lead.

'*Anſwer*. So far from this, it will be the increaſe of our ſhipping, 'by maintaining eight or nine ſhips of each 1000 or 1200 tons, which 'are larger than any we now uſe, and which on occaſion may be 'of greater ſervice to the nation than all the other ſhipping of London.'

IV) It will obſtruct the vent of our woollen cloth, in return for which we now take ſpices, &c. from Turkey, which our Eaſt-India trade, bringing more cheap to us, will prevent.

'*Anſwer*. This inconvenience will fall only on the Turkey company, 'whoſe ſpices, &c. come to us at the third hand, whereas they will 'now come to us at the firſt hand from India.'

V) More ſpices will be brought home than we can vend.

'*Anſwer*. Our own nation, the Eaſt country, and Ruſſia, will con'ſume more than we can bring home.

* The money was Spaniſh; whence it appears that the Spaniards were already the diggers and importers of bullion for the uſe of the more induſtrious nations. *See Purchas, L.* iii, *c.* 3, § 1. *M.*

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VI) The ſource of our Eaſt-India trade was the ſecret malice of ſome againſt the Turkey company.

'*Anſwer*. If the Eaſt-India trade proves beneficial, it ought to be 'purſued without regarding private grudges; and men would not ven-'ture ſuch great ſtocks in it, if they did not think it ſo *.'

To theſe objections, ſays Sir William Monſon, the anſwers are in the main juſt, after twenty-five years experience; † but he adds, that the bane of that trade in his time was, their having triple the number of eight or nine ſhips at firſt propoſed for this trade, thereby over-cloyed; whereby alſo the prices of Eaſt-India merchandize were enhanced there. And moreover, it drew mighty ſtocks of money to maintain it, whereby all the kingdom imputed the ſcarcity of money to it.

Werdenhagen obſerves [*V.* ii, *p.* 19] that till the beginning of the ſeventeenth century the merchants of Hamburgh, and ſome others of the Hanſe towns, made regular annual voyages up the Mediterranean ſea, as far as Venice, to their great profit; but now thoſe of Amſterdam getting into that trade, ſo completely wormed the Hanſeatics out of it, that at length the Hamburghers had no other trade left to them with Venice, but to ſell their large ſhips there, and return home overland. This author farther ſays, that they formerly traded alſo to Florence, Genoa, and Meſſina, for ſilk, in exchange for their corn; and the ſhips of Lubeck, Wiſmar, and Straelſund, then alſo uſed to frequent the ports of Spain, till ſupplanted therein alſo by the more dexterous Hollanders.

Wheeler, the advocate and ſecretary of the merchant-adventurers company of England, and the great antagoniſt of the Hanſeatics, who wrote in this year, pleaſes himſelf not a little, that the latter were then ſo much decayed in power and ſtrength, as that the ſtate need not greatly to fear them; for as the cauſes, which made the Hanſe towns of eſtimation and account in old times, were the multitude of their ſhipping and ſea-trade, whereby they ſtored all countries with their eaſtern commodities (naval ſtores, flax, hemp, linen, iron, copper, corn, &c.)

* With reſpect to theſe anſwers to the objections againſt an Eaſt-India trade, we may briefly note, that the anſwer to the firſt is in our days ſtrongly confirmed; for the re-exportation of Eaſt-India goods brings back a much greater balance from foreign nations than all the bullion we ſend to India. And with relation to the fifth, the Dutch company having ſoon after got poſſeſſion of the coaſt of Ceylon, in which alone the beſt cinnamon is produced, and the iſle of Amboyna being the beſt for cloves, and the Molucco iſles for nutmegs and mace, the Engliſh company have long ſince been excluded from thoſe ſpices at the firſt hand; only pepper abounding in ſo many different parts of India, our company muſt ever deal largely in that ſpice, as it ever will probably be in moſt general demand all over the world by all ranks and conditions of people. Yet it is confeſſed, that the aſſertion in the anſwer to the ſixth objection is far from being concluſive with reſpect to the general benefit, ſince there may be branches of commerce very beneficial to the merchant, which may be, at the ſame time, pernicious to the public.

As the trade from England to Eaſt-India is become of ſo great importance to the public, and employs ſo vaſt a capital, we ſhall throughout the remaining part of our work take ſpecial cognizance of all debates and reaſonings for and againſt it, and of all the material alterations and changes in it.

† He wrote his Naval tracts in 1625.

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and ſerved princes with their large and ſtout ſhips in time of war, we ſhall find at this time they have in a manner loſt both the one and the other long ago, when compared with what they formerly were. And if her majeſty ſhould forbid all trade into Spain, after the example of other princes, they would in ſhort time be quit of the reſt; for that trade is their chiefeſt ſupport at this inſtant. Beſides, of the ſeventy-two confederate Hanſe towns, ſo much vaunted of, what remains almoſt but the report? And thoſe which remain, and appear by their deputies, when there is any aſſembly, are they able, but with much ado, to bring up the charges and contributions, &c. for the defence and maintenance of their league, privileges, and trade in foreign parts and at home? Surely no! for moſt of their teeth are out, and the reſt but looſe, &c.

The main aim of this author was to confute the allegations of the Hanſe towns at the German diet, that the company of merchant-adventurers was a proper monopoly, as well as the attempts at home of the ſeparate traders, who were equally that company's opponents.

Although what we have, in different parts of this work, already exhibited concerning the Engliſh merchant-adventurers company, may ſeem ſufficient to explain its nature, as being merely what is known in England by the name of a regulated company, yet we thought a farther authentic deſcription of it by Wheeler their ſecretary might once for all be acceptable, viz.

The company conſiſts of a great number of wealthy merchants of divers great cities and maritime towns, &c. in England, viz. London, York, Norwich, Exeter, Ipſwich, Newcaſtle, Hull, &c. Theſe of old time linked themſelves together for the exerciſe of merchandize, by trading in cloth, kerſeys, and all other, as well Engliſh as foreign, commodities, vendible abroad, whereby they brought much wealth home to their repective places of reſidence. Their limits are the towns and ports lying between the river of Somme in France, and along all the coaſts of the Netherlands and Germany, within the German ſea; not into all at once, at each man's pleaſure, but into one or two towns at moſt within the ſaid bounds, which they commonly call the mart town or towns, becauſe there only they ſtapled their commodities, and put them to ſale, and thence only they brought ſuch foreign wares as England wanted, and which were brought from far by merchants of divers nations flocking thither to buy and ſell as at a fair. The merchant-adventurers do annually export at leaſt 60,000 white cloths, worth at leaſt L600,000, and of coloured cloths of all ſorts, kerſeys, bays, cottons, northern dozens, and other coarſe cloths, 40,000 cloths more, worth L400,000, in all one million Sterling, beſide what goes to the Netherlands from England, of woolfels, lead, tin, ſaffron, coney-ſkins, leather, tallow, alabaſter, corn, beer, &c. And our company imported, viz. of the Dutch

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and German merchants, Rheniſh wines, fuſtians, copper, ſteel, hemp, onion-ſeed, iron and copper wire, latten, kettles, pans, linen, harneſs, ſaltpetre, gunpowder, and all things made at Nurenberg (ſuch as toys, ſmall iron ware, &c.) Of the Italians, all ſorts of ſilks, velvets, cloth of gold, &c. Of the Eaſterlings, naval ſtores, furs, ſoap, aſhes, &c. Of the Portugueſe, ſpices and drugs. With the Spaniſh and French they (*i. e.* the ſtaple of Antwerp) had not much to do, by reaſon that our Engliſh merchants have had a great trade directly to France and Spain, and ſo ſerve England directly from thence with the commodities of thoſe two countries. Of the Netherlanders they buy all kinds of manufactures, tapeſtry, buckrams, white thread, incle, linen, cambrics, lawns, madder, &c. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy and ſovereign of the Netherlands, the founder of the order of the golden fleece, gave the fleece for the badge of that order, in conſideration of the great revenue accruing to him from the tolls and cuſtoms of our wool and woollen cloth *.

The firſt account † we meet with of any French ſhips fitted out for Eaſt-India, is in this year, when a company of merchants in St. Malo fitted out two ſhips, one of which was caſt away at the Maldive iſlands, where the crew were detained as priſoners for ſome time, and afterwards got home to France. Laval, who writes the account of their unfortunate voyage, ſays nothing of the ſucceſs of the other ſhip.

After many ineffectual laws for the ſupport of the poor, an act was now paſſed [43 *Eliz. c.* 2] preſcribing nearly the preſent method of collecting the poors rates, by overſeers in every pariſh: yet notwithſtanding the various alterations and amendments which the laws relating to the poor have undergone, it is ſtill the opinion of every obſerving perſon, that the poor might be taken care of at a much lower expenſe than by the preſent method; and that the ſhameful nuiſance of common beggars and vagabonds might alſo be effectually prevented, were a proper committee of gentlemen and merchants, with one or two able and honeſt lawyers, to undertake the truly arduous, though not abſolutely impracticable taſk, with patience and ſteady reſolution.

In this ſame year thirteen ſhips ſailed from Amſterdam for Eaſt-India, which returned in ſafety.

A ſtatute was enacted [43 *Eliz. c.* 12] for awarding commiſſions to hear and determine policies of aſſurances made among merchants, in the preamble of which are the following words: 'Whereas it hath been time 'out of mind an uſage amongſt merchants, both of this realm and of 'foreign nations, when they make any great adventure (ſpecially into

* So ſays Wheeler, but without authority. *M.*

† So early as the year 1503, a voyage to India was undertaken by ſome merchants of Rouen, under the command of Mr. Gonneville. Meeting with a terrible ſtorm at the Cape of Good Hope, he was driven upon unknown coaſts, and after great hardſhips returned to Europe. [*Hiſt. philoſ. et politique, V.* ii, *p.* 182, *ed.* 1782.] *M.*

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'remote parts), to give ſome conſideration of money to other perſons '(which commonly are in no ſmall number), to have from them aſſur-'ance made of their goods, merchandizes, ſhips, and things adven-'tured, or ſome part thereof, at ſuch rates and in ſuch ſort as the par-'ties aſſurers and the parties aſſured can agree; which courſe of deal-'ing is commonly termed a policy of aſſurance; by means of which it 'cometh to paſs, upon the loſs or periſhing of any ſhip, there follow-'eth not the undoing of any man, but the loſs lighteth rather eaſily up-'on many than heavily upon few, and rather upon them that adven-'ture not, than upon thoſe that adventure, whereby all merchants, ſpe-'cially of the younger ſort, are allured to venture more willingly and 'more freely. And whereas heretofore ſuch aſſurers have uſed to ſtand 'ſo juſtly and preciſely upon their credits, as few or no contro-'verſies have riſen thereupon; and if any have grown, the ſame have 'from time to time been ended and ordered by certain grave and diſ-'creet merchants appointed by the lord mayor of London, until of 'late years that divers perſons have withdrawn themſelves from that 'arbitrary courſe, and have ſought to draw the parties aſſured to ſeek 'their moneys of every ſeveral aſſurer, by ſuits commenced in her ma-'jeſty's courts, to their great charges and delays.' For remedy here-of it was now enacted, 'that the lord chancellor (or keeper) do award 'one general or ſtanding yearly commiſſion, for the determining of 'cauſes on policies of aſſurances, ſuch as now are or hereafter ſhall be 'entered within the office of aſſurances within the city of London: 'this commiſſion to conſiſt of the judge of the admiralty, the recorder 'of London, two doctors of the civil law, two common lawyers, and 'eight diſcreet merchants, or any five of them; which commiſſion 'ſhall have authority to determine all cauſes concerning policies of aſ-'ſurance in a ſummary way, ſhall ſummon the parties, examine wit-'neſſes upon oath, and impriſon diſobeyers of their decrees: they 'ſhall meet weekly at the office of inſurance, on the weſt ſide of the 'Royal exchange, for the execution of their commiſſion, without fee 'or reward; and any who may think himſelf aggrieved by their de-'terminations, may in two months exhibit his bill in chancery for a 're-examination of ſuch decree, provided the complainant do firſt lay 'down to the ſaid commiſſioners the ſum awarded; and that the lord 'chancellor or keeper may either reverſe or affirm the firſt decree, ac-'cording to equity and conſcience; and if he decrees againſt the aſ-'ſurers, double coſts ſhall be awarded to the aſſured. Laſtly, no com-'miſſioner ſhall be either aſſurer or aſſured.'

Aſſurance, or inſurance, of ſhips and merchandize on the ſeas ſeems to have been in uſe in England, upon the revival of commerce, ſome-what earlier than on the continent; and Antwerp, when in its meridian glory, learned it from England: 'And whereas (ſays Malynes's *Lex*

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'*Mercatoria*) the meetings of merchants in London were held in Lombard ſtreet (ſo called becauſe certain Italians of Lombardy kept there a pawn-houſe or lombard long before the Royal exchange was built), all the policies of inſurances at Antwerp which then were and now (1622) yet are made, do make mention, that it ſhall be in all things concerning the ſaid aſſurances as was accuſtomed to be done in Lombard ſtreet in London, which is imitated alſo in other places of the Low Countries.'

The ſenate of Staden wrote to ſome great man of Queen Elizabeth's court (not named), requeſting him to aſſure the queen of their readineſs to receive the Engliſh merchant-adventurers to reſide in their town as formerly, provided there be no monopoly or college, as they ſtile it, of the ſaid merchant-adventurers, ſince they have learned that the imperial court has become more favourable to the Engliſh; and that the emperor's mandate ſtruck only at the monopoly, as what the Hanſeatics oppoſed. In the mean time all Engliſh merchants in general may freely reſort to Staden. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 408.] But it was with a very bad grace that the merchants of the Hanſe complained of monopolies, who for three centuries had been the greateſt monopoliſts in Europe. We may therefor conſider this letter as merely complimentary.

The wars of Ireland having drained much of the money of England, Queen Elizabeth coined ſhillings, ſixpences, threepences, and halfpence, of a baſer allay than the Engliſh Sterling coins, which ſhe ſent into Ireland, as the only proper coins to paſs there; and ſhe alſo erected an office of exchange between England and Ireland, for exchanging the ſaid new money with ſterling moneys of England, appointing the offices of exchange to be at London, Briſtol, and Cheſter, in England, and Dublin, Cork, Galway, and Carrickfergus, in Ireland, where twenty ſhillings Engliſh money were to be exchanged for twenty-one ſhillings Iriſh. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 414.]

King Henry IV of France, an able and penetrating prince, publiſhed an edict for reducing the intereſt of money in that kingdom to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. That king therein obſerves, that high intereſt had ruined many good and antient houſes; that it had obſtructed commerce, tillage, and manufactures, many perſons, through the facility of their gain by intereſt of money, chooſing rather to live idly in good towns on their income ariſing therefrom, than to labour in the more painful employments, in liberal arts, or in huſbandry.

It might have been expected that the Engliſh, now a nation of conſiderable commerce, would have perceived the benefit of low intereſt ſooner than France; yet the fact was quite otherwiſe, for intereſt was not reduced in England from ten to eight till the year 1624, nor from eight to ſix per cent till fifty years after this time.

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The many grants of monopolies were now found to be very detrimental to the general proſperity, and petitions againſt them were given in to the parliament. The queen thereupon, before any application was made to her, took up the buſineſs herſelf, and cancelled moſt of the grants, leaving the reſt to the due courſe of law. This prudent conduct of the ſovereign was acknowleged by an addreſs of thanks from the houſe of commons.

1602.—The Ruſſia and Turkey companies, at their joint expenſe, ſent two fly-boats of ſeventy and ſixty tons, with thirty-five men, commanded by Captain George Waymouth, to make another attempt for the north-weſt paſſage. Having penetrated to the latitude of 63 deg. 53 min. and finding the ſea impaſſable on account of the ice, he returned home in July.

Queen Elizabeth ſent Lord Ewre, Sir John Herbert, and Dr. Dunn, as her plenipotentiaries, to Bremen, to treat with thoſe of Denmark concerning peace and commerce, and gave them the following inſtructions.

I) Whereas there are certain treaties in the reigns of King Henry VII and King Henry VIII with the crown of Denmark, wherein certain places and ports in Denmark and Norway are aſſigned to our Engliſh ſubjects, for the trade of fiſhery, habitation, and ſuch like, which our merchants at preſent are debarred the uſe of, you ſhall omit the ſpecial naming thereof, contenting yourſelves rather to obtain for our merchants a free trade and dealing in the king's dominions, and every part thereof, in general terms; the intention of this treaty being to eſtabliſh good amity between us and our loving brother (King Chriſtian IV) for ever; as alſo ſome good means of (commercial) intercourſe for our ſubjects.

II) And with reſpect to intercourſe (*i. e.* commercial correſpondence by treaty), you are to underſtand that our merchants uſe very little trade in the dominions of Denmark; yet, in general terms, mention is to be made of kind entreating our ſubjects on both ſides, with liberty to trade, paying the ordinary duties.

III) For coming, going, and abiding, and (which moſt imports our ſubject) for the intercourſe of our merchants with the Eaſt countries through the paſſage of the Sound; as alſo of our merchants of Muſcovy by the Wardhuys, and of the fiſhing of Iceland and Wardhuys.

As to the paſſage of the Sound, our merchants have long ſince, by their humble ſupplications, declared unto us that they are very much abuſed there, as well by dayly increaſe of exactions, as by the uncertainties of the duties required, with taking light occaſions to ſtay them, ſearching their ſhips, and confiſcating their goods.

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IV) You may farther declare, that as cuſtoms are grounded upon acknowlegment of regality, for protection, permiſſion for coming in and out, for maintaining deep bays and lights, for repairing ports, banks, &c. ſo uſe they to be urged with ſome proportion to the ground thereof, ever leaving means to the merchant-adventurer for recompenſe of his venture and travail; and that tolls otherwiſe taken are rather eſteemed wilful exactions than due and juſt cuſtoms: and ſeeing, both by former treaties, and for ſafety in that paſſage (the Sound), tolls muſt be paid, wherein doubtleſs you ſhall find them very ſtrict (the beſt part of that king's revenue ariſing from ſuch perquiſites), we leave you to confer with the merchants what may be wrought for their reaſonable ſatisfaction.

Firſt, concerning the hundredth penny, it is againſt all reaſon that it ſhould be otherwiſe rated than according to the valuation which appeareth by certificates from the magiſtrate of the place whence the goods came, and not in that place where he ſhould be both judge and jury.

Secondly, it is a moſt unjuſt thing that the merchant ſhould be put to the proportion of entry of every particular in every pack, otherwiſe than by certificate as aforeſaid.

Thirdly, that in caſe of concealments the mixed goods be not confiſcated, but only what is concealed, or ſome double or triple value thereof; for it is a great violence that merchants goods ſhall be forfeited for mariners faults, and it is contrary to two articles of the treaty of 1490.

Fourthly, there muſt alſo be a moderation of meaſure of the laſts and the laſt-geldt.

Fifthly, for paſſage of the company of Muſcovy, there was a particular contract made in the year 1583, at the humble ſuit of the merchants, whereunto for the time we gave our conſent, with ſome modification *.

But it is very unreaſonable ſervility to look for ſuch a power over another monarch, in a ſea of ſuch dimenſions as is between his countries and Iceland, when it is well known that none of our ſhips do ever come within ſight of land. We may as well impoſe the like toll upon all ſhips of his country that ſhall paſs through any of our channels, or about our kingdoms. Concerning the fiſhing at Wardhuys (at the North cape, where the very ſummer preceding the Danes had ſeized and confiſcated the ſhips of Hull for fiſhing thereabout without a licence from them) and in the ſeas of Iceland, the law of nations does allow of fiſhing in the ſea every where, as alſo of uſing the coaſts and ports of potentates in amity for traffic, and for avoiding of danger from

* See above in the year 1583.

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tempeſts*; wherefor no licence ought to be inſiſted on, as in old treaties, for fiſhing, &c. on that coaſt; for it cannot be admitted, that the property of the ſea, at what diſtance ſoever, is conſequent to the banks, as it happeneth in ſmall rivers, where the banks are proper to divers men; for then it would follow, that no ſea were common, the banks on every ſide being the property of one or other.

To all which the Daniſh king replied in this ſame year in a letter to the queen, by referring to old treaties between England and Denmark, which Queen Elizabeth would not allow to be of any force in her days. That king moreover in his turn complained of the depredations committed by certain Engliſh ſhips on thoſe of Denmark. [*Fœdera, V.* xvi, *pp.* 425, 441.]

Upon the whole, the queen's inſtructions are ſo extremely well penned, and the reaſonings ſo juſt for not obſerving the obſolete reſtrictive treaties, that it is humbly apprehended they may even be found uſeful to miniſters and ambaſſadors of the preſent and future times in ſimilar caſes, commercial and nautical.

Queen Elizabeth iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting her ſubjects from pirating on the ſhips and merchandize of nations in alliance with her, under pretence of their belonging to Spain and Portugal (which ſhews the complaint of the king of Denmark not to have been without ground), and for regulating the ſale of prizes, &c. [*Fœdera, V.* xvi, *p.* 436.]

Chavin from France now ſailed up the great river of St. Laurence to Canada, but made no ſettlement there till the following year.

The plurality of Eaſt-India partnerſhips or ſocieties, at this time formed in Holland, creating much diſorder and claſhing in that commerce, the ſtates-general ſummoned before them the directors of all thoſe companies, and obliged them to unite for the future into one; to which united company the ſtates granted the ſole commerce to Eaſt-India for twenty-one years, from the 20th day of March 1602, and their now joint capital ſtock conſiſted of 6,600,000 guilders (or about L600,000 Sterling). This joint capital ſtock was proportioned in the following manner, viz.

Amſterdam to have one half of the ſaid capital, and twenty directors.

Middleburg one fourth of it, and twelve directors.

Delft, Rotterdam, Enchuyſen, and Hoorn, each one ſixteenth part, and ſeven directors, making in all ſixty directors from all thoſe places. Or more minutely, by other accounts,

* How different is this language from that of her two next ſucceſſors, and of Selden in his *Mare clauſum?* Had Grotius ſeen theſe inſtructions, and other ſimilar declarations by Elizabeth, they would have furniſhed excellent arguments in his *Mare liberum*.

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		Guild.	Stiv.	Pen.
Subſcribed by Amſterdam	-	3,687,038	6	8
Middleburg	-	1,306,655	4	0
Delft -	-	470,962	10	0
Rotterdam	-	174,562	10	0
Hoorn -	-	268,430	10	0
Enchuyſen	-	541,562	10	0
Total ſubſcribed		6,449,211	10	8

Each of which places elected a number of directors, ſent out a number of ſhips, and received returns, all proportioned to the ſums thus ſubſcribed; and at each of thoſe places there is an Eaſt-India office, called their chamber.

The Dutch united company ſent this year a fleet of fourteen ſhips to India, and made great advantage by the voyage.

Queen Elizabeth iſſued a proclamation, after the unaccountable humour of that age, in foreſeeing dangers that have never yet happened, nor are ever like to happen, from an increaſe of the ſuburbs of the city of London, though at preſent much more conſiderable than in her days. All that can be ſaid for her zeal herein is, that the greateſt judgments are ſometimes biaſſed by popular miſtakes and clamour. The common objection, that the head (i. e. London) was become too large for the body (i. e. England) firſt began to be made about this time, and has been frequently ſtarted ſince on various occaſions, we apprehend without ſolid grounds, the increaſe of buildings in London being principally the conſequence of an increaſe of our general commerce. She therein ſays, that foreſeeing the great and manifold inconveniencies and miſchiefs which dayly grow, and are like more and more to increaſe unto the ſtate of the city of London, and the ſuburbs and confines thereof, by acceſs and confluence of people to inhabit the ſame, not only by reaſon that ſuch multitudes could hardly be governed by ordinary juſtice to ſerve God and obey her majeſty, without conſtituting an addition of more officers, and enlarging of authorities and juriſdictions for that purpoſe, but alſo could hardly be provided of ſuſtentation of victual, food, and other like neceſſaries for man's relief upon reaſonable prices: and finally, for that ſuch great multitudes of people inhabiting in ſmall rooms, whereof many be very poor, and ſuch as muſt live by begging or worſe means, and being heaped up together, and in a ſort ſmothered, with many families of children and ſervants in one houſe or ſmall tenement, it muſt needs follow if any plague or other univerſal ſickneſs come amongſt them, it would preſently ſpread through the whole city and confines, and alſo into all parts of the realm.

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For remedy thereof, ſhe commands all perſons to deſiſt from any new buildings within three miles of any of the gates of London, and only one family to inhabit one houſe. And having, in the 22d year of her reign, publiſhed certain uſeful orders and decrees for inforcing her then proclamation, farther corroborated by act of parliament in the 35th year of her reign, yet the ſaid miſchiefs daily increaſing, through the negligence of magiſtrates, &c. ſhe now commands the lord mayor of London, &c. faithfully to execute the following articles, viz. I and II articles the ſame with thoſe in the ſtatute of the 35th of this queen, already exhibited under the year 1593 *.

III) Such tenements as have been divided within theſe ten years in the foreſaid limits, the inmates to be avoided preſently, if they have no eſtate for life, lives, or years, yet enduring; and for ſuch as have ſuch eſtate or term, then as the ſame ſhall end, the tenement to be reduced to the former ſtate.

IV) All ſheds and ſhops to be pulled down, that have been erected within ſeven years paſt.

V) Empty houſes, erected within ſeven years paſt, not to be let to any, unleſs the owner ſhall be content that they be diſpoſed of for ſome of the poor of the pariſh that are deſtitute of houſes, at ſuch rents as they ſhall allow.

VI) Buildings on new foundations not yet finiſhed, to be pulled down. With ſundry other regulations not material enough for us to tranſcribe.

We find, by letters from the Emperor Rodolph II, that the Hanſe towns were now willing to enter into an amicable treaty with Queen Elizabeth, to which he underſtands the queen not to be averſe. And he appoints the treaty to be held at Bremen, notwithſtanding his own imperial mandate of 1597, with the concurrence of the German diet, againſt the monopolizing company of the Engliſh merchant-adventurers, who in that year reſided at Staden, commanding them to depart the empire in three months time. [*Fœdera, V.* xv, *p.* 458.]

But the queen and nation were become too wiſe to let the Hanſeatics return again to their old methods of commerce in England, now ſo greatly interfering with the commerce of her own people.

Queen Elizabeth and the king of Denmark, after ſome ſharp letters on both ſides concerning the exactions and depredations mentioned under the preceding year, agreed to ſend their plenipotentiaries to Bremen, where the queen had two treaties to manage at the ſame time, neither of which came to any thing.

At that congreſs, the Danes ſtrenuouſly inſiſted that the Engliſh ſhould pay the new tolls in the Sound and the laſt-geldt; that the Ruſſia com-

* See above in the years 1580 and 1593.

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pany ſhould continue to pay the 100 roſe-nobles yearly, for paſſing the North ſeas to Archangel; and alſo that the Engliſh ſhould not fiſh at Ferroe, Iceland, nor Wardhouſe, without a licence from Denmark; and ſo the congreſs broke off.

All thoſe pretenſions, excepting the toll in the Sound, are long ſince wiſely dropped by the Daniſh court, as points untenable in theſe more enlightened times.

After ſixteen years ſuſpenſion of ſailing from England to America, owing to the unſucceſsful attempts of Raleigh, &c. in the later part of the laſt century, Captain Goſnol, who was an expert ſailor, and had been employed in thoſe former attempts, now made a voyage to the coaſts of Virginia *, where he traded with the Indians for peltry, ſaſſafras, cedar-wood, &c. in latitude 42, in the country now called New England. On Martha's vineyard (an iſland ſo named by him) he ſowed Engliſh corn, which he ſaw come up kindly, and returned home, making a proſperous voyage.

For his credit it ought to be related, that he was the firſt Engliſhman who found out the ſhorter courſe to the coaſts of North America, without ſailing (as hitherto) to the Weſt-Indies, and through the gulf of Florida; which, beſide the great compaſs about, was alſo much more dangerous, more eſpecially in paſſing that gulf. And in the year following two Briſtol ſhips traded there, as did alſo Captain Gilbert from London, with the Indians, and alſo with thoſe of St. Lucia, Dominica, Nevis, and St. Chriſtopher, iſles not yet planted.

In this laſt year of Queen Elizabeth's reign one more expedition was ſet on foot againſt the coaſts of Spain, where, with eight of the queen's ſhips, and ſome hired ones, commanded by Sir Richard Leviſon and Sir William Monſon, the Spaniſh flota was unſucceſsfully attacked: yet they had better ſucceſs in attacking a number of ſhips in the haven of Cezimbra, two of which they deſtroyed, and from thence carried home a rich carrack worth a million of ducats. Soon after, ſeven of the eight ſhips which had eſcaped from Cezimbra were deſtroyed near Dover by Sir Robert Manſel.

1603.—After innumerable diſtractions, many rebellions and inſurrections, and much confuſion, the entire pacification of Ireland was this year effected, by the abſolute ſubmiſſion of the grand rebel Tyrone to Queen Elizabeth's mercy, he not knowing (ſays Sir James Ware's Hiſtory of Ireland) that the queen died ſix days before. During Queen Elizabeth's reign, (ſays Sir John Davies) ſhe ſent over more men, and

* The reader will remember, what has been already obſerved, that the Engliſh then gave the name of Virginia to the whole continent of North America.

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ſpent more treaſure, to ſave and reduce Ireland, than all her progenitors ſince the conqueſt.

Queen Elizabeth died 24th March 1603, and was ſucceeded by James VI king of Scotland, the firſt monarch of Great Britain *.

The acceſſion of Scotland to the crown of England has undoubtedly proved a great benefit to the later, not only as thereby a moſt dangerous back-door was for ever ſhut againſt France or any other foreign enemy; but likewiſe as it has largely ſupplied England with ſtout and able men, both for the land and ſea ſervice, beſide other benefits needleſs to be enlarged on. But King James's acceſſion was undoubtedly detrimental to the Scots in many reſpects. It carried away the court, their principal nobility and gentry, as well as foreign miniſters and many other ſtrangers; whereby the trading people were deprived of much money that uſed to be ſpent in that country. It conſiderably decreaſed the demand for both foreign and home commodities. It alſo decreaſed the number of their people, and thereby created diſcontent; all which however were afterward well made up by a communication of the Engliſh trade and colonies to Scotland, the reſult of the more happy conſolidating union in the year 1707.

The reſort of the Scottiſh nobles to the court (which their anceſtors had ſhunned as much as poſſible) completed the union of London and Weſtminſter, by converting the antient country villas and gardens of the citizens, and the interjacent cottages, into a continued ſtreet, which is called the Strand.

King James, at his acceſſion to the crown of England, called in all the ſhips of war, as well as the numerous privateers which the Engliſh merchants, during Queen Elizabeth's reign, had ſo ſucceſsfully employed againſt Spain, and by which they had done infinite damage to the commerce of that nation, declaring himſelf to be at peace with all the world. The king's pacific diſpoſition gave an opportunity to mercantile and colonizing adventurers to plant and improve the colonies of Virginia, New England, Bermudas, and Newfoundland (if the laſt may even at this day be termed a colony) as alſo to make a conſiderable progreſs in the trade to the Eaſt-Indies. The royal navy too was increaſed in his reign to almoſt double the number of Queen Elizabeth's own ſhips of war, viz. from thirteen to twenty-four men of war. The largeſt of Queen Elizabeth's ſhips at her death was of 1000 tons, carrying 340 mariners, and 40 cannon; and the ſmalleſt of 600 tons, carrying 150 mariners, and 30 cannon, beſide ſmaller veſſels occaſionally hired of private owners.

* King James ſaid of his predeceſſor Elizabeth, 'that ſhe was one, who in wiſdom and felicity of 'government ſurpaſſed all princes ſince the days of Auguſtus.' [*Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 28.] An excellent compariſon. *M.*

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According to Sir William Monſon, [*Naval tracts, p.* 294] there were not above four merchant ſhips now in England of four hundred tons burthen.

King James iſſued a proclamation for annulling ſeveral monopolies, and at the opening of his firſt parliament ſpoke ſharply againſt them; although afterward he gave great encouragement to them.

Henry IV, king of France, ſeeing that it was in vain to prohibit the exportation of gold and ſilver, unleſs thoſe things for which they were ſent were made at home, that the uſe of ſilk was become ſo common (more eſpecially among the fair-ſex) that they deſpiſed the woollen clothes ſo univerſally and frugally worn by their anceſtors, redoubled his exertions, during the preſent ſeaſon of tranquillity, to encourage and extend the propagation of ſilk-worms, and the manufacture of ſilk. He procured workmen to conduct a manufacture of tapeſtry from Flanders, where it had long flouriſhed, and alſo introduced the manufacture of fine earthen ware from the Netherlands. He revived the glaſs-houſes which had been firſt ſet up in the reign of Henry II, in imitation of thoſe at Venice, and ſet up a linen manufacture. He alſo made rivers navigable; and his attempt to unite the Loire and the Seine, at a vaſt expenſe, was a laudable, though unſucceſsful, undertaking. In his buildings, gardens, &c. his improvements ſhewed the greatneſs of his genius for the arts. [*Thuani Hiſt. L.* cxxix.]

It was not till this year that the French began to ſettle in the country called Canada, or New France, on the north ſide of the river St. Laurence, near the place named Trois Rivieres, but they did not get ſo high as Quebec till the year 1608. They proceeded to ſettle on the north ſide only of that river, between Quebec and Montreal, till 1629, when Sir David Kirk reduced the whole to the obedience of England.

The weekly bills of mortality at London began now to be regularly kept as in our days; yet many of thoſe bills in earlier times have been loſt. And even the bills in their moſt modern condition afford but an imperfect conjecture of the magnitude of London, as comprehending only the chriſtenings and burials of thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church, although the diſſenters of all denominations are very numerous. Thoſe alſo who are buried in St. Paul's cathedral, in the abbey-church at Weſtminſter, in the Temple church, the Rolls chapel, Lincoln's Inn chapel, the Charter-houſe, the Tower, and ſome other parts, are ſaid to be entirely omitted. Before the laſt plague of 1665, the yearly bills were much more frequently filled with that diſeaſe than, to our comfort, they have been ſince, owing probably to the more airy and open rebuilding of London after the great conflagration in the year 1666, and the greater plenty of ſweet water.

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By an act againſt the importation of foreign corrupt hops, and brewing with ſuch, it appears, that, though hops were produced in abundance in England, ſtill ſome were imported, as it makes heavy complaints of the adulteration of foreign hops, in the ſacks of which were found great quantities of ſtalks, powder, ſand, ſtraw, &c. by means whereof the ſubjects of this realm have been of late years abuſed, &c. to the value of L20,000 yearly, beſide the danger of their healths, [1 *Jac. I, c.* 18.]

The houſe of commons granted the king during life a ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage for the guard of the ſeas, in ſo abject a ſtyle, (the words, your majeſty's poor commons, being frequently repeated) and ſo unworthy of the ſpirit of free-born Engliſhmen, that it is the leſs to be wondered at that his ſon and ſucceſſor made ſo free with this ſubſidy without conſulting his people. [1 *Jac. I, c.* 33.]

The tonnage duty was 3*s* for every ton of wine, and 1*s* for an aum of Rheniſh wine.

The poundage was 1*s* on every 20*s* value of goods exported and imported, excepting woollen cloths exported, and fiſh exported taken by Engliſh ſubjects.

By this ſame act they granted him L1 : 13 : 4 on every ſack of wool exported, and the ſame for every 240 woolfels, to be paid by aliens only, who ſhould alſo pay 2*s* for every 20*s* value of pewter exported by them. Yet the following year King James by proclamation prohibited the exportation of wool, which, indeed, it was high time to do, our own manufacture of it being now ſo conſiderable, and ſo much ſent into foreign parts, as to employ or work up all, or near all our own wool at home.

About this time the Engliſh Eaſt-India company ſettled their factory at Surat, in the province of Cambaya or Guzuratte, and were ſoon followed thither by the Dutch. And there, at firſt, the Portugueſe, pretending to the ſole and excluſive commerce to India, were very troubleſome to both Engliſh and Dutch, by ſeizing their ſhips and merchandize, and murdering their people: yet in the end both thoſe nations, but more eſpecially the Dutch, took a complete revenge on the Portugueſe in India.

We may on this occaſion briefly remark the very great benefits which both the cities and potentates of Eaſt-India have reaped from the coming of the Europeans thither; and more eſpecially the dominions of the Mogul, by the great increaſe of his cuſtoms, and of his towns and ſea-ports. Even this famous town of Surat, though now the firſt port of the continent of India for maritime commerce, was little better than a village till that time, though ſince containing above 200,000 ſouls. The Europeans, moreover, have inſtructed the Eaſt-Indians in many ſorts of manufactures, &c. and more particularly in building better and ſafer ſhips.

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The Portugueſe in India had been in poſſeſſion of the coaſts of Ceylon (as we have related) ever ſince the year 1505, when they erected their firſt fort at Columbo, where the beſt cinnamon on earth grows. Zoares, the Portugueſe general, obliged the king of Ceylon to pay the king of Portugal an annual tribute of 124,000 pounds of cinnamon, twelve rings ſet with moſt pretious ſtones, and ſix elephants; as on the other hand, the Portugueſe engaged to aſſiſt him againſt all his enemies. But the Moors ſettled in Ceylon, being jealous of the Portugueſe, found means to interrupt the harmony between the king and them; nevertheleſs the Portugueſe, in ſpite of all oppoſition, at length fortified themſelves quite round that extenſive iſland. The Hollanders, however, doomed to be the perpetual ſcourge of the Portugueſe in India, firſt landed there in this year, and went to Candy the capital, to wait on the king, in order to contract a friendſhip with him, which excited the jealouſy of the Portugueſe, who were not, however, ſo ſoon ſupplanted as they apprehended. [*Churchill's Voyages*, *V.* iii, *p.* 573.]

The Dutch Eaſt-India company ſent out this year twelve ſhips, which, however, miſcarried in attempting Mozambique and Goa; yet they took ſeveral Portugueſe ſhips: they alſo drove the Portugueſe from Amboyna and Tidore in the Moluccos. This year their company divided 15 per cent on their capital of 6,459,841 guilders *.

At this time Sir Walter Raleigh laid before King James a ſmall eſſay in manuſcript, intitled Obſervations concerning the trade and commerce of England with the Dutch and other foreign nations; but being not much regarded at that time, he got it a ſecond time laid before that prince a little before his execution, probably in hopes of pardon. Its main drift was to demonſtrate the five following propoſitions, or how many ways England ſupinely ſuffered other nations (who had little or no means or materials of their own to work upon) to carry away the trade of the world.

As, I) That foreigners, (he meant principally the Hollanders) by the privileges they allowed to ſtrangers, drew multitudes of merchants to live amongſt them, and thereby enriched themſelves.

II) By their ſtorehouſes or magazines of all foreign commodities, wherewith, upon every occaſion of ſcarcity, they are enabled to ſupply other countries, even thoſe from whom they brought thoſe very commodities.

III) By the lowneſs of the cuſtoms of thoſe foreign nations, (here he ſtill means the Dutch.)

* Mr. Anderſon has occaſionally given the ſubſequent dividends of the Dutch Eaſt-India company, but frequently from erroneous authorities. I have therefor taken the liberty of cancelling them all, and have given the whole at once in the comprehenſive form of a table down to the year 1796, which will be found inſerted under the year 1799. *M.*

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IV) By the ſtructure or roomineſs of their ſhipping, holding much merchandize, though ſailing with fewer hands than our ſhips, thereby carrying their goods much cheaper to and from foreign parts than we can; whereby the Dutch gain all the foreign freights, whilſt our ſhips lie ſtill and decay, or elſe go to Newcaſtle for coals.

V) Their prodigious fiſhery, of which they make ſuch vaſt returns yearly.

After theſe five propoſitions, he goes on to remark on the freedom from cuſtom allowed by the Dutch, for any newly erected trade. That even in France all nations may freely buy and ſell, being free of cuſtom outwards twice or thrice in the year. That at Rochel and in Britany there is free cuſtom all the year round, and alſo in Denmark; excepting between Bartholomew-tide and Michaelmas. That the Hanſe towns imitate the Dutch in thoſe wiſe regulations, whereby they alſo abound in riches and all manner of merchandize, have plenty of money, and are ſtrong in ſhipping and mariners, ſome of their towns having near one thouſand ſail of ſhips.

That the Dutch and other petty ſtates ingroſs the tranſportation of the merchandize of France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Turkey, and the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; all which they carry to Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and other northern parts, and bring back the bulky commodities of thoſe northern regions into the ſouthern countries. Yet is England better ſituated than Holland for a general ſtorehouſe. No ſooner does a dearth happen of wine, fiſh, or corn, &c. in England, than forthwith the Embdeners, Hamburghers, and Hollanders, out of their ſtorehouſes load 50 or 100 ſhips or more, diſperſing themſelves round about this kingdom, and carrying away great ſtore of coin and wealth, thus cutting down our merchants, and decaying our navigation, not with their natural commodities, but with thoſe of other countries.

Amſterdam is never without 700,000 quarters of corn, beſide what they dayly vent, though none of it be of the growth of their country; and a dearth of only one year in England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c. is juſtly obſerved to enrich Holland for ſeven years after. In the laſt dearth ſix years ago in England, the Hamburghers, Embdeners, and Hollanders ſupplied this kingdom from their ſtorehouſes; and in a year and a half carried away from the ports of Southampton, Exeter, and Briſtol, near L200,000; and from other parts of this kingdom, (more particularly including London) it cannot be ſo little as L2,000,000 more, to the great decay of your kingdom, and impoveriſhing of your people, diſcredit and diſhonour to the merchants, and to the land.

The Dutch, &c. have a continual trade into this kingdom with 500 or 600 ſhips yearly, with merchandize of other countries, ſtoring them up here until the price riſe to their minds; and we trade not with fifty ſhips into their country in a year.

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He goes on to obſerve very truely, that unleſs there be a ſcarcity or high prices, all merchants avoid the parts where great impoſitions are on merchandize; which places are uſually ſlenderly ſhipped, ill-ſerved, and at dear rates, often in ſcarcity, and in want of employment for their people: whereas the low duties of the wiſe ſtates above named draw all traffic unto them, and the great liberty allowed to ſtrangers makes a continual mart; ſo that whatever exciſes, &c. they may lay upon the common people, they are ſure ever to eaſe, uphold, and maintain the merchants by all poſſible means, thereby to draw the wealth and ſtrength of Chriſtendom to themſelves: and although the duties be but ſmall, yet the vaſt exports and imports do greatly increaſe their revenues; which vaſt commerce enables the common people not only to bear the burden of the exciſes and impoſitions laid on them, but alſo to grow rich.

In former ages, the city of Genoa, as appears by their antient records and ſumptuous buildings, had a vaſtly extended commerce, whither all nations traded, being the ſtorehouſe for all Italy and other parts: but after they laid ſo great a cuſtom as 16 per cent, all nations left trading with them, which made them give themſelves wholly to uſury; and at this day we have not three ſhips go thither in a year.

On the other ſide, the duke of Florence having laid ſmall cuſtoms on merchandize at Leghorn, and granted great privileges, he has thereby made it a rich and ſtrong city, and his ſtate flouriſhing.

Next, Raleigh comes to his favourite point, the fiſhery. The greateſt fiſhing that ever was known in the world is upon the coaſts of England, Scotland, and Ireland; but the great fiſhery is in the Low Countries and other petty ſtates, wherewith they ſerve themſelves and all Chriſtendom.

I) Into four towns in the Baltic, viz. Koningſberg, Elbing, Stetin, and Dantzick, there are carried and vended in a year between 30,000 and 40,000 laſts of herrings, which, being ſold but at L15 or L16 the laſt, is about - - - L620,000 0 0
And we ſend none thither.

II) To Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the ports of Riga, Revel, Narva, and other parts of Livonia, &c. above 10,000 laſts of herrings, worth - - 170,000 0 0
And we ſend none at all to thoſe countries.

III) The Hollanders ſend into Ruſſia near 1500 laſts of herrings, ſold at about 30/ per barrel, is - 27,000 0 0
And we ſend thither about twenty or thirty laſts.

IV) To Staden, Hamburgh, Bremen, and Embden, about 6000 laſts of fiſh and herrings, ſold at about L15 or L16 per laſt, - - - - 100,000 0 0
And we none at all.

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V) To Cleves and Juliers, up the Rhine to Cologne and Frankfort on the Maine, and ſo over all Germany, near 22,000 laſts of fiſh and herrings, ſold at L20 per laſt (and we none), is - - - 440,000 0 0

VI) Up the river Meuſe to Maeſtrecht, Liege, &c. and to Venloo, Zutphen, Deventer, Campen, Swoll, &c. about 7000 laſts of herrings, at L20 per laſt (and we none at all), is - - - - 140,000 0 0

VII) To Guelderland, Artois, Hainault, Brabant, Flanders, Antwerp, and up the Scheldt, all over the archduke's countries, between 8000 and 9000 laſts, at L18 per laſt (and we none), is - - - 162,000 0 0

VIII) The Hollanders and others carried of all ſorts of herrings to Roan alone in one year, beſides all other parts of France, 5000 laſts (and we not 100 laſts), is 100,000 0 0

Total ſterling money, - L1,759,000 0 0

Over and above theſe, there is a great quantity of fiſh vended to the Straits. Surely the ſtream is neceſſary to be turned to the good of this kingdom, to whoſe ſea-coaſts alone God has ſent theſe great bleſſings and immenſe riches for us to take; and that any nation ſhould carry away out of this kingdom yearly great maſſes of money for fiſh taken in our ſeas, and ſold again by them to us, muſt needs be a great diſhonour to our nation, and hinderance to this realm *.

Raleigh goes on to other branches of the Dutch commerce, viz. that, although abundance of corn grows in Poland, Livonia, &c. yet the great ſtorehouſe for grain, to ſerve Chriſtendom, &c. in time of dearth, is in the Low Countries.

The vintage of wines and gathering of ſalt are in France and Spain, but the great ſtores of both are in the Low Countries: and they ſend near 1000 ſail of ſhips yearly into the eaſt countries with ſalt and wine only, beſide what they ſend to other places; and we not one ſhip in that way.

The exceeding great groves of wood are in the eaſt countries, chiefly within the Baltic; but the large piles of wainſcot, clapboard, fir, deal, maſts, and other timber, are in the Low Countries, where none grows, wherewith they ſerve themſelves and other parts, and this kingdom; and they have 500 or 600 great long ſhips continually uſing that trade, and we none at all.

The wool, cloth, lead, tin, and divers other commodities, are in England; but by means of our wool, and of our cloth going out rough, un-

* This account of the magnitude of the Dutch fiſhery was quoted ſixty years after by the grand penſionary De Witt, as believing that Raleigh had taken great pains to obtain accurate information. There is, however, good reaſon to ſuſpect that it is not entirely free from exaggeration. *M.*

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dreſſed, and undyed, there is an exceeding manufactory and drapery in the Low Countries, wherewith they ſerve themſelves and other nations, and greatly advance the employment of their people at home and traffic abroad, and in proportion ſuppreſs ours.

We ſend into the eaſt countries yearly but 100 ſhips, and our trade chiefly depends on three towns there, viz. Elbing, Koningſberg, and Dantzick; but the Low Countries ſend thither about 3000 ſhips, trading into every city and port-town, vending their commodities to exceeding profit, and loading their ſhips with plenty of their commodities, which they have 20 per cent cheaper than we, by reaſon of the difference of the coin; and their fiſh yields ready money. They ſend into France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, about 2000 ſhips yearly with thoſe Eaſt-country commodities, and we none in that courſe.

They trade into all cities and port-towns of France, and we chiefly to five or ſix.

The Low Countries have as many ſhips and veſſels as eleven kingdoms of Chriſtendom have, let England be one. They build every year near 1000 ſhips *, although all their native commodities do not require 100 ſhips to carry them away at once. Yet although we have all things of our own in abundance for the increaſe of traffic, timber to build ſhips, and commodities of our own to load about 1000 ſhips and veſſels at once, beſide the great fiſhing, and as faſt as they make their voyages might reload again, yet our ſhips and mariners decline, and traffic and merchants dayly decay.

For ſeventy years together we had a great trade to Ruſſia †, and even about fourteen years ago we ſent ſtore of goodly ſhips thither; but three years paſt we ſent out four thither, and laſt year but two or three ſhips: whereas the Hollanders are now increaſed to about thirty or forty ſhips, each as large as two of ours, chiefly laden with Engliſh cloth, herrings taken in our ſeas, Engliſh lead, and pewter made of our tin, beſide other commodities; all which we may do better than they. And although it (Ruſſia) be a cheap country, and the trade very gainful, yet we have almoſt brought it to nought by diſorderly trading. So likewiſe we uſed to have eight or nine great ſhips go continually a fiſhing to Wardhouſe, and this year but one.

God hath bleſt your majeſty with copper, lead, iron, tin, alum, copperas, ſaffron, fells, (i. e. ſkins) and many more native commodities, to the number of about 100; and other manufactures vendible, to the number of about 1000; beſide corn, whereof great quantities of beer are made, and moſtly tranſported by ſtrangers; as alſo wool and coals.

* With reſpect to this number of *ſhips* built annually, it may be obſerved, that the whole of the Britiſh dominions, even in the preſent very extended ſtate of Britiſh commerce, have never built quite ſo many *veſſels* in any one year. *M.*

† There was a trade with Ruſſia at the port of Narva long before the route by the North cape was diſcovered.

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Iron ordnance, a jewel of great value, far more than it is accounted, by reaſon that no other country (but England) could ever attain unto it, although they had attempted it with great charge.

Raleigh, moreover, tells the king, that there were about 80,000 undreſſed and undyed cloths annually exported from England, whereby L400,000 per annum, for fifty-five years paſt (being above twenty millions), has been loſt to the nation; which ſum, had the ſaid cloths been dreſſed and dyed at home, would have been gained, beſide the farther enlarging of traffic, by importing materials for dying, and the increaſe of cuſtoms thereon. Moreover, there have been annually exported in that time, in bayes, northern and Devonſhire kerſies, all white, about 50,000 cloths, counting three kerſies to one cloth, whereby five millions more have been loſt for want of dying and dreſſing.

Our bayes are ſent white to Amſterdam, and there dreſſed, dyed, and ſhipped for Spain, Portugal, &c. where they are ſold by the name of Flemiſh bayes; ſo we loſe the very name of our home-bred commodities.

Speaking again of the fiſhery, he aſſerts, that the great ſea-buſineſs of fiſhing employs near 20,000 ſhips and veſſels, and 400,000 people yearly, upon the coaſts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with ſixty ſhips of war, which may prove dangerous. The Hollanders alone have about 3000 ſhips to fiſh with, and 50,000 men are employed yearly by them on your majeſty's coaſts aforeſaid; which 3000 ſhips employ near 9000 other ſhips and veſſels, and 150,000 perſons more, by ſea and land, to make proviſion, to dreſs and tranſport the fiſh they take, and return commodities; whereby they are enabled yearly to build 1000 ſhips and veſſels.

King Henry VII, deſiring to make his kingdom powerful and rich by an increaſe of ſhips and mariners, and for the employment of his people, moved his ſea-ports to ſet up the great and rich fiſhery, promiſing them needful privileges, and to furniſh them with loans of money; yet his people were ſlack. That by only twenty fiſhing-buſſes, placed at one ſea-coaſt town, where no ſhip was before, there muſt be to carry, recarry, tranſport, and make proviſion for one buſs, three ſhips; likewiſe every ſhip ſetting on work thirty ſeveral trades. Thus thoſe twenty buſſes ſet on work near 8000 perſons by ſea and land, and cauſe an increaſe of near 1000 mariners, and a fleet of eighty ſail of ſhips in one town, where none were before.

In the concluſion he ſtrongly recommends what he calls a ſtate-merchant, from which he promiſes a great increaſe of commerce, manufactures, ſhipping, and riches; yet, as far as appears from his general account of it, it ſeems to be no more than for the king to give him leave to name a number of commiſſioners, to be veſted by his majeſty with authority to take examinations upon oath, and in other reſpects to re-

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gulate commerce to the beſt advantage; which ſcheme ſeems much the ſame with the preſent board of trade and plantations, erected in the year 1696.

Raleigh's eſſay on commerce was a maſterly performance for the time in which it was written, yet he is ſometimes miſtaken; for inſtance, his advice to raiſe the nominal value of coin above its intrinſic value, or, in other words, above the price of bullion in other nations, which he thinks would be a means to keep our coin to ourſelves. Yet in this point Raleigh may be excuſed, ſeeing that ſo lately as the years 1695 and 1696, when the ſilver coins were ſo ſhamefully impaired as to require a general recoinage, an otherwiſe able and diligent ſecretary of the treaſury fell into the like miſtake, as will be related in its place.

His theory is good in reſpect of the great advantages accruing to the public by dying and fully dreſſing our cloths before exportation; nevertheleſs, we ſhall ſee Alderman Cockayne's patent for that end in the year 1615 prove unſucceſsful, although thoſe arts have ſince been gained by us gradually, and without force, which a compulſory law in King James's reign could not effect. King James's attempt alſo in the year 1623 to erect granaries of corn, in imitation of Holland, proved abortive. The fiſhery is much altered ſince Raleigh's time: people, even in popiſh countries, are become more delicate in their palates, and leſs fond of a ſalt-fiſh diet; yet it muſt be allowed that there is ſtill a great demand for ſalted fiſh in many countries.

Upon the whole, although ſome part of this eſſay may poſſibly lie under the cenſure of exaggeration, yet its hiſtorical and critical remarks render it very deſerving of a place in commercial hiſtory.

Beſides the eſtabliſhment of a company of mines-royal erected in 1563, and another for mineral and battery-works in 1568, King James now incorporated the earl of Pembroke and others, for better continuing the corporation (of the 10th of Queen Elizabeth) of the ſociety of mineral and battery-works; yet notwithſtanding the acts of parliament of the 10th and 39th of Elizabeth, and ſundry grants of King James and of King Charles I and II, with prohibitions of foreign iron-wire and wool-cards; and that the company of mines-royal was united in 1668 to that of the mineral and battery-works, whereof Prince Rupert and the earl of Shaftſbury were then elected governors; two acts of parliament, nevertheleſs, (in 1689 and 1693) declared no mines to be royal, either of copper, tin, iron, or lead, even though gold and ſilver ſhould be extracted therefrom; provided, however, that the crown may have the pre-emption of thoſe metals, paying for copper ore L16 per ton, tin L2 per ton, iron L2, and lead L9 per ton. Theſe acts greatly diſcouraged the above named ſocieties, and gave riſe to the mine-adventurers company, now alſo in a very languiſhing condition in our days.

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By a ſtatute of this year [*c.* 25] when wheat is not above L1 : 6 : 8 per quarter, rye, peaſe, and beans, 15*s*, and barley and malt 14*s* per quarter, they may be exported in Engliſh ſhips, paying cuſtom, 2*s* per quarter for wheat, and 1*s*4 for the other kinds.

1604.—An aſſembly of Hanſeatic deputies now appointed a ſolemn embaſſy to foreign nations, for the renewal of their mercantile privileges, in the name of the cities of Lubeck, Dantzick, Cologne, Hamburgh, and Bremen. They firſt addreſſed King James, who, becauſe they brought no letters from the emperor, ſoon diſmiſſed them with the following anſwer of his privy council.

That as their privileges were heretofore adjudged to be forfeited, and thereupon reſumed by the king's predeceſſors, in reſpect of the breach of conditions on their part, ſo it can no way ſtand with the good of the ſtate to reſtore them again to the ſaid privileges. And with this anſwer they departed nothing contented. [*Thuani Hiſt. L.* cxxxi.—*Winwood's Memoirs, V.* ii.]

The Hanſeatics went thence to the court of France, where they met with abundance of good words, but nothing elſe; and then they went to the court of Spain, where, probably for the emperor's ſake, they had ſome ſucceſs.

King James I having determined to make peace with all nations, a treaty was ſet on foot at London between his miniſters and thoſe of King Philip III of Spain, and of the Archduke Albert, and the Archducheſs Iſabella Clara Eugenia, for the Netherlands. What was then concluded relating to commerce is in ſubſtance, viz.

I) All ſhips of war, and letters of marque and repriſals, to be called in on both ſides.

II) King James's garriſons in the cautionary towns ſhall not ſupply the Hollanders with any military ſtores, nor any other aſſiſtance whatever, during their revolt from Spain.

III) There ſhall be a free and uninterrupted commerce between the dominions of both parties, as it was before the late wars, and as agreeable to former treaties of commerce; with free acceſs to each others ports, ſo, however, that no number exceeding ſix ſhips of war ſhall enter into any port on either ſide without previous leave.

IV) The merchandize of England, Scotland, and Ireland, may be freely imported into the Spaniſh dominions, without being obliged to pay the new impoſt of 30 per cent, and ſhall pay none but the old duties.

V) With reſpect to the merchandize which King James's ſubjects ſhall buy in Spain, they ſhall likewiſe be exempted from the ſaid new impoſt of 30 per cent, provided they bring away the ſaid merchandize in their own ſhipping, and unlade them either in the Britiſh dominions or in the Spaniſh Netherlands; but they ſhall not carry them any where

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elſe without paying the new impoſt, unleſs it be to France, after Spain ſhall have adjuſted her differences with that crown.

VI) There ſhall be no interruption of commerce in either country on account of difference in religion.

VII) The effects of perſons dying in either country ſhall be carefully kept for their executors or adminiſtrators.

VIII) Six months time ſhall be allowed, in caſe of a rupture, for merchants in either country to remove their effects.

IX) The ſhips of neither contracting party ſhall be detained in the ports of the other country, nor be made uſe of for war, without their reſpective ſovereign's conſent. [*Fœdera, V.* xvi, *p.* 579.]

In conſequence of this treaty King James incorporated a company of merchants for an excluſive trade to Spain and Portugal; but this monopoly being found to be very prejudicial to commerce, was in the following year ſo ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt by the houſe of commons, that the patent was revoked, and the trade to thoſe countries left free to all as before, by act of parliament. [3 *Jac. I, c.* 6.]

The king gave licence to Sir Edward Michelborne and his aſſociates, to go with their ſhips on the diſcovery of Cathaia, China, Japan, Corea, and Cambaya, and the iſles thereto belonging, and to trade with the ſaid countries and people (not as yet frequented and traded unto by any of our ſubjects or people) without interruption, any reſtraint, grant, or charter to the contrary notwithſtanding. [*Fœdera, V.* xvi, *p.* 582] This licence was directly contradictory to the following clauſe in Queen Elizabeth's charter of incorporation to the Eaſt-India company, viz. 'None 'of the queen's ſubjects but the company, their ſervants or aſſigns, ſhall 'reſort to India, without being licenced by the company, upon pain of 'forfeiting ſhips, cargoes,' &c. Yet he and Captain John Davis went this year with one ſhip and a pinnace to Bantam, but (according to Purchas) performed nothing memorable.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company ſent out four ſhips under Sir Henry Middleton. At Bantam he loaded two ſhips with pepper, going with the other two to the iſles of Banda, famous for the trade of nutmeg and mace. At Amboyna, ſo eminent for cloves, he loaded a good quantity; and there he found the Dutch at war with the Portugueſe about the ſovereignty of that important iſland. In their return homeward one of their ſhips was loſt, but the other three got ſafe home in the year 1606.

The following record ſhews the very great difference of times and ſeaſons then and now. Its title is, *Commiſſio pro tobacco*, wherein King James ſets forth, that whereas tobacco being a drug of late years found out, and brought from foreign parts in ſmall quantities, was taken and uſed by the better ſort, both then and now, only as phyſic, to preſerve health, but is now at this day, through evil cuſtom and the toleration thereof, exceſſively taken by a number of riotous and diſorderly perſons

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of mean and baſe condition, who do ſpend moſt of their time in that idle vanity, to the evil example and corrupting of others; and alſo do conſume the wages which many of them get by their labour, not caring at what price they buy that drug. By which immoderate taking of tobacco the health of a great number of our people is impaired, and their bodies weakened and made unfit for labour; beſides, that alſo a great part of the treaſure of our land is ſpent and exhauſted by this only drug, ſo licentiouſly abuſed by the meaner ſort. All which enormous inconveniencies we do well perceive to proceed principally from the great quantity of tobacco dayly brought into this our realm, which exceſs might in great part be reſtrained by ſome good impoſition to be laid on it. Wherefor, we command you our treaſurer of England to order all cuſtomers, comptrollers, ſearchers, ſurveyors, &c. of our ports, that, from the 26th of October next, they ſhall demand and take for our uſe, of all merchants, as well Engliſh as ſtrangers, and of all others who ſhall bring in any tobacco, the ſum of ſix ſhillings and eightpence on every pound weight thereof, over and above the cuſtom of twopence upon the pound weight uſually paid before, &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 601.] As this king, as well as his ſon and ſucceſſor, had a mortal hatred to tobacco, and as it was, moreover, all brought from the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, it is no wonder he laid a tax on it equal to a prohibition, had it been legally impoſed and ſtrictly executed. He then little apprehended that in proceſs of time the tax on the tobacco of his own colonies would yield a very conſiderable ſhare of the public revenue. We may add, what is obvious to all, that he had no right to lay on ſuch a duty without the conſent of parliament.

The king iſſued a proclamation for the reformation of the coin, and for coining new money. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 605.]

The new coins were pieces of 20*ſ*, 10*ſ*, 5*ſ*, 4*ſ*, and 2*ſ*6, in gold; and pieces of 5*ſ*, 2*ſ*6, 1*ſ*, 6*d*, 2*d*, 1*d*, and an halfpenny, in ſilver.

The barbarous cruelties committed by the Spaniards in Chili, as well as in other parts of America, ſo incenſed the natives, that they deſtroyed five of the thirteen Spaniſh towns in that country with much ſlaughter. It is even ſaid that a conſiderable part of Chili ſtill preſerves its native independence.

1605.—We have already ſeen the charters of two temporary Engliſh Levant or Turkey companies expire; and as ſuch limited grants are always diſcouraging to the adventurers, King James now gave a perpetual charter to a new company, by the deſignation of the merchants of England trading to the Levant ſeas. It is what is called in England a regulated company (there being as yet no joint ſtock companies exiſting), every member trading on his own particular bottom, though under ſuch regulations as ſhould be ſettled at their own general courts. The charter grants to a number of perſons therein named, and their

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ſons, and all others thereafter to be admitted or made free of the company, annually to elect a governor, deputy-governor, and eighteen aſſiſtants, to manage all matters relating to the trade, freedom, &c. All the king's ſubjects, being merchants, under the age of twenty-ſix years, on requiring the ſame, and paying L25 to the company, and if above twenty-ſix years of age, paying L50, ſhall be made free of this company, and all their apprentices ſhall be admitted to its freedom on payment of 20*ſ* only.

Thus a moſt profitable commerce to England was eſtabliſhed in perpetuity *, whereby great quantities of our woollen manufactures, and of later times other merchandize, as watches, jewels, &c. have been exported thither. The Venetians, for many ages, ſupplied Conſtantinople and other parts of the Levant with woollen cloth and other merchandize; but the Engliſh being able to afford their cloths cheaper than the Venetians, drove them totally out of the cloth trade to Turkey. The author of the Trade's increaſe, publiſhed in 1615, ſays, that at firſt this company's ordinary returns were three to one; and this has generally been the caſe in newly diſcovered trades.

It is true that Turkey is not a country to get a great and direct balance from, yet the raw ſilk brought from thence has been the means of bringing our ſilk manufacture to its preſent magnitude; and as we have alſo from thence cotton, mohair yarn, and dying ſtuffs in great quantities, we may juſtly eſteem this trade profitable to the public for the advancement of many ſorts of manufactures. From the Levant alſo come drugs, coffee, carpets, &c.

Captain Ley ſettled with ſome Engliſhmen on the river Weapoco in Guiana; but ſupplies miſcarrying, they were forced to abandon that ſettlement. [*Smith's Voyages*, *V.* ii.]

King James this year coined gold pieces called units, value 20*ſ*, double crowns 10*ſ*, Britain crowns 5*ſ*, thiſtle crowns 4*ſ*, and half crowns 2*ſ*6; and next year he coined roſe-rials of 30*ſ*, ſpur-rials of 15*ſ*, and angels of 10*ſ*. His ſilver coins were in all reſpects the ſame as before.

As every improvement and increaſe of the metropolis of the Britiſh empire indicates the increaſe of its general wealth and commerce, we ſhall not ſcruple to take notice that an act of parliament was paſſed [3 *Ja. I, c.* 22] for paving St. Giles's and Drury-lane, wherein St. Giles in the fields is deſcribed as a town ſeparate from the great contiguity, very foul and miry, and till now unpaved. What we now call Broad St.

* How far the excluſive privileges of the company may be profitable to the nation at large, is now called in queſtion; and indeed their privileges have been aſſerted to be now *prejudicial* to the Britiſh commerce and manufactures, by Mr. Eton, in his *Survey of the Turkiſh empire*, 8vo, 1798. *M.*

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Giles's, is in this act called 'the ſtreet in that part of the town of St. 'Giles leading to Holborn.'

About this time coaches began to be in pretty general uſe among the nobility and gentry in London; but hackney-coaches and ſtage-coaches to and from the country were ſtill unknown.

Philip III king of Spain iſſued a ſevere declaration, prohibiting the inhabitants of the United provinces from trading to the dominions of Spain, or to the Eaſt or Weſt Indies. But the Dutch Eaſt-India company were ſo far from being thereby overawed, that it rather inſpired them with freſh reſolution and diligence; for they preſently ſent out eleven ſhips, prepared as well for war as for commerce. Theſe were ſoon followed by eight more, well ſupplied with ſoldiers, who were to keep garriſon in the Eaſt-Indies, where they at firſt reduced the fort of Amboyna, and after taking ſeveral Spaniſh and Portugueſe prizes, they entirely diſlodged thoſe two nations from the Molucco iſles. But without tiring the reader with all the ſeveral voyages of that Dutch company, and their numberleſs advantages over the Spaniards and Portugueſe in India and at ſea, we ſhall here only ſummarily obſerve that they ſoon obtained full poſſeſſion of an immenſe commerce there, and in time eſtabliſhed their factories and ſettlements from Balſora at the mouth of the river Tigris in the Perſian gulf, along the coaſts and iſles of India even to Japan, making alliances with many Indian princes, being moreover ſovereigns in many parts of India, particularly the coaſts of Ceylon, Palicat, Maſulipatam, Negapatam, and many other places along the coaſts of Coromandel, Cochin, Canonor, Cranganor, and other places along the coaſt of Malabar, and the beſt part of the great iſle of Java, with Batavia, their great emporium there, the centre of all their Indian commerce: they are alſo ſovereigns of the Moluccos and other ſpice iſlands; and at length they became ſo potent as to be able to ſend out a fleet in India of forty or fifty capital ſhips, and a land army of 30,000 men.

The riches brought home to Europe by the ſeveral nations now trading to the Eaſt-Indies, having excited the emulation of the court of Denmark to attempt a ſhorter way thither by the north-weſt, although ſo often before fruitleſsly attempted by others, King Chriſtiern IV this year ſent out three ſhips into Frobiſher's ſtraits, which traded with the natives, ſome of whom they brought home to Copenhagen. They repeated theſe attempts thither for ſeveral ſucceeding years, but made no material diſcovery.

1606.—The people of Hull, who had long frequented the fiſhery on the coaſts of Iceland and Norway, made alſo ſome eſſays for that paſſage on the coaſts of Greenland; and now alſo the Ruſſia and Eaſt-India companies joined in ſending out John Knight, who had been ſent thither the preceding year by the court of Denmark; but he returned

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without any diſcovery. They now began to kill morſes, or ſea horſes, by lances, whoſe teeth being in thoſe times eſteemed better than ivory, they brought home many of them, and much of their oil, and alſo thirty tons of lead ore from Cherry iſland, ſo called becauſe diſcovered in 1603 by a ſhip belonging to Sir Francis Cherry.

In the years 1608 and 1610, the Ruſſia company took poſſeſſion of Cherry iſland, and brought home conſiderable quantities of morſes teeth and oil. In Gull iſland they diſcovered three lead mines and a coal mine.

In the third of King James, an act of parliament paſſed, with directions how a paſſage may be made by water from London to Oxford; but as this law did not anſwer expectation, it was repealed.

In this year a new treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance, was concluded between King James and Henry IV king of France, for their mutual defence againſt Spain, and for ſupporting the United Netherlands. What relates to commerce is in ſubſtance as follows, viz.

I) The duties and cuſtoms in both countries to be the ſame as in former treaties.

II) In the ports of London for England, and of Rouen, &c. for France, all controverſies between merchants ſhall be referred to two merchants of each nation, who ſhall be called conſervators of the commerce, and ſhall take an oath for the faithful execution of their office, and ſhall be appointed anew every year. They ſhall ſee to the juſtneſs of weights and meaſures, and thoſe in France to the goodneſs of Engliſh woollen cloth; and what ſhall appear to be bad ſhall be re-exported to England, but without confiſcation, or the paying of any duty at the removal or return of ſuch cloth.

III) If in any ſhip of either party there be found goods not entered, which ſhould have paid cuſtom, only the unentered goods, but none of the others in the ſhip, ſhall be forfeited.

IV) Merchants dying in either country may freely bequeath their effects according to the laws and cuſtoms of their own reſpective countries.

V) All letters of repriſals ſhall be called in on both ſides. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 645.]

N. B. In this treaty the iſles of Guernſey and Jerſey are by name included.

An Engliſh miniſter was now for the firſt time appointed to reſide in Turkey, by King James's letters-patent to Thomas Glover, to be his envoy and agent in the dominions of Sultan Achmet the grand ſignior, who has freely given his conſent that our merchants may trade to his dominions. Liberty is hereby given to the ſaid Thomas Glover to reſide in what part of Turkey he ſhall think beſt, and to appoint conſuls for the good government of the Engliſh in the other proper ports. This

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was in conſequence of the newly incorporated Levant company of the preceding year, erected in perpetuity.

Henry, the patriotic king of France, erected a council for the encouragement and improvement of commerce; and he perſevered in his endeavours to introduce new manufactures in his kingdom. Beſides thoſe already mentioned, mills for working and cleaning of iron, manufactures of gauzes and thin linen cloth, cloth and ſerges, and gilt leather, were eſtabliſhed in various parts of France.

Captain Goſnold having given an advantageous deſcription of Virginia, as Raleigh and others had done before, the gentlemen and merchants of England began to entertain freſh hopes of planting a permanent colony there; and both the London and Briſtol merchants had for three or four years paſt, traded (as Goſnold had alſo done) for ſuch commodities as the Indians on the coaſts of that country could ſupply. Captain Gilbert alſo in this year firſt landed in the great bay of Cheſapeak, where he loſt his life. Moreover, Captain Weymouth, fitted out by the earl of Southampton and the Lord Arundel of Wardour in the year 1605, had traded alſo on thoſe coaſts with the Indians, bartering his beads, knives, combs, &c. for their furs, ſkins, &c. to vaſt profit. At length, after much ſolicitation, Captain Goſnold obtained of King James a charter for two companies.

The firſt company conſiſted of Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Edward Wingfield, Eſq. Mr. Hakluyt the induſtrious compiler of a collection of voyages, and others, who, under the name of *the South Virginia company*, or the London adventurers, had a patent for all the lands in America comprehended between the 34th and 41ſt degrees of north latitude, which are now called Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina.

The ſecond company was called the Plymouth adventurers, who were empowered to plant and inhabit as far as to 45 degrees of north latitude, including what are now called Penſylvania, New Jerſey, New York, and New England. But theſe laſt did not plant till ſome years afterwards.

The London company ſent out two ſhips, in which went Mr. Percy, the earl of Northumberland's brother, and four more of the council of that company, carrying with them a clergyman, ſundry artificers and tools, proviſions, ammunition, &c. They landed and fortified three miles from the mouth of Powhatan (now James river) within Cheſapeak bay, and gave their firſt ſettlement the name of James town, which it ſtill retains. This therefor was properly the firſt Engliſh colony on the continent of America which took root, and has proved permanent to our days, all former attempts having proved abortive. Here one hundred men ſettled, with all neceſſaries, and Captain John Smith (who has written the firſt account of the country) was left to be their princi-

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pal manager; and the earl of Southampton joining himſelf to this company, procured Sir Thomas Dale (an experienced ſoldier in the Netherland wars) to be their firſt governor. Some of the other principal managers were Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir John Danvers, Sir Maurice Abbot, Alderman Abdy, &c. Theſe gentlemen prevailed on the great Sir Francis Bacon to write his excellent inſtructions concerning new colonies, which are printed amongſt his other eſſays.

It is very true that the yellow iſinglaſs duſt found in James river, and other golden dreams, did for a while ſuſpend the proper improvement of that infant plantation, which was alſo greatly obſtructed by their many ſquabbles with the natives, then very numerous there; but as they were regularly ſupplied with neceſſaries and recruits from England, they at length ſurmounted all difficulties, the greateſt of which were perhaps their own inteſtine diviſions, and bad conduct, often bringing them into diſtreſs.

The company of merchant-adventurers of the city of Exeter obtained an act of Parliament [4 *Jac. I, c.* 9] confirming a charter which Queen Elizabeth had granted them, in the year 1560, for an excluſive trade to the dominions of France. This was a proper monopoly legally eſtabliſhed, but only as far as related to the reſt of the inhabitants, who were not free of that company, for which this ſtatute aſſigns as a reaſon the inconveniencies ariſen from the exceſſive number of ignorant artificers, &c. who in that city took upon them to uſe the ſcience, art, and myſtery of merchandize.

In the ſame ſeſſion of parliament, and the very next ſtatute, the town of Southampton obtained power to exclude every one from merchandizing, and buying and ſelling in that town, who was not free of it, with an exception, however, of the barons and freemen of the Cinque ports, whoſe privileges of buying and ſelling there are hereby preſerved entire. Both theſe monopolies, though merely local, would nevertheleſs in our more experienced days be deemed by wiſe men an unreaſonable reſtraint.

1607.—Camden now publiſhed his laſt and improved edition of his moſt valuable work, intitled Britannia. Since his time the condition of many Engliſh towns is greatly altered for the better, by the general increaſe of commerce. For inſtance, ſpeaking of Lyme in Dorſetſhire, he calls it a little town, ſcarcely to be reputed a ſeaport town or haven, though frequented by fiſhermen; yet this once contemptible place is now become a great town, and a port of good ſhipping, having a fine pier and many opulent merchants.

The town and port of Poole, alſo in the ſame county, is greatly increaſed in ſhips and merchants ſince a little before Camden's time, when according to him the bulk of its inhabitants were a few fiſhermen.

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The ſeaport town of Sunderland had no exiſtence in Camden's time, otherwiſe it could not have eſcaped the notice of that accurate author; and the like may be obſerved of Falmouth, now a well frequented port. Of Norwich we have elſewhere noted the great improvements; and the like may be remarked of Briſtol, and yet much more of Liverpool; alſo of Newcaſtle, and many others, both ſeaports and inland towns, where manufactures now greatly flouriſh, as Leeds, Halifax, Birmingham, Mancheſter, &c.

It muſt however, be admitted on the other hand, that ſome few Engliſh towns have decayed, which in old times were much more conſiderable, particularly the cities of York and Lincoln. The latter eſpecially muſt have had a ſudden as well as a very grievous decay in Camden's time, who obſerving how much the city of Lincoln was ſunk under the weight of time and antiquity, adds, 'that of fifty churches 'which were remembered to have been in it by our grandfathers, there 'are now ſcarce eighteen remaining.' Since Camden's time they are reduced to thirteen ſhabby ones.

Since we are upon this ſubject of the increaſe and decline of cities, Thuanus (who likewiſe wrote in 1607), ſpeaking of the famous commercial city of Dantzick, obſerves, that from a ſmall and obſcure beginning it has ſince ſo greatly increaſed, that at this day it may be eſteemed the moſt frequented and richeſt emporium, not only of the north and weſt, but even of the whole earth, which was probably ſaying rather too much, as Amſterdam may be preſumed to have been then much more frequented by ſhipping, of greater magnitude, of a more extenſive commerce, and more opulent than Dantzick. But be that as it may, Dantzick is ſince in ſome degree declined from its former proſperity, though ſtill a noble and opulent city.

King James gave a charter for ſeven years to Richard Penkevell of Cornwall, Eſq. and his colleagues, for the ſole diſcovery of a paſſage to China, Cathay, the Moluccos, and other parts of the Eaſt-Indies, by the north, north-eaſt, or north-weſt. They were hereby incorporated by the name of the colleagues of the fellowſhip for the diſcovery of the north paſſage, and were to enjoy for ever all the lands they ſhould diſcover (not already found by any Chriſtians), reſerving to the crown the ſupreme ſovereignty, and alſo certain prerogatives, duties, &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 660.] But as nothing followed (that we can learn) from this charter, we need ſay nothing farther about it.

Captain Henry Hudſon (whether connected with the above company or not is uncertain) now ſailed as far north as 80½ degrees, in queſt of the paſſage; and he repeated his attempt in the following year to as little purpoſe, after having in vain tried a north-eaſt paſſage by Nova Zembla the ſame year. His name, however, is perpetuated, by being given to a great bay in the northern part of America. 2

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There having been of late years many incloſures of heaths, commons, and other waſte grounds in England, the poor peaſantry or cottagers of ſeveral counties made a kind of riotous inſurrection on that account, which however was ſoon quelled.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company now ſent out their third voyage with three ſhips; but as it would be equally tireſome and unprofitable to relate what is to be found in ſo many other works, it is ſufficient to remark that the ſuperior induſtry of the Dutch in India had already been beforehand with us at the ſpice iſlands, of which they ſoon after this time made themſelves ſovereigns, as they remain at this day, and that the Portugueſe jeſuits at the mogul's court ſtill continued equal enemies to both Engliſh and Dutch in India.

Under this year Mezeray (though a popiſh author) writing of the reign of King Henry IV of France, highly commends the ſtate of Venice for wiſely conſulting the true intereſt of their people; for, finding many inconveniencies from the indiſcreet zeal of perſons, eſpecially on their deathbeds, in the year 1603, they prohibited the building of churches, convents, or hoſpitals, without the ſenate's permiſſion; and in 1605 enacted that no eccleſiaſtic be allowed to leave, bequeath, or engage any goods to the church; that none ſhould henceforth give any eſtate in lands to the clergy, nor to religious orders, without the conſent of the ſenate, who would allow of it upon good conſideration. And upon the pope's ſtorming thereat, the ſenate anſwered, 'that it was not 'juſt that ſuch lands as maintained the ſubjects, and were to bear the 'charges of the ſtate, ſhould fall into mortmain;' and they quoted the like practice of the emperors Valentinian and Charlemain, of all the French kings from St. Louis to Henry III, of Edward I king of England, of the Emperor Charles V, &c. And (what is moſt memorable) although the pope interdicted the republic and excommunicated the ſenate, yet many of their biſhops and clergy ſtood firm to the ſenate, in ſpite of all the thunder of the Vatican.

1608.—The manufacture of alum was now invented and ſucceſsfully practiſed in England, being happily encouraged and propagated in Yorkſhire by Lord Sheffield, Sir John Bourcher, and other landed gentlemen of that county, to the very great benefit of England in general, and to the ſingular great emolument of the proprietors thereof to this day. King James was a great encourager of theſe alum works, having, by the advice of his miniſters, aſſumed the monopoly of it to himſelf; and therefor he prohibited the importation of foreign alum.

But that king was not at all ſucceſsful in his laudable zeal for the propagation of ſilk in England, in imitation of King Henry IV of France. He this year ſent circular letters into all the counties of England for planting mulberry trees; for which end he cauſed printed inſtructions to be publiſhed, as alſo for breeding and feeding ſilk-worms.

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'Having ſeen,' ſays King James, 'in a few years ſpace, that our bro-
'ther the French king hath, ſince his coming to that crown, both be-
'gun and brought to perfection the making of ſilk in his country,
'whereby he hath won to himſelf honour, and to his ſubjects a mar-
'vellous increaſe of wealth.' This was very true; but experience has ſhewn that neither that king nor any of his ſucceſſors have been able to propagate ſilk in any place north of the river Loire, and much leſs ſo far north as about Paris.

Neither have any later attempts in England for this purpoſe ſucceeded; our climate being apparently too cold for it. But the climate in Carolina and Georgia is better ſuited for ſilk-worms than the very ſouthernmoſt provinces of Spain, France, or Italy; which therefor it is earneſtly hoped will ſoon be effectually encouraged, as very hopeful and conſiderable beginnings have already been made. But as the bringing of ſo great a matter to any degree of perfection will require many hands and much expenſe, it ſeems very well to merit the conſideration and aid of the public; the quantity of raw ſilk of the very beſt quality already produced in thoſe two provinces giving rational ground for hoping that perhaps even the very next generation may enjoy the ſubſtantial effects of the preſent endeavours for the propagation as well of ſilk as of wines, potaſhes, cochineal, and ſundry other excellent new productions; more eſpecially conſidering the encouragement annually allotted for thoſe and many other noble purpoſes by the honourable and ever to be applauded ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, lately eſtabliſhed in our own time.

Hitherto the Engliſh were but little ſkilled in the arts of dying and dreſſing their own woollen cloths; they therefor uſually ſent them white into Holland, where they were dyed and dreſſed, and then ſent back to England for ſale. It is ſurpriſing that thoſe who made the fineſt cloths in the world could not finiſh them: but the fact was really ſo. Alderman Cockayne, and ſome other merchants, reflecting on the great profit thereby made by the Hollanders, propoſed to the king to undertake the dying and dreſſing of cloths at home, to the great profit of the public and his majeſty; whereupon Cockayne obtained an excluſive patent for it, and the king was to have the monopoly of the ſale of ſuch home-dyed cloths. The king thereupon iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting any white cloths to be ſent beyond ſea, and ſeized the charter of the company of merchant-adventurers, which empowered them to export white cloths. The Hollanders and German cities, on the other ſide, prohibited the importation of all Engliſh dyed cloths. Thus was commerce thrown into confuſion, Cockayne being diſabled from ſelling his cloth any where but at home: beſide that, his cloths were worſe done, and yet were dearer, than thoſe done in Holland. There was a very great

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clamour therefor raiſed againſt this new project by the weavers, inſomuch that the king was obliged to permit the exportation of a limited quantity of white cloths: and a few years after, (viz. in 1615) for quieting the people, he found himſelf neceſſitated to annull Cockayne's patent, and to reſtore that of the merchant-adventurers, who ſeem to have gained over the lord chancellor Bacon to their ſide, who, in a letter to King James (printed in his *Reſuſcitatio*) concerning Cockayne's new company, complains, 'that they at firſt undertook to dye and 'dreſs all the cloths of the realm; yet ſoon after they wound themſelves 'into the trade of whites. This feeding of the foreigner,' (meaning the Dutch) ſays that great man, 'may be dangerous. For, as we may think 'to hold up our clothing by vent of whites, till we can dye and dreſs; 'ſo the Dutch will think to hold up their manufactures of dying and 'dreſſing upon our whites till they can clothe *! I confeſs, I did ever 'think, that trading in companies is moſt agreeable to the Engliſh na-'ture, which wanteth that ſame general vein of a republic which 'runneth in the Dutch, and ſerves them inſtead of a company; and 'therefor I dare not adviſe to adventure this great trade of the king-'dom, which hath been ſo long under government, in a free or looſe 'trade.' And thus, merely by proceeding too precipitately, an art, which afterward was gradually brought to abſolute perfection in England, was now deemed impracticable.

King James entered into a new defenſive treaty with the ſtates of the United Netherlands; engaging to defend them againſt all invaſions and injuries, and to aſſiſt them with twenty ſhips of war, from 300 to 600 tons burden; and alſo with 6000 foot and 400 horſe; they on the other ſide engaging to aſſiſt him with 4000 foot and 300 horſe. But this treaty was not to take place till after the peace now treating of between Spain and the ſtates.

Another treaty of this ſame date concerns the arrears of debt due to King James by the ſtates, and alſo concerning commercial privileges.

'I) The ſtates acknowlege L818,408 Sterling to be due to the king, 'of which ſum he will expect nothing for the firſt two years after the 'peace, that they may have time to eſtabliſh their affairs; and after-'wards he will be content with annual payments of L60,000 until all 'be paid off.

'II) The Engliſh merchant-adventurers ſhall enjoy all their wonted 'privileges in the ſeven provinces, for the mutual advancement of the 'commerce of both nations.' [*Fœdera, V.* xvi, *p.* 667.]

Captain Hudſon made ſundry diſcoveries in North-Virginia, as it was then called, where he alſo gave name to Hudſon's river. He is ſaid to have made a formal ſale of lands lying on that river in the year 1608,

* In this his lordſhip was a true prophet, though in what he adds we may ſomewhat diſſent from him.

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including therein Martha's vineyard and Elizabeth's iſland, now part of New-England, to certain Hollanders; who thereupon ſet about planting and improving very faſt. They named the country New-Netherland, and built there the city of New-Amſterdam, (ſince named New-York,) and the fort of Orange (now Albany) about 150 miles up Hudſon's river.

In this manner did the Hollanders go on improving their New-Netherland, without any effectual check from England even until King Charles II's firſt war with Holland. The ſtates-general, in the placart or patent eſtabliſhing their Weſt-India company, expreſsly included New-Netherland therein; which, however, we ſhall ſee in its proper place, they were unable to keep.

1609.—Captain Hudſon made a third attempt for a north weſt paſſage to China; but being again obſtructed by ice, fogs, and croſs winds, he ſailed back to the iſland of Faro, and thence to Newfoundland, &c. and ſo home.

James was the laſt king of England who took the benefit of the ſtatute, [25 Edw. III] for levying an aid of 20*ſ* on every knight's fee immediately held of the king; and the like ſum on every L20 yearly in lands, held immediately of the crown in ſoccage, for making the king's eldeſt ſon a knight: the aid being in favour of Prince Henry, King James's eldeſt ſon, not yet created prince of Wales, though fifteen years old. [*Fœdera, V.* xvi, *p.* 678.]

Mr. Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, with ſixty perſons, ſettled on the river Weapoco, in Guiana, where Captain Ley had ſettled in 1605; and, returning to England, he obtained, by Prince Henry's intereſt, a patent for all that coaſt, together with the river of Amazons, for him and his heirs. But that colony could not ſtand it for want of ſupport from home; which had likewiſe been the caſe of Captain Ley's ſettlement four years before. [*Smith's Voyages, V.* ii.]

King James having iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting all foreigners from fiſhing on the coaſts of Great Britain, the Hollanders were obliged to enter into a treaty to pay an annual ſum for leave to fiſh on his coaſts. And when James would afterwards have broke this treaty, they ſupported it, by convoying and guarding their fiſhing veſſels with ſhips of war.

After above thirty years war between Spain and the United Netherlands, at length, principally through the mediation of the kings of England and France, a truce was concluded for twelve years, which was highly honourable and advantageous to the ſtates; and though diſreputable to Spain, yet it gave that crown a breathing time from a war, which, according to Mezeray, had coſt Spain more treaſure and the loſs of more men than all thoſe provinces were worth, and which, had it continued longer, would have utterly ruined their trade to the Eaſt-

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Indies, and would alſo have totally obſtructed their flotas from the Weſt-Indies, without which Spain could not ſubſiſt. The Hollanders having, in a few years paſt, taken and deſtroyed more than thirty of their great galleons; and the Dutch admiral, Heemſkirk, having, in 1607, with twenty-ſix ſhips of war attacked the Spaniſh admiral Alvarez d'Avila, though one third part ſtronger, even under the ſhelter of the cannon of Gibraltar, deſtroying thirteen Spaniſh ſhips and 2000 men. Spain was alſo under an apprehenſion, that, by continuing the war longer, the Hollanders might through neceſſity give themſelves up to France, and thereby, with the loſs of ſeven provinces to France, loſe alſo the reſt of the ſeventeen provinces. For, as Sir William Temple obſerves, the greatneſs of the Spaniſh monarchy, ſo formidable under Charles V and Philip II, began now to decline by the vaſt deſigns and unfortunate events of ſo many ambitious counſels: as, on the other hand, the affairs of King Henry IV of France were now at the greateſt height of felicity.

On the other hand, the Dutch, notwithſtanding their continued ſucceſs, had powerful motives to conclude this truce: 1ſt, They were greatly in debt. 2dly, The French court became weary of the annual contributions for ſupporting them in that war. 3dly, King James had well nigh forſaken them, becauſe of his favourite ſcheme of the Spaniſh match for his ſon. 4thly, King Henry IV of France, whoſe intereſt it was to diſarm Flanders, on which Mezeray owns he intended to ſeize, made uſe of both entreaties and menaces to bring the ſtates into this truce.

The greateſt difficulty, which Spain the longeſt ſtuck at, was the Dutch trade to the Eaſt-Indies; which point had broke off a treaty two years before. At length, however, the truce was concluded on the footing of every one keeping what they then poſſeſſed.

This year is alſo very memorable for the foundation of the moſt famous bank of Amſterdam; a bank, which, as well in contemplation of its never violated credit, of its immenſe treaſure, and its extenſive uſefulneſs in commerce, may juſtly be ranked the firſt in Europe. The commerce of that famous city was now become ſo vaſt, that the merchants found great payments in ſilver very inconvenient, and gold coins in any quantity hazardous to keep in their poſſeſſion. It was therefor prudently judged by the magiſtrates and merchants, that if an office were eſtabliſhed for the receipts and payments of all ſums of money of 600 guilders and upwards, (afterwards reduced to 300 guilders and upwards) to be duely regiſtered in books kept open at ſtated hours, it would be a legal proof of all ſuch tranſactions, whereby many diſputes and lawſuits would be prevented; and, 2dly, If all bills of exchange, as well foreign as inland, and limited in quantity as above, were to be paid only in this office, it would prove a great ſecurity to both payers and receivers, by preventing many frauds in the payments intruſted to

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private perſons. 3dly, To ſave the time, trouble, and hazard attending the frequent carrying of caſh to this office of record, they ſaw it expedient to lodge their main caſh in that office altogether; and for this end books were opened, wherein each perſon had a diſtinct account, the whole, or any part thereof, to be transferrable to others at pleaſure, who thereupon ſhould have accounts in bank opened for them, and they again to have the like liberty of transferring as above. Ricard (in his *Traité general du commerce*, quarto, Amſterdam, 1706, *p.* 170) ſays expreſsly, that the magiſtrates of Amſterdam, by authority of the ſtates, on the 31ſt of January 1609, eſtabliſhed themſelves perpetual caſhiers of its inhabitants, and that all wholeſale payments in commerce and in bills of exchange ſhould be made in that bank. When the new ſtadthuys was erected, this bank office was removed into a large vault of that magnificent ſtructure; where (ſays Sir William Temple in his Obſervations upon the United provinces, *c.* ii) is the greateſt treaſure, either real or imaginary, that is known any where in the world: and 'whoever is 'carried to ſee the bank ſhall never fail to find the appearance of a 'mighty real treaſure in bars of gold and ſilver, plate, and infinite bags 'of metals, which are ſuppoſed to be all gold and ſilver, and may be 'ſo for ought I know. But the burgo-maſters only have the inſpection 'of this bank, and no man ever taking any particular account of what 'iſſues in and out, from age to age, it is impoſſible to make any calculation or gueſs what proportion the real treaſure may hold to the credit of it. Therefor the ſecurity of the bank lies not only in the effects that are in it, but in the credit of the whole town or ſtate of 'Amſterdam, whoſe ſtock and revenue is equal to that of ſome kingdoms, and who are bound to make good all moneys that are brought 'into their bank. This bank (continues Sir William Temple) is properly a general caſh, where every man lodges his money, becauſe he 'eſteems it ſafer and eaſier paid in and out, than if it were in his coffers at home; and the bank is ſo far from paying any intereſt for 'what is there brought in, that money in the bank is worth ſomething 'more in common payments than what runs current in coin from hand 'to hand *; no other money paſſing in the bank but in the ſpecies of 'coin the beſt known, the moſt aſcertained, and the moſt generally 'current in all parts of the higher as well as of the lower Germany.'

Now, though this great author writes with prudent caution concerning what he could not certainly determine, yet it is generally taken for certain by all others who have written on this bank, that there is either caſh, or bullion, and pawned jewels, lodged in the vaults of the ſtadthuys, equal to the amount of the whole credit of this bank; which

* He might have added, that one ſtiver is paid to the bank for every payment, or transfer of money, and ſix ſtivers for leave to make a transfer under 300 gilders; beſides ten gilders paid by every perſon in opening an account for him.

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ſome will have to amount to thirty-ſix, others to but thirty millions Sterling. But as they ſhut their books twice in a year, for a few days, to ſtrike a general balance, their true capital is then certainly known, though probably kept ſecret by order of the magiſtrates, for prudential conſiderations. Ricard, before quoted, (in his ſecond edition, *p.* 171) is very expreſs in this particular point; and, as a proof of it, ſays, 'that 'in the very height of the war in 1672, when the French king had al-'ready taken the city of Utrecht, (within twenty-one miles of Amſter-'dam) there was a very great demand (or run, as we term it in London) 'by the creditors on that bank, to draw out their money; juſtly fear-'ing, that if the French king ſhould become maſter of Amſterdam, 'they ſhould loſe all; yet the bank paid all who came for their mo-'ney.'

The proper definition of this bank, is not a bank of current money, to be received and iſſued dayly, like thoſe of London, Venice, &c. but is purely a depoſit of money, the credit whereof paſſes from hand to hand dayly, by ſigned tickets, carried to the caſhiers of the bank, directing them to write off any ſum intended to be paid from the account of the ower to that of the receiver. But although it be, doubtleſs, an excellent inſtitution for ſafety, eaſe, diſpatch, and record, yet it cannot be ſaid to increaſe the general quantity or circulation of money, as ſome other banks certainly do; if it be preſumed, as above, that a quantity of treaſure equal to the total of their credit ever remains in it; any farther than the value of the uncoined bullion, and of the jewels ſaid to be pawned there (by ſeveral princes, nobles, &c.) amounts to. With the above-mentioned dues the expenſe of the management of this bank is defrayed; and what ſurplus there may be in any one year, goes to the ſupport of the poor of that city. Bank-money, i. e. credit in the bank's books, is dayly bought and ſold, by means of brokers, who have their offices near the bank; the money whereof is commonly of late about five per cent better than the real current coin of Holland; which premium is called the *agio*, a term borrowed from the bank of Venice. The rate of *agio* varies according to the demand for bank-money, and alſo according to the quality or goodneſs of the coins to be paid for it. And this advance or *agio* in bank-credit will always prevent any from demanding current caſh of the bank for it.

By means of this bank, the magiſtrates of Amſterdam are poſſeſſed of the bulk of the property of their inhabitants, and thereby have the ſtrongeſt ſecurity for their fidelity *.

* The beſt and moſt copious account of the bank of Amſterdam, ever publiſhed in the Engliſh language, is that which was communicated by Mr. Hope of Amſterdam to Dr. Smith, who has inſerted it in his *Inquiry into the nature and cauſes of the wealth of nations*, *V.* ii, *p.* 219, *ed.* 1793. *M.*

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Sir Robert Cotton, in an eſſay written in 1609, probably for King James's private information, propoſed the coining of L120,000 in copper halfpence and farthings, by which the king would gain L10,000; and by an annual increaſe of L12,000 of thoſe coins, he would gain yearly L1000. In order to render this profit to the king effectual, he propoſed to prohibit retailers of victuals and ſmall wares from uſing their own tokens, (a practice then univerſal, eſpecially in London.) 'For (ſays he) in and about London, there are above three thouſand' (perſons) 'that, one with another, caſt yearly L5 a-piece in leaden to-'kens, whereof the tenth remaineth not to them at the year's end; and 'when they renew their ſtore, it amounteth to above L15,000; and all 'the reſt of this realm cannot be inferior to the city in proportion. Here-'by, (he obſerves,) 1ſt, thoſe retailers made as much advantage of 'their own tokens as is now propoſed for the king to make by the 'copper coins,' (which he had before obſerved were already in uſe in all the monarchies of Chriſtendom.) '2dly, The buyers hereafter ſhall 'not be tied to one ſeller and his bad commodities, as they are ſtill; 'when his tokens, hereafter made current by authority, ſhall leave him 'the choice of any other chapman. Beſides, it cannot but prevent much 'waſte of ſilver, that there will be no occaſion hereafter to cut any bul-'lion into proportions ſo apt for loſs: what that hath been may be con-'jectured, if we mark but of the great quantities, from the penny down-'ward, ſince Henry VIII's time ſtamped, how few remain; whereas all 'the coins, from threepence upward, which are manual, plenty paſs ſtill 'in dayly payment.' This ſcheme ſoon after put an end, in a great meaſure, to thoſe private leaden tokens, and introduced the legal copper coins, as at preſent. It alſo put an end to the coining of ſuch minute gold and ſilver pieces, ſo eaſily to be loſt. But our great author was certainly miſtaken in imagining, that, becauſe the leaden tokens of private retailers were moſtly loſt, that metal being naturally very periſhable, the national copper coin would be ſo likewiſe; or that ſo large a new annual coinage thereof would be requiſite, or that the public would require ſo great a ſum to be circulated as L120,000 in halfpence.

The ſuburbs of London dayly increaſing, and conſequently the danger of fire and ſcarcity of water, notwithſtanding the many ſprings brought in leaden pipes into the city, as well as the many wells with pumps almoſt every where dug within the city and ſuburbs; an act of parliament was obtained in the year 1605 for bringing a freſh ſtream of running water to the north parts of London from the ſprings of Chadwell and Amwell, &c. in the county of Hertford; giving power to the lord-mayor, &c. of London to lay out ſuch convenient ground for making the trench for the ſaid new river, not to exceed ten feet in breadth, leaving the inheritance in the owners thereof, who are to allow

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a free paſſage through their grounds to and from the new cut at all times, with carts, horſes, &c. for making and repairing the ſame; for which ſatisfaction ſhall be made to the owners of the lands, and of the mills ſtanding on the ſtreams from which water ſhall be taken, to be valued by commiſſioners, as herein directed. The lord mayor, &c. ſhall make and keep up convenient bridges over the ſaid new cut, at fit places, for the uſe of the king's ſubjects, as well as of the proprietors of the lands on each ſide, &c. [3 *Jac. I, c.* 28.]

In the year following another act of parliament paſſed, purporting, 'that ſince paſſing the former act, upon view of the grounds through 'which the waters are to paſs by men of ſkill, it is thought more con- 'venient, and leſs damage to the ground, that the water be conveyed 'through a trunk or vault of brick or ſtone incloſed, and in ſome places, 'where need is, raiſed by arches, than in an open trench or ſewer. 'Power therefor is hereby veſted in the lord mayor of London, &c. for 'that effect.' [4 *Jac. I, c.* 12]. Yet notwithſtanding this expenſive propoſal, and alſo another act of parliament [7 *Jac. I, c.* 9] granting to the king's newly-erected divinity college at Chelſea power to bring water in pipes from the river Lea, for ſupplying London therewith for their benefit (which, with the college itſelf, came to nothing), the new river was this year brought into the head or reſervoir at Clerkenwell near Iſlington, in the firſt-deſigned open trench; and from thence it has been conveyed into all parts of the city and ſuburbs in elm pipes. The projector and manager of this new river was Mr. Hugh Middleton, citizen and goldſmith of London, who was thereupon knighted by King James; and the proprietors were afterwards incorporated.

Although this article may ſeem to ſome not immediately to relate to the hiſtory of commerce, yet it in ſome ſenſe demonſtrates the great increaſe of the wealth of London by commerce, to be able to undertake ſo vaſtly expenſive a work; a work ſuitable to the power and grandeur of antient Rome in its zenith of glory. And to complete the whole trench or canal in three years time *, though running the length of about 50 miles in its various windings, from near the town of Ware to Clerkenwell, with above two hundred bridges over it, we could not therefor think this ſuccinct account of it would be unacceptable to the reader.

In this and the three following years Captain Jonas Poole ſailed as far north as 78 degrees 43 minutes, on the hope of diſcovering a north-weſt paſſage, but at the ſame time prudently employed part of his time in killing whales, &c.

In this ſame year ambaſſadors are ſaid to have come from Japan into Holland, and concluded a commercial treaty with the Dutch Eaſt-India

* The continuation of Stow's Survey of London makes the commencement of the work on the 20th February 1608, and the concluſion of it 29th September 1613. *M.*

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company at the Hague. It ſeems indeed almoſt incredible to many, 1ſt, That ſo ſmall a ſtate ſhould, between the year 1579, when they openly revolted from Spain, and this year 1609, when the famous truce before mentioned was concluded for twelve years with that crown, not only be able to make head againſt the then mightieſt potentate of Europe, and at the ſame time ſo enlarge their union, by taking in the two provinces of Overyſſel and Groningen, where many ſtrongly fortified places were firſt to be conquered at a vaſt expenſe of blood and treaſure. 2dly, To enlarge their frontiers in Flanders by the conqueſt of the important town and port of Sluyce, as alſo of Hulſt, and ſeveral other places in what is ſince named Dutch Flanders. 3dly, To block up the river Scheldt by the forts of Lillo, &c. whereby the famous commercial city of Antwerp was abſolutely barred from all maritime commerce. 4thly, On the frontiers of Brabant to conquer the ſtrong places of Bergen-op-zoom, Breda, Bois-le-duc, &c. and for above three years to hold out the town and port of Oſtend againſt the power of Spain at a great expenſe. 5thly, To annoy Spain with powerful fleets in her own ports, and to ſack ſome of the Canary iſles, and that of St. Thome under the equinoctial line. And yet, during all thoſe prodigious expenſes, to grow opulent, and to be courted by the moſt diſtant potentates of the known word, as well as by many nearer home. What can more effectually demonſtrate the inexpreſſible advantages of a general and extenſive commerce to a nation than theſe and ſuch like inſtances? while at the ſame time they ſhew the great propenſity of thoſe Netherland provinces to trade and induſtry, while attended with ſo happy an union of hearts and counſels in thoſe early times; ſearching every corner of the earth where any commerce could be had; puſhing on ſo immenſe a fiſhery alſo as ſupplied all Europe, and ſo great and extenſive a commerce, and ſuch numerous conqueſts in India, as amazed all the world; while at home they wonderfully cultivated all ſorts of manufactures: and being ſituated as it were in the middle of Europe, they very ſoon made Amſterdam become (what it ſtill in a great meaſure is) the grand ſtorehouſe or magazine of almoſt all the merchandize of the univerſe, whither there dayly arrived numbers of ſhips from all parts, and from whence others dayly ſailed to all parts. Even in this ſame year 1609 they had about 100 ſhips employed in the gold-coaſt trade, at Guinea and the Cape de Verd iſles, and were ſo ſucceſsful in that commerce that they ſoon began to think of eſtabliſhing a Weſt-India company.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company now ſent out but one ſhip, firſt to Bantam, and thence to the iſles of Banda, &c.; but the Hollanders being abſolute lords there, they were refuſed admittance to traffic. Yet the Dutch not being as yet maſters at the iſle of Puloway, this ſhip obtained there a cargo of mace and nutmegs. They left factors there

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for future trade, and returned home after ſtopping again at Bantam. This is uſually called the company's fifth voyage.

1610.—Although the fifteen years excluſive trade granted by Queen Elizabeth's charter to the Eaſt-India company was not to expire till 1615, yet King James, on the 31ſt of May, in the year 1610, was prevailed on to grant that company a renewal of their charter, ſetting forth the profit and honour which this trade brought to the nation, whereby his majeſty was now induced to render this company perpetual, with the uſual powers of making bye-laws, of having a common ſeal, and the other powers in the former charter.

The Eaſt-India merchants, encouraged by their new charter, now built the largeſt merchant ſhip that had ever been built in England, being of 1100 tons burden, which they named the Trade's Increaſe, and with her and three others they made their ſixth voyage to India.

At the ſame time the king built a ſhip of war called the Prince, ſuperior to any ſhip ever ſeen in England hitherto, being of 1400 tons burden, and carrying 64 cannon. Thus we ſee how far ſhort the navy was of its preſent force and dignity even at this late time. Such a ſhip at preſent is the ſmalleſt of thoſe which are admitted into the line of battle.

Henry IV, in the midſt of his patriotic labours for the improvement of the manufactures and commerce, and promoting the general happineſs of France, was aſſaſſinated in his capital.

Voltaire, in the introduction to his Eſſay on the age of Louis XIV, gives us a compendious view of the ſtate of France at the acceſſion of Louis XIII. The king had not one ſhip of war *. Paris did not contain 400,000 people, and there were not four magnificent edifices in it. The other cities of the kingdom were like the towns beyond the Loire. Every nobleman throughout the provinces lived in a fortified caſtle ſurrounded with moats, and oppreſſed the laborious peaſants around him. The roads were almoſt impracticable, and the towns under no regulation. The ſtate was without money, and the government was as much without credit amongſt foreign nations as defective at home. The ordinary revenue did not exceed 45 millions. Silver, it is true, being then valued at but about 26 livres the mark, theſe 45 millions amounted to about 85 millions of the preſent money of France.

King James granted many patents for the ſole vending or making of certain merchandize and manufactures, whereupon the people became extremely uneaſy and loud againſt all ſuch pernicious grants (which indeed were become very great grievances to the ſubjects, and obliged the king this year to revoke all his monopolies by proclamation. The re-

* Voltaire ſometimes runs too faſt. According to *Sully's Memoirs*, France had about ſixteen ſhips of war at Breſt and Rochelle, and twenty galleys in the ports on the Mediterranean.

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vocation, however, was afterward forgotten, as will be ſeen, by him and his miniſters.

In the early part of this century there was a prevailing ſpirit of adventuring on new plantations from England. Even the barren and inhoſpitable iſland of Newfoundland was repreſented as proper for plantation in printed accounts, which induced the earl of Northampton, the lord chief baron Tanfield, Sir Francis Bacon ſolicitor-general, &c. to join with a number of Briſtol merchants in obtaining from King James a grant of part of Newfoundland, lying between Cape Bonaviſta and Cape St. Mary's; which ſets forth,

That whereas divers of his ſubjects were deſirous to plant in the ſouthern and eaſtern parts of Newfoundland, whither the ſubjects of this realm have for upwards of fifty years paſt been uſed annually, in no ſmall numbers, to reſort to fiſh, intending thereby to ſecure the trade of fiſhing to our ſubjects for ever, as alſo to make ſome advantage of the lands thereof, which hitherto have remained unprofitable; and the land being at preſent deſtitute of inhabitants, whereby the king has an undoubted right to diſpoſe of it, therefor he now grants to Henry earl of Northampton, and 44 others therein named, their heirs and aſſigns, to be a corporation, with perpetual ſucceſſion, &c. by the name of the Treaſurer and company of adventurers and planters of the cities of London and Briſtol for the colony or plantation in Newfoundland, from north latitude 46 to 52 degrees, together with the ſeas and iſlands lying within ten leagues of any part of the coaſt, and all mines, &c. ſaving to all his majeſty's ſubjects the liberty of fiſhing there, &c.

Mr. Guy of Briſtol went thither as conductor of the firſt colony, who is ſaid to have contracted familiarity and friendſhip with the natives, who lived at a diſtance from the ſouthern and eaſtern coaſts; and it is ſaid, that while he remained there, viz. for two years, they went on very well. But the iſland has never to this day been valuable as a ſettlement any farther than as a ſtation for the fiſhery.

This year the gallant Spaniſh governor of the Philippine iſles attacked the Dutch admiral Willart, who had ſunk a Spaniſh galleon richly laden from China, killed him, and took three of his four ſhips; whereupon the Spaniards retook from the Dutch the iſlands of Tidore and Banda. This was the laſt ſucceſsful ſtruggle of Spain in thoſe parts againſt the Dutch.

A treaty of commerce, and of a defenſive alliance between England and France, and for the confirmation of former treaties, was begun in the lifetime of King Henry IV, and concluded by his ſon Louis XIII, a minor under the authority of the queen-regent. It is in ſubſtance as follows:

I) King James ſtipulates, in caſe of France being invaded, to ſupply 6000 foot-ſoldiers, armed either with bows, guns, or pikes: and with

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eight ſhips of war, with 1200 fighting men in them; all which to be at the expenſe of France.

II) On the other hand, France ſhall ſupply King James, in the like caſe, with the like number of ſoldiers and ſhips, when demanded.

III) If any potentate ſhall detain or arreſt any ſhips of England, Scotland, or Ireland; the French king ſhall in ſuch caſe arreſt and detain the ſhips of ſuch potentate in his harbours until thoſe of Britiſh ſubjects be releaſed: and King James promiſes the like for the French king's ſubjects.

IV) Free liberty to the Engliſh ſubjects in France for the private exerciſe of the proteſtant religion.

V) Three months time allowed, in caſe of a rupture, for the merchants on both ſides to bring away their effects.

VI) Security ſhall be given by the commanders of the ſhips of both parties ſetting ſail, not to commit piracy or any other violence to the other party. [With ſundry other articles againſt piratical acts.]

VII) The Engliſh ſhips trading to Bourdeaux and into the river Garonne, ſhall not hereafter be obliged to land and depoſit their arms and ammunition there: neither ſhall the French ſhips in England be put to the like inconvenience: neither ſhall theſe pay the impoſition or petty dues in England called head-money, warranted by no law of England.

VIII) Laſtly, with reſpect to all other commercial matters, the treaty of 1606 ſhall take place. [*Fœdera, V.* xvi, *p.* 694.]

Captain Hudſon now made his third and laſt attempt for the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage to China. He entered the ſtraits and bay of his name, and went 100 leagues farther than any before had done, till his progreſs was obſtructed by ice or by ſhoal-water, giving the Engliſh names to many ports, bays, and promontories, which they ſtill retain on all the maps. He traded with the natives, and wintered in the country, in which he found ſwans, geeſe, ducks, partridges, &c. But great diſcord ariſing between him and the majority of the ſhip's company, they mutinied, and moſt cruelly turned him and eight of his men (who were moſtly ſick) into an open boat, and they were never heard of more. The mutineers returned home with the ſhip, though in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, &c. the ringleaders againſt Captain Hudſon moſtly loſing their lives in the homeward voyage.

The London adventurers to Virginia (or the firſt colony) now obtained the king's charter, which incorporated them by the name of the treaſurer and company of adventurers and planters of the city of London for the firſt colony of Virginia. This was what was then properly called the Virginia company. They were thereby impowered to grant lands to the adventurers and planters;—to appoint a council reſident in Virginia, to place and diſplace officers, &c. The ſanguine hopes entertained of that colony in thoſe times ſupported their ſpirits.

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under great expenſes and many diſappointments; and although thoſe firſt adventurers were far from being gainers, yet the nation has ſince reaped a noble harveſt from their endeavours. In the tenth year of this king's reign, he granted them all the iſlands on the coaſt of South Virginia.

1611—The Dutch Eaſt-India company's ambaſſadors to the emperor of Japan are ſaid to have now obtained very advantageous terms of commerce, maugre all the oppoſition of the Spaniſh and Portugueſe agents there.

Henry prince of Wales now ſent out his ſervant Sir Thomas Button to attempt a diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage to China. He entered the bay, which bears his name to this day, on the ſouth ſide of Hudſon's bay, where he wintered at a place called Port-Nelſon, ſo named by him from the captain of his ſhip, whom he buried there. He diſcovered a great continent to the ſouth and weſt of that bay, to which he gave the names of New North Wales, and New South Wales, and erected a croſs, on which he fixed the arms of England.

In the tenth voyage of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, our people had an opportunity of obſerving the vaſt commerce of the Portugueſe at Surat, where there were no fewer than 240 ſail of their merchant ſhips in one fleet, bound for Cambaya: nevertheleſs, our two ſhips ſoon after fought and defeated four of their great galleons, and 26 frigates from Goa, ſent in purſuit of them; which cauſed great joy to the Indians at Surat, by whom the Portugueſe were much hated, who were ſoon to loſe the bulk of this mighty commerce.

About this time Philip III king of Spain, through the inſtigation of his bigotted clergy, drove out of his dominions the moſt induſtrious and valuable part of his ſubjects. After the former ſlaughters and expulſions of the Moors and Jews, there were ſtill about 1,200,000* of both thoſe races of people remaining in Spain, under the character of *new Chriſtians*. Philip II could never be prevailed upon to proceed to extremities againſt theſe unhappy people, though it had often been propoſed to him; but his ſon Philip III, being a weak prince, and conſequently much led by the clergy, was drawn into this cruelty. The Moors and Jews were ſaid to have ſolicited the protection of France, of England, of the Dutch, of the king of Morocco, and of the grand ſignior, being apprehenſive that their inveterate foes the clergy would ſooner or later bring about their deſtruction. Rumours had alſo been ſpread at this time of their intending on a Good Friday to butcher all the old Chriſtians. Upon ſuch ſurmiſes and pretences King Philip ſeized all their eſtates, and expelled them from his kingdom in the moſt cruel manner. Prieſts

* Moſt of the Spaniſh authors reckon the number only 6000. Perhaps they think a ſmaller number ſome extenuation of the atrocity and frenzy of this ſignal triumph of ſuperſtition. *M.*

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were dragged from the altars, judges from the benches, huſbands from the arms of their wives, and wives from their huſbands: not ſparing even ſuch officers of the crown as were allied to the moſt antient Chriſtian families. Many of thoſe miſerable people were tranſported to Barbary, where they joined the race of thoſe before expelled, in their revenge for Spaniſh cruelties. Mezeray ſays that ſcarce a fourth part of them were able to preſerve their wretched lives; for being looked upon as infidels by the Chriſtians whither they fled, and as Chriſtians amongſt the infidels, they encountered cruelties and death in various ſhapes. Some were drowned by the very mariners who pretended to tranſport them; others were maſſacred by the Moors of Barbary. Mr. Cottington, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Madrid, wrote to Mr. Trumbull, the Engliſh reſident at Bruſſels, that the Spaniſh king had made vaſt preparations for deſtroying the Moriſcoes of the kingdom of Valencia, having for that end aſſembled 85 galleys, 20 ſhips, and 70,000 ſoldiers. At one inſtant they ſeized on all the towns and villages of Valencia, proclaiming that within three days, upon pain of death, they ſhould all repair to the ſea-ſide, there to be embarked. Many, fearing what ſhould afterward be done to them, and attempting to fly, were immediately executed. The reſt (which they ſay will be at leaſt 80,000 houſeholds) have dayly their hands bound, and ſo put on board. What they will do with them, or whither they will carry them, is yet kept a ſecret. Some ſay there is a commiſſion given to put them all on ſhore in Barbary; and others, (which I rather believe) that it is to caſt them all into the ſea.

'Poſtſcript. I can almoſt aſſure you that they have and will throw 'into the ſea, of men, women, and children, above 300,000 perſons. A 'cruelty never before heard of in any age,' ſays Lord Cottington.

In another letter to the ſame, he ſays, 'that three of the beſt galle-'ons and three ſmaller ſhips were loſt in a tempeſt, all fraught with 'Moors. Our Moriſcoes (or Moors) notwithſtanding we have embark-'ed at leaſt 80,000 of them, are now above 20,000 ſtrong in the moun-'tains.' In another; 'Our Moors in the mountains are, through fa-'mine, forced to come down: their king is hanged in Valencia with 'ſome few others, and the reſt are embarked for Barbary. We now begin 'to clear Caſtile, Eſtremadura, and Andaluſia of Moriſcoes alſo. They 'are to be gone within thirty days.' In another; 'We here turn out 'our Moriſcoes, without ſuffering them to carry in ſpecie, or in letters, 'any kind of gold or ſilver.' [*Winwood's Memorials*, V. iii.]

This and former expulſions deprived Spain of vaſt numbers of her moſt ingenious and induſtrious people, who (had they been treated with moderation) might have been gradually brought over to their catholic religion. Now if to theſe loſſes of people be added thoſe great numbers ſent to their vaſt American colonies, we cannot be ſurpriſed that there are now, by ſome accounts, ſcarce five millions of people in all the king-

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dom of Spain, though about thrice as large as the iſland of Great Britain, wherein are about twice that number of people. By theſe depopulations, and by their bigotry, lazineſs, and pride, that fine country, from being once one of the moſt populous, as well as beſt cultivated in all Europe, is become a barren ſolitude. Mezeray obſerves that the Moors in Spain had ſo far improved the lands as to make them yield more by one third part to the landlords than the Spaniſh tenants could do; wherefor, when King Philip III expelled them, he gave the nobles and gentry one fourth part of the plunder, by way of recompenſe. The Moors left behind them in Spain very illuſtrious marks of their long dominion there; ſeeing moſt of the eminent cities, caſtles, and palaces, and alſo cathedral churches, which formerly were moſques, remaining even to this day, were built by them, who were accounted more ingenious, as well as more induſtrious in buſineſs, than the Spaniards. We thought ourſelves obliged to dwell the longer on this article of the expulſion of the Moors and Jews from Spain, that it might prove an uſeful memento to us and all wiſe nations never to ſuffer a bigotted clergy to poiſon court and country with their perſecuting principles: a numerous, frugal, and induſtrious commonalty being the greateſt riches, glory, and ſtrength of a well-ordered ſtate.

In moſt of the new branches of trade diſcovered by the Engliſh in the later part of the laſt, and the former part of the preſent century, we may obſerve that the Dutch followed cloſe at their heels. This has been ſeen in the Ruſſia trade, the north-eaſt and north-weſt attempts for a paſſage to China, &c. in planting in America, in the circumnavigations of the globe, and in the Eaſt-India commerce. It is true De Witt in his Intereſt of Holland ſays that the Dutch made early attempts for the whale-fiſhing at Spitzbergen; yet as the mariners of Hull were long before much in the fiſhery at the North Cape, it ſeems probable that the Dutch learned the way to Spitzbergen from them.

The Hollanders, being emboldened by their late truce with Spain, now ventured into the Levant ſeas, and ſent their firſt ambaſſador to the grand ſignior at Conſtantinople, where he concluded a favourable treaty of commerce.

This year is generally fixed on as the firſt time that the Dutch gained a footing in Japan; and it is ſaid that by the year 1616 they were the only European people permitted to trade or reſide there. The invidious ſtory of their artful anſwer to the Japaneſe, upon being aſked if they were Chriſtians is much more like a Portugueſe calumny than the real truth: for as the Hollanders had entirely driven the Portugueſe out of the trade to Japan, it is moſt probable that their prieſts invented that deteſtable calumny to render them odious every where; and we have the greater reaſon for this ſuppoſition, as the Portugueſe jeſuits (we know) were alſo very liberal of their falſe and cruel invectives

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againſt both the Engliſh and Dutch, at the great mogul's court, and elſewhere in India, upon a vain preſumption that their nation, being the firſt diſcoverers of a paſſage by ſea to India, had the ſole right to trade thither.

The Ruſſia company having ſent a ſhip in the preceding year to explore the coaſt of Spitzbergen, now fitted out two ſhips for the purpoſe of catching whales, which carried with them ſix Biſcayners, that people being ſuppoſed the moſt expert in ſuch a fiſhery. Both ſhips were loſt; but the men were ſaved by a ſhip belonging to Hull, which was upon the ſame fiſhery.

1612.—From the year 1598 the Engliſh went on unrivalled with their whale-fiſhing at Greenland, till 1612, when the Hollanders firſt reſorted thither; whereupon ſome of the Engliſh Ruſſia company's ſhips, outward-bound, ſeized the whale-oil, fiſhing-tackle, &c. of the Dutch, and obliged them to return home, threatening that, if ever they found them in thoſe ſeas thereafter, they would make prize of ſhips and cargoes; their maſter the king of Great Britain having the ſole right to that fiſhery, in virtue of the firſt diſcovery thereof, and of Spitzbergen; and in the following year the Engliſh actually brought home two Dutch ſhips as prizes.

The Hollanders now joined the Hanſe towns in a complaint to Chriſtiern IV, king of Denmark, of the heavy additional toll which, ſince the commencement of his war with Sweden, he had impoſed on all ſhips paſſing the Sound: whereupon the king gave them the choice of a hard alternative, viz. either to pay that new toll, or elſe to let their merchandize be thenceforth carried up the Baltic in Daniſh bottoms. The Lubeckers being from their ſituation peculiarly affected by that toll, loudly complained to the emperor, whoſe redreſs (if at all to be hoped for) being likely to be very ſlow, they made a league with the Hollanders for the mutual protection of their commerce and navigation, determining to ſend an armed force to the Sound for that end. Seven eighths of the expenſes were to be born by Holland, and the other eighth part by Lubeck; and the alliance was to laſt eleven years, during which the other Hanſe towns might come into it. Accordingly afterwards the cities of Magdeburgh, and Brunſwick, Roſtock, Straelſund, and Lunenburgh, agreed to pay each one per cent, and Wiſmar, Gripſwald, and Anclam, each one half per cent, at their aſſembly held at Brunſwick. Hamburgh and Bremen are alſo mentioned by Werdenhagen, without aſcertaining their quotas. The Lubeckers alſo complained to the emperor that the Danes had ſeized and detained their ſhips and merchandize bound to Sweden: and the king of Denmark replied, that the Lubeckers had had fair notice before-hand, that if they carried on any correſpondence with his enemies he would make prize of them. And with reſpect to the toll which he had laid on ſhips paſſing the Sound,

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during his war with Sweden, that was no more than what other princes in like caſes do: for that he was ſovereign lord of the Baltic ſea, or Sound, the dominion whereof was tranſmitted to him by his anceſtors, ſeeing a great part of his territories border on that ſea; wherefor he would never ſuffer his title to his ſovereignty in the Baltic to be called in queſtion. Probably, however, he meant only that part of it called the Sound.

The Dutch, having prevailed on King James to join with them and the Hanſe towns in the complaint to the ſtates of Denmark, (which then had a free conſtitution) the toll was reduced to the ſame rates that were paid before the Swediſh war. And, to guard againſt the repetition of ſuch encroachments, the Dutch contracted an alliance with the Hanſe towns in general, in the year 1613, and another with Lubeck and ſome other of the Hanſe towns in 1615, wherein they agreed to ſtand by each other againſt all impoſitions.

By the intereſt of a Dutchman, who was in great favour with the king of Ceylon, the Dutch Eaſt-India company obtained a favourable treaty with that king, who engaged to ſell them all the cinnamon of the iſland, to exempt them from ſundry taxes, and to allow free commerce thither to no other European nation without their leave, and alſo to diſpoſe of all his pretious ſtones to them alone; and laſtly, to allow them half the cuſtoms of the iſland, &c. (ſays Baldæus, a Dutch preacher at Ceylon, who publiſhed his Account of Ceylon at Amſterdam, 1672.) Yet the conteſts of the Dutch for ſecuring the conqueſt of the Molucca ſpice iſlands prevented their being able at this time to improve that treaty ſo far as to drive the Portugueſe out of Ceylon, who were guarded againſt the encroachments made by the Dutch, and had alſo violent quarrels with the king of Ceylon.

This effort of the declining Hanſe towns to draw the Dutch into a confederacy with them for the freedom of commerce, did, by the powerful conjunction of England, produce the deſired effect. Yet, in general, it was unlikely that any durable confederacy (and much leſs an union, as ſome then propoſed) could take place between the Dutch and ſo great a number of widely diſperſed towns, with intereſts almoſt as different as their ſituations; over-awed too by the greater potentates near them, ſince they have become ſtrong in ſhipping. Such an union therefor could not be advantageous to the Dutch, whoſe aim always was to gain ground every where in commerce, and who now for more than a century have engroſſed the greateſt part of the commerce of the Baltic, and thereby have rendered moſt of the Hanſeatic ports on that ſea as empty of good ſhipping as their exchanges now are of rich merchants.

About this time alſo the Swedes treated as enemies all ſuch merchant ſhips as did not take out licences from their king for liberty to trade thither: ſo that the eaſterling Hanſe towns, being preſſed with difficul-

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ties on every ſide, were obliged to relinquiſh a great part of their antient commerce, which gradually brought on their preſent great declenſion. [*Werdenhagen, V.* ii, *p.* 105.]

Ireland having been very much exhauſted of people by former wars and rebellions, King James, finding it now in peace, thought it a proper time to improve it: he accordingly divided the whole kingdom into counties, appointed regular circuits of the judges; and (ſays Sir James Ware in his Hiſtorical relations) the benefit and protection of the laws of England were communicated to all, as well Iriſh as Engliſh, whereby the Iriſh were reclaimed from their wildneſs, cut off their glibs and long hair, converted their mantles into cloaks, and conformed to the manner of England, in all their behaviour and outward forms. The poſſeſſion and limits of lands were ſettled, whereby the hearts of the people were alſo ſettled, and they were now encouraged to build and plant, and to improve the commodities of the lands; whereby the yearly value thereof is already increaſed double of what it was within theſe few years, as is alſo the crown revenue. Encouragement has been given to the maritime towns and cities, to increaſe their trade and mechanical arts and ſciences. He alſo granted markets and fairs in all counties, and erected corporate towns among them: ſo that, until the beginning of his reign, Ireland was never entirely ſubdued and brought under the obedience of the crown of England.

Sir John Davis juſtly remarks, (in ſundry places of his uſeful treatiſe on this ſubject) that it was bad policy in England, that for the ſpace of 350 years, at leaſt, after the conqueſt, the Engliſh laws were not communicated to the Iriſh, nor the benefit and protection thereof extended to them, though they earneſtly deſired the ſame: as if it was intended to keep up a ſeparation and enmity between the Engliſh and Iriſh forever; whereby a perpetual war was kept up between them till this happy time that a complete conqueſt was now made of that entire iſland.

For the prevention of future rebellions, King James in the year 1609 propoſed to the city of London the eſtabliſhment of an Engliſh ſettlement in a part of the province of Ulſter, then much depopulated and deſerted; and the city accepted his propoſal, and raiſed the ſum of L20,000 for making a new plantation there *, now ſent thither about 300 perſons of all ſorts of handicrafts and occupations, principally intended for repeopling Derry (thenceforth called Londonderry) and Colerain; and 200 houſes were built in the former, and 100 in the later. The king alſo erected Derry into a biſhopric, and made Colerain a corporation.

A corporation was accordingly eſtabliſhed in London for that end, under the name of the governor and committee of the Iriſh ſociety, to

* The Iriſh inhabitants of that part of Ulſter were tranſplanted to Connaught, where their poſterity ſtill remain.

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be annually elected out of the court of aldermen and common-council, for the management of the lands and fiſheries of that part of Ireland. Yet it ſeems King James thought the magiſtrates of the city of London were not expeditious enough therein: for in the year 1613 he ſent for that newly-erected corporation to Greenwich, and reprimanded them for their dilatorineſs, &c. Whereupon the city ſent over to Ulſter an alderman and a commoner, with ſome ſurveyors, who ſettled the new colony to the king's, as well as the city's ſatisfaction: and the lands and fiſheries there have been ſince greatly improved, to the conſiderable benefit of that part of Ireland; it being a very valuable eſtate poſſeſſed to this day by the city of London in its corporate capacity.

King James took the benefit of a ſtatute [25 *Edw. III*] which enabled the king to levy a reaſonable aid for the marriage of his eldeſt daughter, and iſſued his precepts to the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties for the levying thereof, being the ſame with that he levied in 1609, for making his eldeſt ſon a knight, viz. twenty ſhillings on every knight's fee; and the like on every L20 per annum on all lands held of the crown in ſoccage. Which aid was alſo (we conceive) the laſt of the kind raiſed by any of our kings. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 724.]

In this ſame year, or, as ſome others, two years ſooner, the Danes firſt ſailed to Eaſt-India, where they have ever ſince carried on a commerce, and have a good fort and town, built about the year 1617, on the coaſt of Coromandel, called Tranquebar; though their trade be not very conſiderable there to this day.

The cluſter of ſmall and very rocky iſlands, ſituated between Europe and America, and named the Bermuda or Somer iſles, in the north latitude of 32½ degrees (500 miles directly eaſt from Carolina), was now planted by the Engliſh. They had, almoſt 100 years before, been diſcovered by one Bermuda, a Spaniard, but were never planted by any before this time. Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates, in their voyage to Virginia in 1609, were ſhipwrecked there, and lived there nine months; and having built a ſhip of the cedar of the place, they ſailed thence to Virginia. They left two men in the largeſt iſle, whom the coloniſts found there. And from the firſt-named gentleman they were named the Somers' iſles, though the firſt name of Bermuda is moſtly uſed. Sir George Somers was, it ſeems, a ſecond time driven on thoſe iſles, and died there. But thoſe who were with him, on their arrival in England, made ſo favourable a report of the beauty and fertility of them, that the Virginia company (who, as firſt diſcoverers, claimed the property) ſold them to about 120 perſons, to whom the king granted a charter. And in this year 160 perſons ſettled on the largeſt of them, named St. George's iſland, and afterwards 500 more followed in 1619; whereupon they inſtituted an aſſembly, with a governor and

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council. Some have reckoned the iſlands 400 in number; but moſt of them too ſmall to have any name, they being all circumſcribed within the compaſs of little more than about 47 leagues. St. George's, the largeſt, is naturally fortified almoſt quite round by rocks; and where there is any landing place they have forts and batteries; and their only two harbours are alſo very well fortified. They at firſt planted ſome tobacco; but it did not anſwer expectation. They are ſaid to have the fineſt oranges in the world, alſo mulberries, olives, &c. and the nobleſt of cedar trees. Yet they produce very little ſtaple commodities fit for exportation, excepting their cedar ſloops, with which they trade, and ſell them at the Weſt-Indies, and ſome proviſions: with the gain of which trade they are enabled to pay Great Britain for all the neceſſaries they are conſtantly ſupplied with. It was afterwards, like Virginia, made a regal government, and ſo it ſtill continues. As theſe iſles lie ſo remote from America, there were no people found on them by the Engliſh: but they found plenty of hogs, which the Spaniards had left there, as they likewiſe did on many other uninhabited iſles, that they might afterward, in caſe of ſhipwreck or ſtorms, find ſuſtenance thereon. The iſlands labour under a want of freſh water, and the frequent attacks of furious winds, ſtorms, thunder, &c. At the main iſland of St. George (as well as at the chief town) large ſhips may ſafely enter and be ſecure, both harbours being ſo well fortified that an enemy may be eaſily kept out: and this is probably what induces government to keep up thoſe inconſiderable and much worn-out iſles, which lie ſo much in the way of our enemies (in whoſe power they ought never to be) as well as of our own ſhipping; there being no productions there but what may be had in our other plantations: and their tobacco is much worſe than that of Virginia.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company now ſent out one ſhip, carrying Sir Robert Shirley, as ambaſſador from King James to Perſia, and with him Sir Thomas Powell, who obtained of the Perſian court certain privileges for the company. This ſhip returned home with a cargo of pepper, from Sumatra and Bantam, in 1614; and this is uſually reckoned the twelfth voyage of this company.

In the ſame year, James Hall and William Baffin ſailed as high in Hudſon's bay as 65 degrees 20 minutes of north latitude, ſearching for a paſſage to China, in vain. They alſo made trial of a ſuppoſed mine there, which had been digged by ſome Danes, but found it of no value.

The Spaniards and Portugueſe ſtill continuing to inſiſt that none but themſelves had any right to ſail beyond the equinoctial line, the learned Hugo Grotius, on the part of his own country of Holland, undertook to confute them in his ever-famous ſmall Latin treatiſe, intitled, 'Maré liberum, ſive de jure quod Batavis competit ad Indicana com-

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'mercia, diſſertatio*.' He begins with an addreſs to the princes and free people of Chriſtendom; and in 13 chapters learnedly illuſtrates the freedom of navigation on the open ſeas to all mankind. He maintains, that neither the Portugueſe nor Spaniards had any kind of excluſive right of dominion in the Eaſt-Indies; either by the title of prior diſcovery, or by virtue of the pope's donation, or by right of war or conqueſt, or by virtue of any claim of preſcription or cuſtom. That by the law of nations, commerce is free to all mankind: and therefor by no equitable rule ought they to reſtrain the freedom of the Indian commerce, which the Hollanders are determined to maintain, whether in peace or war. He clearly proves that the Portugueſe were far from being the original diſcoverers of the Eaſt-India ſeas, 1ſt, From Alexander's diſcoveries thereof, and of the Perſian and Arabian gulfs. 2dly, From Caius Cæſar's having found marks in the Red ſea of the wrecks of ſhips, belonging to the Gaditani; who could come no other way thither but by the Cape of Good Hope. He cites Cœlius Antipater's ocular teſtimony of a maritime commerce in antient times between Spain and Ethiopia; and what Cornelius Nepos writes, viz. that in his time, Eudoxus, flying from Lathyrus, king of Alexandria, took ſhipping in the Red ſea, and ſailed round Africa to Gades in Spain. That while Carthage flouriſhed, it is moſt clear that thoſe people, deeply ſkilled in maritime affairs, were not ignorant of thoſe ſeas: particularly, that Hanno ſailed from Gades to the fartheſt parts of Arabia, round by that now called the Cape of Good Hope; and would have gone farther, had not his ſtores and proviſions failed him. Next, the regular annual voyages of the Romans from Egypt to India, by the Red ſea, after Auguſtus had conquered Egypt. And that Strabo aſſerts, that in his own time a company of merchants of Alexandria traded with ſhips from the Red ſea to the fartheſt Ethiopia, as well as to India. † Grotius ſubjoins, that when the Portugueſe firſt ſailed to India, the ſeveral ſeas between Europe and India were known, and could not poſſibly be unpractiſed by the Moors, Ethiopians, Arabians, Perſians, and Indians, people bordering upon them; and that a diſcovery gives no right to any thing but what belonged to nobody before ſuch diſcovery. Neither is it certain, that unleſs the Portugueſe had made the diſcovery (as they term it) of India, none elſe would have done it. For the time was then come when almoſt all arts, and particularly the ſituation of the earth and ſeas, were much better underſtood, and dayly improving. The Venetians, who had learned much of India, were then upon farther inquiries; the indefatigable induſtry of the people of Bretagne, and the bold attempts of the Engliſh, all plainly ſhow what in time

* The free ſea, or a diſſertation on the right of the Dutch to the commerce of India.

† The reader, who has attended to the hiſtory of the antient intercourſe of the Europeans with the Eaſt, will find that Grotius has acted rather as an advocate than as a critical hiſtorian. *M.*

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would have been effected. Among his other reaſonings, he quotes Alphonſus Caſtrenſis, a Spaniſh divine, as inveighing againſt the abſurdity and injuſtice of thoſe nations who claim an excluſive navigation in certain ſeas; as the Genoeſe, in their bay; the Venetians, in their gulf; and principally the Portugueſe, in the Eaſt-Indian ſeas; as well as all other nations (Spain itſelf not excepted) who pretend to ſuch an excluſive right on the ſea (which is common to all), contrary to the law of nature, or natural juſtice, and to that natural and divine rule, of doing to others as we would they ſhould do to us. Towards the concluſion, Grotius, ſpeaking of the neceſſity of vindicating by all poſſible means the freedom of navigation and commerce, thus addreſſes his own nation, viz. 'Go on, thou moſt invincible nation on the Ocean, in boldly aſſerting and defending that freedom which is not thine alone, but is equally the right of all mankind.'

In this treatiſe there is not a word of England's claim to any kind of ſea dominion; the author's whole drift ſeeming profeſſedly to be againſt Spain and Portugal (then ſtill united). Yet there is one expreſſion in his fifth chapter, which ſeems to have been pointed at King James obliging the Hollanders to pay a tribute for the liberty of fiſhing on our coaſts, where he aſſerts, 'that the reaſons given for the freedom of navigation hold equally good for that of fiſhing on the ſeas, which alſo ought to remain common or free to all.'

What ſomewhat confirms this conjecture, was, that William Welwood publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe, in Latin, [28 *pp.* 4*to*, 1615] intitled, 'De dominio maris juribuſque ad dominium præcipue ſpectantibus, aſſertio brevis et methodica. *Coſmopoli. 1615.' As it is an anſwer to Grotius, we ſhall here give the ſubſtance of it, though three years later in point of time.

He endeavours to prove, that the ſea is capable of diſtinction of property, or of private dominion, as well as the land; contrary to the opinion (he owns) of many antient lawyers, orators, and poets; as Cicero, Seneca, Virgil, Plautus, Ovid, &c. whom he boldly accuſes of ignorance of the law of nature. And he fixes that dominion to be one hundred miles every way from the ſhore of the country adjacent, and claiming the ſame. But all the reſt of the ſea beyond that limit, he, and the civilians Bartolus and Cepola (whom he quotes) leave perfectly free to all mankind, to uſe indifferently without all doubt or controverſy. Theſe points he ſpeaks of as the ſenſe of all nations, 'excepting (ſays he) only one nation, who, though her native ſoil abounds with milk, is nevertheleſs indebted to other countries for all other neceſſaries, and is even enriched and become haughty with the ſpoils of all

* A brief and methodical vindication of the dominion of the ſea, and the principal rights appertaining to it.

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'nations, having deſpiſed all diſtinction in her open or free ſea, and 'has even had the boldneſs to ſtile herſelf invincible!'

In his third chapter, he complains, 'that Britain is robbed in her own ſeas by foreign fiſhers, who like an inundation crowd her ſhores with their fiſhing-veſſels; inſomuch, that the fiſh thereby are ſo much diminiſhed, that whereas thirty years before they were wont to come in ſhoals up to our very houſes, now it puts our poor fiſhers to the toil and hazard of going many miles out to ſea in queſt of them! That the Scots, formerly obſerving and conſidering this damage, obliged the Dutch, by treaty, to keep at eighty miles diſtance from their ſhores in their fiſhery; and themſelves to pay a tribute at the port of Aberdeen; where a tower was erected for that and other purpoſes, at which the Dutch paid that tribute even in the memory of our fathers; although by the diſtractions, &c. of ſucceeding times the ſame be now quite neglected.'

In his 4th and laſt chapter, he endeavours to prove, by quotations from civilians, &c. that the ſea (the paſſage of ſtrangers within his propoſed limits) is tributable, (and that Cepola particularly affirms this of the Venetian gulf), both on account of ſafeguards from pirates, and of the expenſe of maintaining beacons, and likewiſe for leave to fiſh within ſuch limits.

But as neither he, nor any one elſe, ever undertook to fix exactly any certain mark whereby to know the limits ſo claimed in the ſea, this occaſioned the Hollanders in thoſe days to ſay ſcoffingly, that if the Engliſh would pleaſe to fix paliſadoes round the ſeas they claimed as their property, they would willingly ſubmit to their claim. Otherwiſe, whilſt the ſea remained ſo unfixed, indiviſible, and uncertain, they ſhould continue to uſe it in common with all other nations, both for navigation and fiſhery. To ſay the truth, what has been obſerved by others, carries obvious demonſtration and reaſon with it, viz. that a claim to any uncertain dominion implies a kind of nullity in it; and would alſo be productive of an infinity of contentions: ſeeing it is impoſſible for the moſt innocent and intelligent to know exactly the limits of ſuch a claimed dominion; nor, conſequently, can they always be able to avoid encroaching on it, ſince the claimers themſelves are unable to fix any marks to their limits.

Till now the Engliſh Eaſt-India trade was carried on by ſundry ſeparate ſtocks, making particular running-voyages; but in this year they united all into one general joint capital ſtock. Yet it ſeems to have been a great overſight, that even for ſome years after this conſolidation of ſtock, they did not (like the Portugueſe and Dutch) erect any forts nor permanent ſettlements in India. They ſent but one ſhip this year on the joint-ſtock account.

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1613.—The conſideration of the voyage of Richard Chancelor, &c. in the laſt century, from Ruſſia, down the great river Volga, and croſs the Caſpian ſea into Perſia, where he attempted to trade with Engliſh manufactures, &c. for Perſian and Indian merchandize, put Sir Henry Nevill upon a ſcheme of the like nature, for bringing the whole trade of Perſia, and the inland parts of India, up the river Hydaſpes (a branch of the Indus), and thence over land to the river Oxus, which falls into the Caſpian ſea, thence croſs that ſea, and up the Volga to a ſmall land-carriage, which would bring them to the river Dwina, and thence down to Archangel. This project was communicated by John Chamberlain, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, at the Hague, and is printed in his Memorials of affairs of ſtate [*V.* iii]; but this letter-writer very juſtly thought it a matter of no ſmall difficulty. The ſcheme, however, as far as relates to Perſia acroſs the Caſpian, has in our days been found practicable by the Ruſſia company, for importing raw ſilks, till the continual troubles in Perſia have again interrupted it.

In this year ſixty-two perſons from England had a grant of lands in Newfoundland: they pretended to have raiſed wheat, rye, and garden-ſtuff there; yet it is ſince found that neither wheat nor any grain will proſper on that iſland. Thoſe planters, however, ſoon grew weary of their attempts, which by no means anſwered their expectations, and therefor transferred their grant to other new adventurers.

In this 10th year of King James's reign, he coined the pound weight of gold into L44 by tale, of the old ſtandard of 23 carrats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains, fine. He alſo coined gold this ſame year of baſer allay, viz. of 22 carrats fine, into L40: 18: 4, by tale; the pieces being units of 22*ſ*, double crowns 11*ſ*, Britain crowns 5*ſ*6, thiſtle crowns 4*ſ*4$\frac{3}{4}$, half Britain crowns 2*ſ*9 each; a very ſtrange fancy, of having gold coins of different fineneſs! wherein he was followed by his ſon.

In the treaty of peace and commerce, between King Chriſtiern IV of Denmark, and Guſtavus Adolphus of Sweden, under the mediation of King James I of Great Britain, we find the following articles relating to commerce.

'I) Both nations may freely trade to each other's country, without 'paying any cuſtom or duty.

'II) The Swedes ſhall freely paſs the Sound with their ſhips without 'paying toll there, either for perſons or goods; excepting in the caſe 'of foreign liquors, for which the Swedes muſt pay the ſame toll as 'Daniſh ſubject themſelves do.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 738.]

The Engliſh Ruſſia company having this year obtained of King James a charter, excluding all others (natives as well as foreigners) from ſailing to Spitzbergen, they proſecuted the whale-fiſhery with ſuch reſolution, that this year they equipped ſeven armed ſhips; wherewith they

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drove from thoſe ſeas, not only fifteen ſail of Dutch, French, and Biſcayners, but even four Engliſh ſeparate fiſhers, to whom they gave the Dutch appellation of interlopers. They alſo ſet up a croſs, with the king's arms on it, at Spitzbergen, calling it King James's Newland. And they obliged ſome French ſhips, which they had permitted to fiſh there, to pay them a tribute of eight whales. This was that company's ſecond equipment expreſsly for whale-fiſhing there.

This year Captain Saris, in the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's ſervice, arrived the firſt of any of our nation at the port of Firando, in the iſle of Bungo or Ximo, a part of the empire of Japan, the governor of which received him civilly, and got him introduced to the emperor at Meaco, his capital city, to whom he delivered our king's letter and preſents, and who made ſuitable returns, and gave liberty for the Engliſh company to trade to Japan. At Firando Saris ſettled an Engliſh factory, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Portugueſe jeſuits there, and the Dutch, who did him all the ill offices in their power. Our company continued for ſome years to trade thither; but were afterward excluded, together with all other Europeans, the Dutch only excepted. Saris returned home to Plymouth the following year with a cargo of pepper from Bantam.

Complaints being made of the decreaſe of the exportation of Engliſh woollen cloth, and of the increaſe of the woollen manufactures of Holland, ſo far that the Dutch had laid a conſiderable duty on all foreign woollen cloth imported into Holland, where alſo great immunities and privileges were granted to foreign manufacturers, a motion was made in the privy-council by the earl of Middleſex, lord high treaſurer, and a conſequent order of that board was made, that a general ſtate ſhould be taken of the exports and imports of all England for this year, in order to know on which ſide the balance lay; which ſtood thus, (as given us in an ingenious treatiſe, intitled, the Circle of commerce, publiſhed in 1623, *p.* 121, by Edward Miſſelden, Eſq. an eminent merchant, viz.

1. Exports to all the world, between Chriſtmas 1612 and Chriſtmas 1613 - - - - - - -	L2,090,640 11 8
2. The cuſtom on thoſe goods, - - -	86,794 16 2
3. The impoſt paid outwards on woollen goods, tin, lead, and pewter, - - - - -	10,000 0 0
4. The merchants gains, freight, and other petty charges, - - - - - - - -	300,000 0 0
Total exports,	L2,487,435 7 10
Imported, during that time, in ſilks, Venice gold and ſilver ſtuffs, Spaniſh wines, linen, and other merchandize, with all the cuſtom thereon, -	2,141,151 10 0
Balance gained this year to the nation, -	L346,283 17 10

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We have likewiſe, from the ſame very credible author, the total amount of the cuſtoms of England for this year 1613, viz.

	London.	*Out-ports.*	*Total.*
Outward,	L61,322 16 7	L25,471 19 7	L86,794 16 2
Inward,	48,250 1 9	13,030 9 9	61,280 11 6
	L109,572 18 4	L38,502 9 4	L148,075 7 8

Thus we ſee, that London paid then very near thrice as much for cuſtoms as all the reſt of England together.

1614.—King James commiſſioned Sir Henry Wootton his ambaſſador extraordinary to the ſtates of the United provinces and others, to treat with the commiſſaries of their high mightineſſes, concerning the differences between the ſubjects of the two nations, on account of the free commerce of his ſubjects to the Eaſt-Indies obſtructed by the Hollanders, and alſo on account of the fiſhery in the North ſea, near the ſhores of Greenland, of right ſolely belonging to him and his people, but interrupted alſo by the Hollanders. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 774.]

George Spilbergen now ſailed from Holland, with five ſhips, through the ſtraits of Magellan, and did great miſchief to the Spaniards in the South ſea, &c. and thence he ſailed round the globe, by the way ſettling a factory at Ternate, the chief of the Molucco iſles, and returned home by the Cape of Good Hope in 1617. This is the ſecond voyage round the globe performed by the Hollanders.

This year produced the diſcovery of a new ſpecies of woollen manufacture in England, on the following occaſion. The ſtates general of the United Netherlands having iſſued a placart, prohibiting the importation of any Engliſh woollen cloth that was dyed in the cloth, (becauſe it prevented them from dying and dreſſing them as formerly) upon pain of confiſcation of the goods, and of 25 gilders per cloth beſides, the Engliſh clothiers ingeniouſly fell upon the way of making mixtures dyed in the wool, rather than loſe all the advantages of dying and dreſſing. This has ever ſince got the appellation of medley cloth. All woollen cloth before this time being only of one ſingle colour dyed in the cloth, as black, blue, red, &c.

The Ruſſia company now ſent thirteen ſhips to Greenland, and the Dutch eighteen ſhips, four of which were ſhips of war of the ſtates, where they fiſhed in ſpite of the Engliſh company's excluſive pretenſions.

About this time, the fine iſland of Barbadoes, in the Weſt-Indies, was ſaid to be diſcovered and ſettled on by ſome Engliſh people. Others ſay, it was before diſcovered by one of Sir William Courten's ſhips, but had then no inhabitants, nor any beaſts but hogs, left there by the Spaniards as uſual, for their own future conveniency: and Courten's heirs

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affirm, that he then planted and fortified it, but was diſpoſſeſſed in the year 1629, by the earl of Carliſle. It is the mother of all our Weſt-India ſugar iſlands, and the chief of the Caribbees; and it has proved of exceeding great conſequence to the kingdom by its excellent productions, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to obſerve.

Lord Napier, a Scottiſh nobleman, now invented thoſe excellent artificial numbers called logarithms, which are ſo uſeful in operations of trigonometry, &c. by performing, in the eaſieſt manner, by addition, the office of multiplication, and by ſubtraction that of diviſion; whereby they are of great and ſpecial utility to mariners at ſea, in calculations relating to their courſe, diſtance, latitude, longitude, &c.

The famous market for live-cattle, horſes, and hay, in London, named Weſt-Smithfield, was become ſo miry and naſty, that it was now found neceſſary to pave it for the firſt time.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company ſent out, on the joint ſtock account, four ſhips, with which they defeated a Portugueſe fleet in India, by whom they were attacked: at Surat, they loaded indigo and Cambaya cloths; and at Bantam, mace and ſilk. Great complaints were made againſt the Dutch by our people, both at Bantam and Macaſſar, the particulars whereof are in all our accounts of voyages.

The Eaſt-India commerce of England becoming very conſiderable, King James at the Eaſt-India company's requeſt and expenſe, appointed Sir Thomas Rowe his and the company's ambaſſador to the great mogul, to treat for a commercial intercourſe with Eaſt-India. This was the firſt royal embaſſy from England to that remote country, and will probably be the laſt; the company ever ſince managing their concerns at the eaſtern courts by their own proper and more private agents *. This able miniſter, however, ſent the company very good intelligence and inſtructions concerning the mercenary and treacherous temper and diſpoſition of the mogul and his miniſters, and for the advancement of their trade; all which are to be found at large in the printed collections of voyages. He remained in India ſeveral years; in which time the following European goods were the moſt acceptable in India, viz. knives of all ſorts and faſhions, toys of the figures of beaſts, rich velvets and ſattins, good fowling-pieces, poliſhed coral and amber beads, ſaddles with rich furniture, ſwords with fine hilts, inlaid, &c. hats, choice pictures, wines of Alicant, &c. cloth of gold and ſilver, flowered ſilks of gold and ſilver, French ſhaggs, and fine Engliſh Norwich ſtuffs, fine light armour, emeralds, &c. finely ſet in enamelled work, fine arras hangings, large looking-glaſſes, quivers of arrows and fine bows, figures of braſs or ſtone,

* Sir Thomas Rowe freely adviſed the Eaſt-India company to ſend no more ſpecial ambaſſadors to India, as they could not live in due honour there; and a meaner agent would better effect their buſineſs with the haughty Moors.

I.

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fine cabinets, embroidered purſes, needle-work, French tweezer-caſes, table-books, perfumed gloves, belts, girdles, bone-lace, dogs of various natures, plumes of feathers, comb-caſes richly embroidered, prints of kings, &c. caſes of ſtrong waters, drinking and perſpective glaſſes, fine baſons and ewers: in general, any thing curious for workmanſhip, not then known in India; all which things, ſays he, will ſell for ready money at good prices.

It ſeems the Portugueſe, by their tyranny and cruelty, had by this time rendered themſelves extremely odious to all the Eaſt-Indian nations, who were well pleaſed to ſee the Engliſh and Dutch dayly gaining ground upon them: yet we alſo ſtill find complaints againſt the Hollanders in India by our people.

The Engliſh company by this time had factories at Bantam, Jacatra (ſince called Batavia), Surat, Amadavar, Agra, Aſmere, Brampore, Calecut, Maſulipatan, Patan, Siam, Benjar, Soccadania, Macaſſar, Acheen, Jambi, Tecoo, Banda, and at Firando in Japan.——From many of which the company have ſince withdrawn their factories, and from ſome others of them the Dutch have long ſince wormed us out. The four ſhips of this voyage traded at Bantam and Sumatra, for pepper, &c. and returned in 1617.

Peyton, the hiſtorian of this voyage, obſerves, that our company were only ſettled on ſufferance in ſome parts of India, while the Portugueſe were maſters of the following numerous and widely diſperſed ſettlements, viz.

'On the north-eaſt coaſt of Africa,

'They had a trade on the river Quam, in 21 degrees 50 minutes, 'ſouth latitude, and at Mozambique, for gold, ambergris, ivory, and 'ſlaves.

'At Mombaza, for the ſame, in barter for Guzarat commodities.

'At Magadoxa, for the ſame, and for ſeveral ſorts of drugs. And from 'all thoſe places they drove a trade to Cambaya, to the Red ſea, and to 'many other parts.

'In the gulf of Perſia,

'At Ormus, they make a profitable trade thence to Perſia, Arabia, 'and India. Hither they bring quantities of pearls from Balſora, and 'with them and other Perſian commodities, they ſend a ſhip or two an-'nually to Diu in India; and next to Goa: this is their beſt port.

'In Arabia,

'At Maſcat they have a ſtrong fort, though no great trade: but be-'ing domineering maſters there, they keep all in ſervile awe, giving out 'their licences for the veſſels to go from place to place.

'In Indoſtan, &c.

'At Diul, near the mouth of the Indus, and at Diu, in Guzarat, 'they have very ſtrong caſtles.

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'At Daman alſo they have a ſtrong caſtle, and entirely inhabit the 'place, with a territory of 100 villages.

'Serra de Bazion, a little ſouth of Daman, they are poſſeſſed of; and 'between it and Chaul, the three ports of Gazien, Banda, and Maia.

'They likewiſe poſſeſs the large city and caſtle of Chaul.

'At Daubul, they have a factory, but no fort.

'Goa is their Indian metropolis, the ſeat of their viceroy and of all 'the gallantry of the nation, and the general rendezvous of all their 'forces. Goa has alſo a large ſhare of trade; and, in ſhort, there are 'the ſtrong ſinews that hold together the parts of their eaſtern empire.

'At Onor and Barcelor, they have forts, and trade for pepper, ginger, 'and drugs. They have alſo Mangalor and Cananor, fortified and traded 'to as the former.

'And though they are quite ſhut out from Calecut, and are beſieged 'at Cranganor, yet they have the ſtrong city and caſtle of Cochin, with 'a conſiderable trade and a favourable ſituation for it.

'They have Coulan, Quilaon, and Taccatra, well fortified, and moſt-'ly filled with Portugueſe, both laity and clergy.

'On the great iſland of Ceylon, the ports and forts of Punta de Galla 'and Columbo are wholely theirs; and they are dayly increaſing their 'dominion in this iſland, where they have a warm trade for cinnamon 'and drugs.

'On the eaſt ſide of the continent they have a factory at Negapatan; 'and Maliapore, (or St. Thomas) a walled city, is their own.

'Thence to the Ganges, they have ſeveral ſmall reſidences, good fac-'tories in ſome places, and every where ſome advantage, that makes it 'worth their while to ſettle there.

'In the kingdom of Bengal they are poſſeſſed of a good town.

'In Pegu they have a factory, and alſo at Aracan, and upon the river 'of Martaban.

'At Junſulao, they have a great factory, from whence they ſhip vaſt 'quantities of tin for the Malabar coaſt.

'At Malacca, they are maſters of the city and caſtle, both very ſtrong; 'whereby they command the beſt part of the trade of the adjoining 'countries.

'At Macao, an iſland on the coaſt of China, near the mouth of the 'river of Canton, they have a city and caſtle, and a great trade with 'the Chineſe.

'In Japan, they have no fort nor caſtle, but only a factory; the wiſe 'prince of that country (ſays our author) keeping them at arms length.'

Of all theſe poſſeſſions, and their prodigious power in India, there remains now ſcarcely a veſtige, except the general uſe of the Portugueſe language in the ports of India. An intereſting memento to all other nations.

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1615.—We have elſewhere obſerved, that, from the very commencement of the Engliſh commerce to Eaſt-India, there was a ſpirit raiſed at home againſt it: that ſpirit ſtill continued, and a ſmall tract was now publiſhed, entitled, the Trade's increaſe, wherein we meet with the following plauſible objections to it, viz.

That to follow the Eaſt-India trade, they had neglected that to Ruſſia, in which, laſt year, there were only two ſhips employed, inſtead of ſeventeen great ſhips formerly employed by the company, beſide thoſe of interlopers: whereas the Dutch, in this year, ſent out thirty-five ſhips thither. To which it was replied, by Sir Dudley Diggs, that the Eaſt-India company had ſpent L120,000 in diſcoveries only, towards Ruſſia,—and do yet make good a ſtock not only for defending their fiſhing of the whale at Greenland, which at their own charge was firſt diſcovered, and the Biſcayners ſent for by them, to teach our nation to kill the whales.

The Engliſh Turkey company's complaints againſt the Eaſt-India company ſeemed to be better, or at leaſt more ſpeciouſly, grounded, viz. that the trade of the later had leſſened theirs to the Levant, to which parts they now ſent thirty ſhips fewer than formerly; whereas the Dutch now employed above one hundred ſail to the Levant; though the author of the complaint owns they were principally laden with Engliſh lead, tin, Norwich ſtuffs, &c. He complains of the loſs of ſeveral Eaſt-India ſhips, and of the death of many of their ſailors, whereby (ſays he) when the royal fleet was to be fitted out for conveying the Lady Elizabeth to her ſpouſe the elector palatine, there was a neceſſity for a general preſs.

The above quoted author, in ſpeaking of obſolete reſtraints on the fiſhing on the coaſts of other nations, obſerves,

'I) That the antient cuſtom of the Hollanders and Flemings, before 'they began their fiſhing for herrings on our coaſts, was, to crave leave 'of the governor of Scarborough caſtle.

'II) On that part of the coaſt of Norway called Malſtrand, all 'ſtrangers may fiſh only till Chriſtmas; after which they muſt pay a 'certain tax on every laſt of herrings to the king of Denmark.

'III) And I can remember, that certain of our merchants of Hull 'had their ſhips and goods taken away, and themſelves impriſoned, for 'fiſhing about the Wardhouſe, at the North Cape in Norwegian Lap-'land.'

To all which Sir Dudley Diggs replied, in a maſterly manner, in this ſame year, in a treatiſe intitled, the Defence of trade, inſcribed to his kinſman Sir Thomas Smith, governor of the Eaſt-India company. Wherein (after accounting for the loſs of ſhips and men) he gives a liſt of all the ſhips they had employed from the beginning, being only twenty-four in number, four of which had been loſt.—That one of

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their ſhips was of 1293 tons burden, one of 1100, one of 1060, one of 900, one of 800, and the reſt from 600 down to 150 tons. Their ſhip of 800 tons was bought of the Levant company: and he conceives the ground for having ſuch large ſhips in the Levant trade to be, becauſe our royal navy was not as yet conſiderable enough to protect our trading ſhips from the Barbary rovers. And the like alſo may be alleged for the Eaſt-India ſhips. He ſays, that our Eaſt-India company's greateſt ſtock (i. e. the value of goods and money exported), in any one year, was but L36,000, and that the nation ſaves annually L70,000 in the prices of pepper, cloves, mace, and nutmegs, merely for home-conſumption. That of theſe ſpices they exported laſt year to the value of L218,000 beſide indigo, calicoes, China ſilks, benjamin, aloes, &c. * A conſiderable addition this to the national ſtock. To which ſhould be added the king's cuſtom, and alſo the employment given to ſhips and mariners in the re-exportations.

That, beſide cinnamon, the company computed that we annually conſumed at home the following quantities of ſpices, viz.

Pepper (formerly 8/ now but 2/ per lb.),	450,000 pounds weight.
Cloves,	50,000
Mace,	15,000
Nutmegs,	100,000
Total,	615,000 pounds weight.

And that the cloves, mace, and nutmegs, are proportionably reduced in price, ſince our direct trade to India.

Next, he gives the outſet and cargoes of the company's trade for the year 1614, viz.

'In bays, kerſies, and broad-cloths, dyed and dreſſed, to the kingdom's beſt advantage,	L14,000	0	0
'Lead, iron, and foreign merchandize,	10,000	0	0
'Ready money in all the ſhips (and which was leſs than is allowed by their charters),	12,000	0	0
'Total,	L36,000	0	0
'The ſame year, their ſhipping and furniture coſt them in fitting out,	34,000	0	0
'And for victuals and other extraordinary charges,	30,000	0	0
'Total outſet, anno 1614,	L100,000	0	0

The anonymous but acute author, whom Sir Dudley Diggs now anſwered, gives us a liſt of our ſhips employed in other branches of trade.

* There is no mention as yet of porcelain or tea.

Porcelain is mentioned by Elkington as part of the cargo of the ſhip New-Year's-Gift taken in at Bantam in this ſame year. [*Purchas, L.* iv, *c.* 12, § 1.] *M.*

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'We trade to Naples, Genoa, Leghorn, Marſeilles, Malaga, &c. with only 20 ſhips, chiefly with herrings; and 30 ſail more laden with pipe-ſtaves from Ireland.

'—To Portugal and Andaluſia, we ſend 20 ſhips for wines, ſugar, fruit, and Weſt-India drugs.

'—To Bourdeaux, we ſend 60 ſhips and barks for wines.

'—To Hamburgh and Middleburgh, 35 ſhips are ſent by our merchant-adventurers company.

'—To Dantzick, Koningſberg, &c. we ſend yearly about 30 ſhips, viz. ſix from London, ſix from Ipſwich, and the reſt from Hull, Lynn, and Newcaſtle: but the Dutch many more.

'—To Norway, we ſend not above 5 ſhips, and the Dutch above 40; and great ſhips too.

'—Our Newcaſtle coal-trade employs 400 ſail of ſhips, viz. 200 for ſupplying of London, and 200 more for the reſt of England.

'And beſides our own ſhips,' (ſays this author) 'hither, even to the mine's mouth, come all our neighbouring nations with their ſhips continually, employing their own ſhipping and mariners. I doubt not,' (continues he) 'whether if they had ſuch a treaſure, they would not employ their own ſhipping ſolely therein. The French ſail thither in whole fleets of 50 ſail together; ſerving all their ports of Picardie, Normandie, Bretagne, &c. even as far as Rochel and Bourdeaux. And the ſhips of Bremen, Embden, Holland, and Zeeland, ſupply thoſe of Flanders, &c. whoſe ſhipping is not great, with our coals!

'—Our Iceland fiſhery employs 120 ſhips and barks of our own.

'—And the Newfoundland fiſhery, 150 ſmall ſhips.' [Yet Gerard Malynes, in his Lex Mercatoria (printed anno 1622, *p.* 247), ſays, that this very year there were 250 ſhips from England at the Newfoundland fiſhery, the tonnage of which amounted to 15,000 tons. And that the French, Biſcayners, and Portugueſe, can make two voyages yearly with 400 ſhips.]

'—And our Greenland whale fiſhery, 14 ſhips.

'As for the Bermudas,' (ſays he) 'we know not yet what they will do; and for Virginia, we know not what to do with it; the preſent profit of thoſe two colonies not employing any ſtore of ſhipping.—— The great expenſe that the nobility and gentry have been at in planting Virginia is no way recompenſed by the poor returns from thence *.'

* How much is the caſe altered ſince this author wrote? And how great a fund of authentic mercantile hiſtory have ſuch old tracts ſupplied us with, which otherwiſe might have been loſt; many of which have been collected with great labour and expenſe; and therefor ought to be made a beginning to a public mercantile library, in order to preſerve ſuch valuable memoirs from deſtruction.

Judicious readers need not to be told, that ſuch memoirs as theſe, concerning the ſtate of trade and ſhipping, in different periods, drawn from facts, written by ſuch able authors as lived at the reſpective times, tend moſt effectually to illuſtrate the vaſt increaſe of, and ſurpriſing alterations in, our commerce, colonies, &c. and the like alſo in thoſe of other nations.

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This author finally urges the extenſion of our fiſheries by motives drawn from the prodigious profits of the Dutch from their fiſhery, in which there have been numbered in ſight 2000 ſail of buſſes, employing 37,000 fiſhermen, going out to ſea at once.

The great Henry IV had erected an Eaſt-India company in France in the year 1604; and his ſon Louis XIII gave them a new charter: but they remained inactive till this year, when their ſhips took poſſeſſion of the great iſland of Madagaſcar, which not anſwering their expectations, the company and trade were wholely dropt.

This year, Dr. William Vaughan, calling himſelf a ſervant of King James, attempted a ſettlement on Newfoundland, at the expenſe of his own fortune. He carried thither a number of his countrymen of Wales, and gave his plantation the name of Cambriol, being in the ſouth part of that iſland. His ſcheme was for the fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland to go hand in hand with his plantation. In a book publiſhed by him, intitled, *the Golden fleece*, [4to, 1626] he tells us alſo, that the Lord Falkland and Sir George Calvert, afterwards created Lord Baltimore, made a ſettlement on the north end of that iſland at a great expenſe in the years 1621 and 1622: yet, as we have elſewhere obſerved, no permanent plantation has ever been made on that cold and barren iſland to this day. In the ſame year, Sir Henry Maynard, with five ſtout ſhips, was ſent thither for protecting the fiſhery, which was ſo conſiderable that there were 170 Engliſh ſhips there together. According to the acute author of the Trade's increaſe, publiſhed in this year, our trade to Spain and Portugal was very low at this time, ſcarcely employing 500 ſeamen; owing, he thinks, to our long wars with that crown in Queen Elizabeth's days.

The Ruſſia company now ſent out two ſhips and two pinnaces to Spitzbergen, ſtill, by our voyagers, called Greenland, and the Dutch ſent thither eleven, and alſo three ſhips of war to protect them. At the ſame time, the court of Denmark ſent three ſhips of war thither, being the firſt Daniſh ſhips ſeen there; yet they alſo pretended to demand toll of the Engliſh ſhips, but the Engliſh refuſed it, alleging that Greenland (i. e. Spitzbergen) belonged ſolely to the king of England. This humour of an excluſive claim to that remote, dangerous, and vaſtly extended ſea, where there was no land territory that was habitable, and which therefor could not eaſily be ſupported, held on through all King James's reign, and was at leaſt as unreaſonable as even the Portugueſe excluſive claims ſouthward; in ſuch inſtances, vainly copied by our own and other nations, at the ſame time that we condemn both Spain and Portugal for doing the like! So blind are moſt men whilſt their own immediate intereſt is in queſtion!

1616.—By the dexterity of Penſionary Barnevelt, the Dutch ambaſſador extraordinary in England, and of Caroon their ambaſſador in or-

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dinary, the cautionary towns of Flushing, Briel, and Rammekins, were, in the year 1616, evacuated by King James's order: the sum due by the states-general to England had been adjusted by Queen Elizabeth to be eight millions of gilders: but King James was prevailed on to accept 2,728,000 gilders, in lieu of the eight millions; and also remitted eighteen years interest on the same. This was a most politic step in the Dutch, since, while England held those fastnesses, the states were very much at the mercy of our nation. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 783.]

King James gave a commission to Sir Walter Raleigh, and such as he should join with him, to undertake a voyage unto the south parts of America, or elsewhere in America, possessed and inhabited by heathen and savage people, to discover some commodities in those countries that be necessary and profitable for the subjects of these our kingdoms. We being credibly informed, that there are diverse merchants and owners of ships, and others, well disposed to assist the said Sir Walter Raleigh, in his enterprize, had they sufficient assurance to enjoy their parts of the profits returned, in respect of the peril of law wherein the said Sir Walter Raleigh now standeth! And we being also informed, that diverse other the kinsmen and friends of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and diverse captains and other commanders, are also desirous to follow him, and to venture their lives with him in this journey;—we have granted full power to him, and free liberty to carry and lead out of this realm, or elsewhere, all such of our loving subjects as shall willingly accompany him, together with ships, arms, ammunition, wares, merchandize, &c.: and he to be the sole governor and commander of the said people, with power of martial law, &c.; and also power to appoint under him such captains, officers, &c. as he shall judge proper: and to bring home gold and silver, pretious stones and other merchandize: and to dispose thereof at his and his partners pleasure, paying to us one fifth part of the gold, silver, and pretious stones, and also the usual duties for the other merchandize. And we do grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh, that these our letters patent shall be firm and sufficient in law, &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvi, *p.* 789.]

William Baffin sailed for the discovery of a north-west passage to China, as far as the seventy-eighth degree of north latitude, and gave name to a bay in those seas, but he returned home without being able to find any passage. This undertaking was at the charge of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir John Wolstenholme, &c. directors of the Russia company, &c. In his letter to the last named gentleman, he says, 'that having, in three years time, coasted all, or near all, the 'circumference of Davis's straits, he found it to be no other than a 'great bay, and no hopes of a passage. But that some advantage may 'be made of this voyage, since there are here very great plenty of those 'whales called by the biscayners, the grand bay whales; the same may

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'be purſued, and good ſtore of oil may be made between the middle of 'July and the laſt day of Auguſt.'

Nor were the Hollanders at all behind us in new enterprizes; for this ſame year William Cornelitz Schouten and James Le Maire, performed the third Dutch circumnavigation of the globe. Such as were not of their Eaſt-India company being prohibited to go to India either by the Cape of Good Hope eaſtward, or weſtward through the ſtraits of Magellan, ſome now began to think there might be another paſſage thither weſtward, ſomewhere ſouth of thoſe ſtraits. This was firſt ſtarted by Le Maire, a merchant of Amſterdam, joined by William Cornelitz Schouten, a merchant of Hoorne. In the year 1615 they fitted out two ſhips, one of which was loſt by fire at Port Deſire, under the command of the latter. Schouten, who paſſing on ſouth from the Magellanic ſtraits, found a new and ſafer ſtrait, which he named after his partner Le Maire, through which he ſailed into the South ſea, and having ſailed almoſt into the 60th degree of ſouth latitude, he got round the Cape, which he named after his town of Hoorne, on the iſle named Terra del Fuego, lying in 57 degrees 48 minutes; thence croſſing the great Southern ocean, he came to Jacatra, (ſince named Batavia,) where, notwithſtanding this new and great diſcovery, the ſhip and goods were ſeized by the preſident of the Dutch Eaſt-India company, in the year 1516. Schouten and his men took their paſſage home in one of that company's ſhips, having performed their whole circumnavigation in two years and eighteen days.

The Dutch found a ſhorter paſſage to India in the year 1623, by the ſtraits of Naſſau, north-weſt of Le Maire's ſtrait; and another ſtill ſhorter by Brower's ſtraits in 1643. But ſince the powers of Europe have made treaties about the Eaſt-India commerce, that ſouth-weſt paſſage is ſeldom uſed, unleſs for illicit commerce with the Spaniſh territories in the South ſea, or by powers at war with Spain.

Very early in the ſeventeenth century, the Algerines, and by their example thoſe of Tunis and Tripoli, began to uſe ſquare-rigged ſhips, and to drop galleys and galliots. [*Morgan's Hiſt. of Algiers, V.* ii, *p.* 628.] According to a letter of Sir Francis Cottington, the Engliſh miniſter in Spain, to the duke of Buckingham, the fleet of thoſe corſairs now conſiſted of forty ſail of tall ſhips, their admiral being of 500 tons burden, with which they ſtruck terror all along the Spaniſh coaſts, dividing their force into two ſquadrons, with one of which they blocked up the port of Malaga, and with the other they cruiſed between Liſbon and Seville. Conſidering the mean ſtate of the naval ſtrength of the chriſtian powers of Europe in thoſe times, this was truely a formidable fleet: but thoſe rovers are ſcarcely able in our days to ſend out ſuch a fleet; and, on the other hand, the chriſtian powers are ſince become much more powerful at ſea.

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The Engliſh Eaſt-India company now ſent out five ſhips of 1000, 900, 800, 400, and 150 tons burden: and this was called their fifth voyage on the joint ſtock; yet we have not yet met with any account of their fourth voyage. In this voyage they took a Portugueſe ſhip loaded with elephants teeth, which they landed at Surat, together with their own cargoes of coral, cloth, tin, wines, ſtrong waters, &c. Thence they went to Jacatra; but the Dutch, having a fort there already, uſed our factory (ſettled there by a grant from the king of Bantam) ſo rudely, that our people were obliged to attack their fleet; and ours being joined by Sir Thomas Dale, with ſix more ſhips from England, and other ſhips of the company's at Bantam, it conſiſted of thirteen ſail of good ſhips, whereby they beat the Dutch fleet near Jacatra, as they alſo did in another engagement on the coaſt of Sumatra: yet, in the end, five of our ſhips were taken by the Dutch, we having before taken one of theirs. In the mean time a ſhip from England brought an account of agreement at home between the two companies, which put an end to theſe hoſtilities. Afterwards our ſhips at Firando in Japan joined with the Dutch, who now ſhewed our people all friendſhip, in applications to the emperor, who granted all their requeſts. In their return to Bantam, they found a French ſhip trading there in the year 1621 *; and ours returned that year home, loaded with pepper, ſilk, cloves, and benjamin. In this voyage, one of our ſhips ſailed to Mocha in the Red ſea, and ſettled a factory there for the firſt time, by permiſſion of the Turkiſh aga.

The accounts given by the writers of voyages in thoſe times are often vague and confuſed. They pretend that the princes and chiefs of the Banda iſles, by a ſolemn writing, reſigned thoſe iſles, ſo famous for nutmegs and cloves, in full property to the king of Great Britain for ever; declaring that they never acknowleged the Dutch as their ſovereigns; and that, in token of their ſubjection, they would annually ſend a branch of nutmegs to our king. Whereupon our people erected forts there, and warned the Dutch to come thither no more; yet the later found means to ſurpriſe both our ſhips at Pooloway; and at Bantam, inſtead of a friendly accommodation of thoſe differences, the factories of the two companies fell to fighting; and the Dutch inſiſted on the iſle of Poolaroon as the condition of reſtoring our two ſhips; and, moreover, in 1618, they took two more of our ſhips.

This year eight ſhips from London and Plymouth ſailed to the country ſince called New England, whence they carried great quantities of fiſh and oil to Spain and Portugal, as they did alſo in the year 1618: but no ſettlement was yet made in that country.

* This was apparently the ſhip commanded by Beaulieu, who in the narrative of his voyage, publiſhed in Thevenot's *Relations de voyages*, ſays, that at different times in the year 1621 he met with two Engliſh ſhips at Acheen. *M.*

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1617.—King James, in the year 1604, and again in 1617, gave new charters to the company of merchant-adventurers, confirming all their former powers and privileges in trading to the Netherlands and Germany, with the woollen manufactures of England, excluſive of all who were not free of that company. Both theſe charters ſtill reſerved to the mayor, conſtables, and fellowſhip of the merchants of the ſtaple of England, full liberty to trade into the ſaid limits. 'Yet (according to 'Malynes their profeſſed enemy) the merchant-adventurers company 'increaſed their arbitrary proceedings more and more, and enlarged 'the ſums to be paid for the freedom thereof, &c. So that the merch-'ants of the ſtaple gradually loſt their privileges, and all others were 'compelled to conform to the rules and meaſures of the merchant-ad-'venturers company, whoſe members were at this time about 4000 'perſons,' i. e. in fact, almoſt all who traded in the woollen manufacture to Germany and the Netherlands.

King James being on his progreſs to Scotland, iſſued out a proclamation which, in our days, would be thought not a little arbitrary, ſtrictly commanding all noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, who have manſion-houſes in the country, to depart within twenty days after the date thereof, with their wives and families, out of the city and ſuburbs of London, and to return to their ſeveral habitations in the country, there to continue and abide until the end of the ſummer vacation, to perform the duties and charge of their places and ſervice; and likewiſe by houſekeeping, to be a comfort unto their neighbours, in order to renew and revive the laudable cuſtom of hoſpitality in their reſpective countries. Excepting however, ſuch as have neceſſary occaſion to attend in London for term buſineſs, or other urgent occaſions, to be ſignified to and approved by the privy council.

We may here obſerve, that Henry IV of France, after the peace of Vervins, iſſued a ſimilar proclamation (which poſſibly King James thought a good precedent, having likewiſe, on ſundry other occaſions, teſtified a fondneſs for imitating that able prince in matters of ſtate policy, perhaps without duely conſidering the difference of the conſtitution, temper, &c. of the two kingdoms) commanding his nobility and gentry to retire to their eſtates, improve their lands, and keep the peace of their reſpective countries.

The Dutch now fortified the iſland of Goree near Cape Verde on the African coaſt. The Engliſh, in the year 1663, took it from the Dutch, but reſtored it in 1664. In the year 1677 the French took it from the Dutch, and held it till the year 1758, when it was retaken by Great Britain. It is a ſmall barren iſle, ſaid to be deſtitute of wood and good water. But having a good harbour, it was convenient to the French, who had factories on the adjacent coaſt, where they traded for gold,

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ſlaves, hides, oſtrich-feathers, bees-wax, gum, ſenegal, (a very uſeful article) millet, ambergris, &c.

This year the quarrels at Spitzbergen about the whale-fiſhing ran very high between the Engliſh and Dutch, the former ſeizing on part of their oil: and this is the firſt time we find mention of fins or whalebone being brought home with the blubber or oil; although probably before this time it came into uſe for women's ſtays, &c. by means of the Biſcay whale-fiſhers.

1618.—In the next year King James (as king of Scotland) incorporated a number of Engliſh, Scots, and Zealanders, to be a new company to fiſh at Spitzbergen; and much ſhipping, proviſions, &c. were contracted for: yet, after all their preparations, this Scottiſh patent was annulled; and it was agreed, that the Eaſt-India adventurers ſhould ſtill join ſtock with the Ruſſia company, and be one joint company for the whale-fiſhery. Thirteen ſhips were thereupon ſent thither; but the Zealanders proving ſuperior there, and being exaſperated at the ſeizure of their oil, &c. laſt year, and their diſappointment by reſcinding the Scottiſh patent, attacked, overpowered, rifled, and diſperſed the Engliſh ſhips; moſt of which returned home empty.

The method of managing the whale-fiſhing of both nations was then quite different from what it is in our days. The whales in thoſe early times having never been diſturbed, (ſay our voyagers) reſorted to the bays near the ſhore, whereby their blubber was eaſily landed at Spitzbergen, where they erected cookeries (i. e. coppers, &c.) for boiling their oil, which they left ſtanding from year to year, and only brought home the purified oil and the whalebone. The Engliſh having been the firſt in that fiſhery, kept poſſeſſion of the beſt bays. The Dutch, coming later, were obliged to find bays farther north: yet the Danes, who came later into this trade than the Dutch, got in between the Engliſh and Dutch. The Hamburghers came after the Danes; and after them came the French, and alſo the Biſcayners, who, though older whale-fiſhers than any in Europe, except the Norwegians, had not however fallen into this method, but by the example of England and the reſt, and who were forced to ſet up their cookeries ſtill farther off. But ſince thoſe times the whales are leſs frequent in the bays, and are moſt commonly among the openings of the ice farther from land, which obliges the ſhips to follow them thither. So that the blubber is now cut from the whales in ſmall pieces at the ſhip's ſide, and brought home in caſks to be boiled and purified, and the whale fins alſo to be cleaned. This later method, however, of fiſhing being often found dangerous and perilous to ſhipping, diſcouraged our Engliſh adventurers, who then traded in a company, ſo that they ſoon after relinquiſhed that fiſhery, and ſo it remained till the reign of King Charles II.

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The Engliſh Eaſt-India company, ſending out ſix ſhips in the year 1618 for India, under the command in chief of Sir Thomas Dale, King James, to add the greater weight to that voyage, granted him a ſpecial commiſſion to govern that fleet, as well by common as by martial law. Alſo to ſeize on the ſhips and merchandize of any others of his ſubjects who ſhould be found navigating within the company's limits without their licence; half the value of ſuch ſeizures to belong to the crown, and the other half to the company. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 56.]

We have ſeen King James's commiſſion to Sir Walter Raleigh for the project of finding the ſuppoſed rich gold mines of Guiana. In the year following he ſailed out on that adventure with twelve ſhips, two of which deſerted him before he arrived at Guiana, where, however, he could never find the marks he had left there; although his ſon and Captain Kemys ſailed a vaſt way up the river Oronoco in queſt of them to no purpoſe. But, being narrowly watched by Count Gondemar, the Spaniſh miniſter at King James's court, and perhaps, as many think, given up to be a ſacrifice to the projected match between Charles prince of Wales and the infanta of Spain; King James was induced this year to iſſue a proclamation, 'that whereas he had licenced Raleigh and others to undertake a voyage to Guiana, where they pretended great probabilities to make diſcovery of rich gold mines; in which licence we did, by expreſs limitation and caution, reſtrain them from any act of hoſtility, wrong, or violence, upon the territories of any princes in amity with us, and more peculiarly of thoſe of our dear brother the king of Spain. All which notwithſtanding, we are ſince informed by common fame, that they have, by an hoſtile invaſion of the town of St. Thome, being under the obedience of our ſaid dear brother the king of Spain, and by killing divers of the inhabitants thereof, his ſubjects, and after burning and ſacking the ſaid town, maliciouſly broken and infringed the peace and amity which hath been ſo happily eſtabliſhed, and ſo long inviolably continued, between us and the ſubjects of both our crowns: we have therefor held it fit, to make a public declaration of our utter miſlike and deteſtation of the ſaid inſolencies and exceſſes. And, for the clearing of the truth of the ſaid common fame, we do hereby ſtrictly charge all our ſubjects that have any particular underſtanding and notice thereof, immediately to diſcover the ſame to ſome of our privy council, upon pain of our high diſpleaſure,' &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 90.]

Upon Raleigh's return without gold, King James diſavowed his having given him authority to ſail to Guiana, although he had privately received of him a ſcheme of the whole deſign, with a particular deſcription of the country and the river Oronoco, &c. He could not, however, be put to death on account of this enterprize, becauſe he had the king's commiſſion for it; but as he had been found guilty, in 1603, of a pre-

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tended conſpiracy with Lord Grey, &c. for dethroning King James, in favour of Lady Arabella Stuart, and kept twelve years in the tower of London, (where he wrote the firſt part of his Hiſtory of the world,) to pleaſe the court of Spain he was now, in the 77th year of his age, executed on that old ſentence, to the no ſmall diſreputation of King James, and the infinite regret of all good men.

The king granted an excluſive patent for twenty-one years to John Gilbert, for the ſole making and vending of an inſtrument which he called a water-plough; for taking up ſand, gravel, &c. out of rivers and havens *: and of an engine alſo invented by him, for raiſing water in greater quantity than heretofor known, and to be moved and driven either by ſome ſtream of water, or, for want of that, by ſtrength of horſes, for draining coal-pits and other mines. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 102.]

A proclamation was iſſued, prohibiting buildings on new foundations in London, or within two miles of any of the gates of that city. alſo, for reſtraining the immoderate confluence of people thither; wherein the ſame reaſons are aſſigned as in the reſtraint publiſhed in 1602 by Queen Elizabeth; but which, in modern times, would not be eſteemed of ſufficient weight to require any ſuch reſtraints in either caſe.

The king hereby alſo preſcribes the manner of rebuilding houſes in London, in reſpect to the height of the ſtories and thickneſs of the walls; the later to be either of brick or ſtone; with the form of the windows and ſhops, &c. He alſo directs all ſheds and other nuiſances to be removed. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 107.]

King James iſſued a ſpecial commiſſion to his chancellor, and ſundry other lords and gentlemen, 'for the removal of nuiſances in the grounds 'called Lincoln's-inn-fields, ſituated in a place much planted round 'about with the dwellings of noblemen and gentlemen of quality; 'which grounds, if they were reduced into fair and goodly walks, 'would be a matter of great ornament to the city, alſo of pleaſure and 'freſhneſs for the health and recreation of the inhabitants thereabout, 'and for the ſight and delight of ambaſſadors and ſtrangers coming to our court and city. The commiſſioners are therefor directed 'to lay out thoſe fields into regular walks, &c. in ſuch form as Inigo 'Jones, our ſurveyor-general of our works (and one of the commiſſioners) ſhall draw by way of map. The expenſe thereof to be defrayed by contributions from the moſt ſubſtantial inhabitants of the 'adjacent pariſhes of St. Martin's, and St. Giles's in the fields, St. Mary 'Savoy, St. Clement's, St. Andrew's, St. Dunſtan's, and St. Bride's: 'and a liſt of ſuch as will not contribute ſhall be laid before us. A 'treaſurer to be elected out of the contributors. The maſter of the

* Probably the ſame now uſed by the ballaſt-men.

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'rolls is hereby directed to collect the contributions of the two Ser-
'jeants-Inns, the four inns of court, and the eight inns of chancery*,'
[*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 119.]

The king gave a patent *for thirty-one years* to David Ramſay and Thomas Wildgoſſe, 'for the ſole benefit ariſing from their inventions,
'for ploughing land without horſes or oxen, for improving barren
'grounds, for raiſing water from any low place to the houſes of noble-
'men and gentlemen, and to cities and towns, and to make boats for
'the carriage of burdens and paſſengers, to run upon the water as ſwift
'in calms, and more ſafe in ſtorms, than boats full-ſailed in great
'winds.' [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 121.]

With reſpect to the whale-fiſhing of the Hollanders, De Witt quotes Lieven Van Aitzma, who ſays, 'that the whale-fiſhery to the north-
'ward employs above 12,000 men at ſea;' which infers, that the Dutch had probably near 300 ſail of ſhips employed in the whale-fiſh-ery about 100 years ago, at a time when England had none at all.

The colony of Virginia went on increaſing, and conſiderable quanti-ties of tobacco were raiſed there, which now began to be well taken off at home. Sir Samuel Argall, the governor, finding this colony in a thriving way, began to have his eye on the French, who, about the year 1616, had croſſed the river of St. Laurence, and made a ſettle-ment in the country then named Acadia (now Nova-Scotia), and alſo on part of what is now called New-England. He drove the French from Port-royal (ſince named Annapolis-royal), and from another ſmall ſettlement of theirs, and took a ſhip riding before it. We are here to obſerve, that the Engliſh, from the very beginning of their planting on the continent of America, had ever deemed Nova-Scotia to be a part of North-Virginia, as Georgia, more lately, and before it took that name, was undoubtedly deemed a part of South-Carolina, though not then planted on. For at this time Virginia, being the mother Engliſh colony on that continent, and its patent extending to the northernmoſt parts of America, all the ſettlements to the northward of Cape Henry were comprehended under the general appellation of North-Virginia.

Sir Samuel Argall alſo diſlodged ſome Dutchmen, who, under pre-tence of a purchaſe from Captain Hudſon, had ſeated themſelves on Hudſon's river, in what is now called New-York, and which the Dutch had then named New-Netherlands. Yet they again ſoon reſettled and multiplied there.

Whether the Indians of Virginia had received bad impreſſions of our firſt Engliſh planters, ſome of whom through raſhneſs might have

* The houſes round Lincoln's-inn-fields, men-tioned in this commiſſion, were erected by Inigo Jones; and ſome of them on the ſouth and weſt ſides of the ſquare, and on the ſouth ſide of Queen-ſtreet, are ſtill entire. Many people ſtill alive re-member the adjacent ground-plots, then waſte, be-ing laid out by the ſame great architect.

Quere, In what year did Mr. Anderſon write that people were alive who had been contempora-ry with Jones, who died in 1651? *M.*

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uſed violence towards them, is not, at this diſtance of time, and through partial repreſentations, ſo eaſily to be determined; but it is certain that the Indians deſtroyed many Engliſh people in thoſe times; and that they, in retaliation, made great havoc of the Indians, who at firſt were very numerous along that coaſt. Certainly, whenever it can be done with ſafety, it is of vaſt benefit to any ſuch plantation to live well with the natives, who may be many ways ſubſervient to their intereſt, more eſpecially by driving a very conſiderable traffic with them for furs and ſkins, in exchange for that ſort of woollen cloth called duffle, guns, gun-powder, lead-ſhot, hatchets, knives, ſciſſars, needles and thread, red oker, for painting their bodies, &c. Alſo, by engaging their friendſhip, in oppoſition to thoſe of the colonies of the other European nations at variance with them; of which our other colonies have ſince had ſufficient experience. We ought however, on this occaſion, to do the managers of the Virginia company the juſtice to obſerve, that they had already formed a deſign to erect a college for the converſion of the Indians to chriſtianity, although it proved abortive.

The Dutch went on very ſucceſsfully in their captures of Spaniſh and Portugueſe ſhipping; but of all their expeditions (ſays Voltaire in his General hiſtory of Europe, *V.* vi, *c.* 11) that of Admiral Peter Hen was the moſt profitable to them; he having this year taken the entire fleet of galleons homeward bound, whereby he carried home no leſs than twenty millions of livres.

The Dutch fortified the port of Jacatra (now called Batavia), which is capable of containing 1000 ſhips, in order to exclude the Engliſh from it. The Javans oppoſing it, were aſſiſted by the Engliſh from Bantam with cannon and ſhips, wherewith they drove away the Dutch ſhips of war; yet, in the end, the Dutch ſtood their ground, and kept poſſeſſion of Batavia, and alſo of their factory at Bantam, after many ſtruggles with the Engliſh company's ſhips, and much ſlaughter between them, and alſo with thoſe of Bantam. After which, this new city of Batavia increaſed very much in people and commerce, although it was attacked by the king of Java by ſea and land in the year 1630, and again by the Bantameſe in 1655. Hither they import vaſt quantities of European merchandize for the Javans, and alſo for the Chineſe, who come hither in their large veſſels. It is indeed a magazine for all the productions of India, Japan, and the ſpice-iſlands: it is the centre of all the Dutch commerce: and its governor-general lives in the ſtate of a ſovereign prince, his forces being reckoned 20,000 or more. And in Java, the Moluccoes, Ceylon, and Malacca, ſome have reckoned half a million of people ſubject to the Dutch company, who, in India, are ſtrong enough to expell all the other European nations: and they ſend more European merchandize to India than perhaps all the reſt of Europe do together. The Dutch governors of Batavia have from time to

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time added many new fortifications and outworks to that city, which is about ſix miles in circumference, and contains about 80,000 people. They have likewiſe built many forts and redoubts, at proper diſtances, for ſeveral miles round it, for the ſafety of their plantations, farms, and pleaſure-houſes; ſo as to be deemed long ſince out of danger from any attack of the natives, according to Nieuhoff's voyages, publiſhed in 1676, who then reckoned 6720 fighting men in it, beſides the Dutch inhabitants, and the families of great numbers of Chineſe, Malayans, Amboyneſe, Moors, and Javaneſe. They have ſugar-houſes, powder-mills, paper-mills, and all other conveniences, without being obliged to depend on the uncertainty of ſupplies from Europe. And their coffee is reckoned next to that of Mocha for goodneſs. They have alſo pepper, rice, wax, benzoin; magazines of iron, timber, and naval ſtores; founderies for cannon; docks for ſhip-building, &c *.

The Engliſh Ruſſia company were now diſputing with the Hull men their whale-fiſhing at the iſle of Trinity, lying in the north ſea towards Spitzbergen, that company claiming an excluſive right to the fiſhery; yet the Hull ſhips having firſt diſcovered that iſle, and very early fiſhed at it, it was this year granted to the corporation of Hull by King James for their whale-fiſhing.

Although the Engliſh (as we have ſeen) had, ſo early as the year 1536, reſorted for commerce to Guinea or the weſt coaſt of Africa, yet, by reaſon of loſſes and diſappointments in that traffic, they became negligent of it, and even ſeem to have diſcontinued it entirely, till now that King James granted an excluſive charter to Sir Robert Rich, and other Londoners, for raiſing a joint ſtock for a trade to Guinea. Nevertheleſs, as ſeparate traders would not forbear reſorting to that coaſt, ſuch diſputes aroſe between this company and them as ſoon ended in the diſſolution of the company, the proprietors withdrawing their ſhares. This occaſioned that trade to lie neglected during the reſt of this king's reign, and alſo ſome part of his ſon's reign, whilſt the Hollanders perſiſted in improving their own trade on this coaſt. That ſhort-lived company had ſoon ſpent the greateſt part of their capital; the gold and drug trade alone not being ſufficient to ſupport factories and forts there; there not having as yet been any trade for negro ſlaves for our own American iſland plantations, ſcarcely as yet exiſting.

1619.—The Ruſſia and Eaſt-India companies of England fitted out nine ſhips and two pinnaces for the whale-fiſhery at Spitzbergen in the year 1619. But the voyage proving unfortunate, the two companies, after carrying it on jointly for two years without ſucceſs, agreed to give up that fiſhery.

* An ample account of this Dutch capital of the Eaſt, may be found in the Voyages of Stavorinus, a commander in the ſervice of the Dutch Eaſt-India company. *M.*

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The Engliſh ſilver coins being much melted down and exported at this time, King James iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting the exchange of ſilver coins into gold ones, for any manner of profit, or above the rates for which the ſame coins are current in the realm. And 'whereas the drawing of monies into the goldſmiths hands, by turning ſilver into gold upon profit of exchange, doth make it (the ſilver) the more ready to be ingroſſed into the merchants hands for tranſportation to mints abroad, and that ſuch profit to be taken upon change of monies is prohibited by law,—the king ſtrictly commands that no goldſmith nor any other perſon ſhall melt down, or make into any kind of veſſel or plate, or other manufacture, any of his coins current in theſe realms; but ſhall only make the ſame out of old plate, foreign bullion, or foreign coin, or of ſilver burnt out of lace, and the like.

'And, the better to prevent the unneceſſary and exceſſive vent of gold and ſilver foliate (i. e. leaf) within this realm, none ſuch ſhall from henceforth be wrought or uſed in any building, ceiling, wainſcot, bedſteads, chairs, ſtools, clothes, or any other ornament whatſoever; except it be armour or weapons, or in arms or enſigns of honour at funerals, or monuments of the dead.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 133.]

In this year there were two proclamations againſt eating fleſh in lent, or on other faſt-days. 'None to preſume to diſobey this order without a licence from the biſhop of the dioceſe; which licences (ſays the king) ſhould be ſparingly granted.' His reaſons are, 'the benefit of this abſtinence, for the increaſe of fleſh-meat all the reſt of the year, and that the contrary practice is againſt law.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *pp.* 131, 134.]

And alſo a proclamation 'for the builders of new houſes in London to make their walls of brick, as in a former proclamation*.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 143.]

A pacification between the two rival Eaſt-India companies of England and Holland, after many controverſies, was effected by the king's interpoſition, as follows.

After ſundry fruitleſs conferences at London and at the Hague, in the years 1613 and 1615, for accommodating their differences, the king and the ſtates, deſiring to cement more and more the bands of friendſhip between the two nations, were earneſt to reſume the affair in a third congreſs, to be held by commiſſioners from the king and the

* From the preamble it appears, that ſimilar proclamations had been iſſued in the 2d, 5th, 6th, 9th, and 16th years of his reign as king of England, beſides this one, for regulating new buildings; and directing that they ſhould be ſufficiently airy and ſubſtantial; no other materials than brick or ſtone to be employed in the walls, which in houſes not exceeding two ſtories were to have the length of one brick and a half in their thickneſs, and in thoſe of greater height to have the length of two bricks up to the top of the firſt ſtory; that the heads of the windows of ſhops ſhould be arched with ſtones or bricks cut in the form of wedges. Uniformity of building, and regularity in the ſtreets, are likewiſe recommended. Regulations ſomewhat ſimilar have lately been renewed, and in the preſent age of ſlight building, cannot be too ſtrictly enforced. *M.*

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ſtates, in the preſence of certain deputies from each company: and, after long debates, they have at length come to the following concluſions, viz.

I) 'There ſhall be, from the date hereof, an amneſty and oblivion of all offences and exceſſes committed in the Eaſt-Indies by either party; and in conſequence thereof, the priſoners, ſhips, and merchandize, of both parties, ſhall be freely delivered up and reſtored.

II) 'All the officers and ſervants of both companies ſhall afford all poſſible aid and friendſhip to each other, as between friends and neighbours ſo nearly allied; and if any of either party ſhall happen to be in diſtreſs at ſea, the people of the other party ſhall afford them all poſſible ſuccour.

III) 'Commerce in the Eaſt-Indies ſhall be abſolutely free for both companies; who may trade with and employ, on their reſpective ſeparate accounts, ſuch fund and capital as they ſhall judge proper.

IV) 'For the common benefit of commerce in India, both companies ſhall endeavour to bring about a reduction of the duties there, as well as of gifts and preſents.

V) 'The like endeavours ſhall be uſed by both companies in India to reduce the prices of merchandize there. And as to the ſale of India commodities in the countries of both the contracting parties, a certain price ſhall be mutually agreed on, below which neither company ſhall ſell the ſame.

VI) 'To prevent all jealouſies between the two companies, the commiſſioners of both companies ſhall fix a certain moderate price for the purchaſe of pepper at Bantam, and other places in Java-Major; which ſhall be equally divided between the two companies.

VII) 'The Engliſh Eaſt-India company ſhall freely enjoy the traffic at Palicate; and bear half the expenſe of the fort and garriſon there.

VIII) 'In the Molucco iſles, Banda, and Amboyna, commerce ſhall be ſo regulated by common conſent, that the Engliſh company ſhall enjoy the third part of it, both for import and export; and the Dutch company the other two thirds thereof.

IX) 'And for this purpoſe the factors of both companies ſhall buy the merchandize at the current prices there, and ſhall divide them by lot, in due proportion, between both companies.

X) 'And as ſo remote and ſo important a commerce cannot be protected without a ſtrong power, 20 ſhips of war ſhall be furniſhed for that end, ten by each company, and each ſhip from 600 to 800 tons burden, carrying 150 men, and 30 pieces of cannon each, beſides other needful ammunition; which cannon ſhall carry balls of 8 to 18 pounds weight *.

* This is the firſt inſtance (at leaſt in the Fœdera) of ſpecifying the number of guns and weight of their ſhot, as well as the tonnage, which in our times conſtitute the *rate* of ſhips of war.

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XI) ‘ Alſo the council of defence ſhall conſider of the number of galleys, frigates, and other leſſer neceſſary veſſels.

XII) ‘ The forts and garriſons in the Moluccos, Banda, and Amboyna, ſhall be maintained by the impoſitions on the products of the ſaid iſlands, to be ſettled by the common council of defence.

XIII) ‘ For the eſtabliſhment and preſervation of order, there ſhall be erected a council of defence, of each company four perſons: being the principal officers of each company, who ſhall preſide in their turns.

XIV) ‘ The council ſhall direct all matters relating to the common defence at ſea, and ſhall ſtation the ſhips of war as they ſhall judge neceſſary.

XV) ‘ They ſhall alſo ſettle the impoſitions needful for the maintenance of the forts and garriſons.

XVI) ‘ The ſhips of war ſhall remain in the places where ſtationed, and ſhall not be employed in carrying goods to Europe, or to the other provinces.

XVII) ‘ Yet, if the council of defence ſhall permit it, the ſaid ſhips of war may be employed ſometimes from one place to another in India, for the conveying of merchandize belonging to their reſpective companies.

XVIII) ‘ The council may alſo, in emergencies, employ the merchant ſhips for defence.

XIX, XX) ‘ The loſs and expenſe, as well as the profit by captures, &c. ſhall be equally born and divided between both companies.

XXI, XXII) But ſhips of war, which may be loſt by tempeſt, &c. ſhall be made good by the company they belong to.

XXIII) ‘ The forts ſhall remain in the poſſeſſion of that company in whoſe hands they now are.

XXIV) ‘ It is agreed, that the erection of ſome forts, propoſed by the Engliſh company, ſhall be poſtponed for two or three years, after which the number and ſituation of them can be more conveniently determined.

XXV) ‘ The forts in the Moluccos, or elſewhere in India, acquired by the joint forces of both companies, ſhall be equally poſſeſſed and garriſoned by both companies, or equally divided between them, as the council of defence ſhall direct.

XXVI) ‘ The two companies ſhall jointly endeavour to open a free trade to China, or other parts of India, under the direction of the council.

XXVII) ‘ Neither company ſhall foreſtall or exclude the other from any part of the Indies, by fortifications, or by contracts hereafter to be made; but all the commerce ſhall be free and common to both companies in every part of the Indies.

XXVIII) ‘ No perſon, not free of either company, ſhall enjoy the

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benefit of this treaty, unleſs by the conſent of both companies. And if any ſubject of the king, or of the ſtates, ſhall hereafter invade the privileges of either company, in that caſe both companies ſhall jointly and ſeparately oppoſe all invaders of this trade, and all other companies that may hereafter be ſet up during the term of this treaty.

XXIX) 'In caſe of the death of the factors, or other diſaſters happening to either company, their property ſhall be carefully preſerved by the factors of the other company for the proprietors.

XXX) 'This treaty ſhall continue for *twenty years;* during which, any diſputes which cannot be determined by the council in India, or by the companies in Europe, ſhall be ſubmitted to his majeſty and the ſtates general, who will condeſcend to ſettle them.'

The king, in his ratification of the treaty, promiſes not to erect any other India company during the term of it. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 170.]

This famous treaty, or rather union, between the two companies, was ſcarcely ſooner concluded than it was violated in its moſt eſſential points. The Engliſh and Dutch writers are ſo diametrically oppoſite in their accounts of the tranſactions which followed, that they agree in nothing but mutual accuſations, ſo that it is apparently impoſſible to diſcover the truth. But we may obſerve, that if the two companies could have preſerved the harmony profeſſed in the treaty, they might probably till now have remained ſole maſters of the entire commerce of Arabia, Perſia, India, and China, and have expelled not only the Portugueſe, but every other European nation, from trading to thoſe countries. How juſtly that could have been done, we do not pretend to ſay.

The king appointed Sir John Ayre his miniſter at the court of the ſultan Oſmin Han, at Conſtantinople, to ſettle friendſhip and commerce with Turkey, and to appoint the places of trade, and to nominate conſuls. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 178.]

'About this time tapeſtry work was firſt brought into England by 'Sir Francis Crane, for the encouragement whereof King James gave 'L2000 for the building of a houſe at Mortlake, on the Thames, where 'Francis Clein was the firſt deſigner.' [*Preſent ſtate of England, part* iii, *p.* 93, *ed.* 1683.]

According to the author of the Happy future ſtate of England [*p.* 78, *ed.* 1689] the whole coinage of gold and ſilver in the mint at the tower of London, between the years 1599 and 1619, was L.4,779,314 : 13 : 4.

The voyagers tell us, that in this year the Engliſh, from Japan, attempted to ſettle a trade with China and Cochin China, though unſucceſsfully. In the later country both the Engliſh and Dutch factors were maſſacred; becauſe, as was given out, the Dutch had a little before burnt one of their towns. Letters from the Engliſh factory at Firando, in Japan, gave accounts of a great perſecution of chriſtians in that country: and they alſo complained of the cruel treatment by the

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Dutch to the Engliſh there, whom they would have totally deſtroyed, but for the interpoſition of the Japaneſe.

We have already ſeen, that the French had found the way to the Eaſt-Indies ſo early as in the year 1601, under the direction of a company of merchants of St. Malo's. In Thevenot's collection of voyages, we find they now ſent out three ſhips thither: and at Acheen, in the iſland of Sumatra, their admiral Beaulieu delivered to the king of that place the French king's letters and preſents. Beaulieu complained of obſtructions from the Engliſh, but more eſpecially from the Dutch (that obſtruction being quite conſiſtent with the before-recited treaty); and, upon the whole, he ſeems to have made but an indifferent voyage *.

In this ſame year the voyage writers tell us, that the Dutch poſſeſſed the principal ports of trade in the great iſland of Borneo: its chief productions being the beſt camphire in the world, frankincenſe, caſſia, muſk, agaric, aloes, various gums, wax, maſtic, cotton, cinnamon, pepper, honey, diamonds, gold-duſt, bezoar-ſtones, loadſtones, iron, tin, braſil-wood, &c.

Captain Moncke, by order of the court of Denmark, now wintered in the country uſually called Old Greenland, near Hudſon's bay: but, out of 64 men, only himſelf and two more ſurvived to the next ſummer; and they, with the utmoſt difficulty, brought home their ſhip to Denmark. Yet in that country of Greenland, properly ſo called, he found freſh raſberries under the ſnow, many trees, ſalmon in the rivers, deer, hares, wild fowl, &c. and very good talc, of which he brought home many tons: but the natives all the while would not come near him. This was an attempt of the court of Denmark to re-people Greenland, formerly occupied by a colony from Norway, which had been unaccountably loſt. In our own days the Danes have re-colonized ſome ſmall part of that coaſt, though to very little purpoſe.

1620.—By this time the voyages by ſea to the Eaſt-Indies had ſo greatly lowered the prices of Indian merchandize, that the trade between India and Turkey, by the old way, viz. by the Perſian gulf and up the river Tigris, and alſo by the Red ſea, was much decayed; whereby the grand ſignior's cuſtoms were very much leſſened. The ingenious Mr. Munn, in the year 1621, publiſhed a treatiſe in favour of the Eaſt-India trade; wherein he gives the quantities of Indian merchandize conſumed annually in Chriſtendom, with their prime coſt, and all charges till onboard, by the old way from Aleppo, and alſo the new way by long ſea; whence, he thinks, will be ſeen the great benefit of our own Eaſt-India commerce, viz.

* Beſides the misfortunes brought upon him by the confederates, he ſuffered much from not knowing the proper ſtations and ſeaſons for the trade. It appears by Beaulieu's narrative, that this was his ſecond voyage to India, and that the St. Malo company had a factory at Bantam in the year 1621. [*Relations de voyages par Thevenot, partie* ii, *pp.* 10, 41, 88, 90, 128. *M.*

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	Cost at Aleppo.			*Cost in India.*		
6,000,000 lb of pepper, 2/ per lb	600,000	0	0	2½d	L62,500	0 0
450,000 lb cloves, 4/9 per lb	106,875	0	0	9d	16,875	0 0
150,000 lb mace, 4/9 per lb	35,625	0	0	8d	5000	0 0
400,000 lb nutmegs, 2/4 per lb	46,666	13	4	4d	6666	13 4
350,000 lb indigo, 4/4 per lb	75,833	6	8	1/2	20,416	13 4
1,000,000 lb raw silk, 12/ per lb	600,000	0	0	8/	400,000	0 0
	L1,465,000	0	0		L511,458	6 8

'Thus (continues Mr. Munn) for a little above a third part of the 'price of the wares shipped from Turkey, we have them shipped from 'India; and adding one sixth part more for the expense of the voy- 'age homeward, beyond that of the Turkey one, the said wares by the 'Cape of Good Hope will cost us but about half the price which they 'will cost from Turkey: besides, that the greater part of the East-In- 'dia cost is paid to our own people, and centers at home; as the 'freight, insurance, supercargoes, wages, much of the provisions,' &c*.

* Munn also estimates the annual importation of the following India goods, with the prices they cost onboard the ships in India, and those they sell for in England, thus:

	Cost on board the ships in India.				*Selling prices in England.*			
250,000 lb pepper	2½d	L26,041	13	4	1/8	L208,333	6	8
150,000 lb cloves	9d	5626	0	0	6/	45,000	0	0
150,000 lb nutmegs	4d	2500	0	0	2/6	18,750	0	0
50,000 lb mace	8d	1666	13	4	6/	15,000	0	0
200,000 lb indigo	1/2	11,666	13	4	5/	50,000	0	0
107,140 lb China raw silk	7/	37,499	0	0	20/	107,140	0	0
50,000 pieces calico	7/	15,000	0	0	20/	50,000	0	0
		L100,000	0	0		L494,223	6	8

And he considers the whole of the great difference, which consists of freight, duties, charges, and profits, as clear gain to the nation.

He afterwards estimates the annual consumption of the following India goods in England, and gives a comparative view of the lowest prices of them, when got from Turkey or Lisbon, before England imported any from India, and the common prices in his own time, thus:

	The lowest antient prices.				*The common modern prices.*			
400,000 lb pepper	3/6	L70,000	0	0	1/8	L33,333	6	8
40,000 lb cloves	8/	16,000	0	0	6/	12,000	0	0
20,000 lb mace	9/	9000	0	0	6/	6000	0	0
160,000 lb nutmegs	4/6	36,000	0	0	2/6	20,000	0	0
150,000 lb indigo	7/	52,500	0	0	5/	37,000	0	0
		L183,500	0	0		L108,333	6	8

The difference of these sums is a saving in the expenditure of England in consequence of the direct importation from India.

It is proper to observe, that a review of the Dutch India trade was published about this same time, the author of which states the returns from the year 1596 to 1601, all charges deducted, to be 230 tons of gold; and he proceeds reckoning the company's and the nation's profits by the trade, and all in tons of gold. The profits or dividends made in sixteen years, reckoning from the year 1605, were 200 gilders on each share of 100; and the value or market-price of each share was 230 gilders. [See the extract in *Purchas's Pilgrimes, L.* v, *c.* 15.]

We must remember that this work was written by a partner of the Dutch company, who, like Mr. Munn, was desirous of exhibiting the affairs of his company in the most advantageous light.

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Now, on ſuppoſition, that near the ſame proportion holds in our days, then it will follow, upon Mr. Munn's plan, that a more conſiderable national benefit will ariſe from our modern Eaſt-India trade, the imports whereof are now ſo greatly increaſed; more eſpecially in the article of Bengal and China raw ſilk. Moreover, it is queſtionable, whether, if the trade were turned into the old channel again, the Turks could take off much more of our produce and manufactures than they do at preſent: ſo that moſt of the balance muſt, in that caſe, be paid to Turkey in ready money by all Chriſtendom. Yet an objection may be ſtarted on the other ſide, viz. whether that balance would be ſo conſiderable as that which we, in particular, and the reſt of Europe, ſend yearly in ſilver to India, more eſpecially ſince the vaſt increaſe of the conſumption of tea from China, then unknown to Europe. Mr. Munn ſays, 'that in his time the Turks ſent annually from Aleppo and Conſtantinople L500,000 Sterling in money, merely for Perſian raw ſilk; and L600,000 more from Mocha, for calicoes, drugs, ſugar, rice, &c. the Indians taking very little of the Turks in merchandize, but almoſt the whole in money. That the Venetians, Florentines, and Marſeillians export much bullion; but it is in order to import much more: and this he thinks to be the caſe of our Engliſh Eaſt-India company; which, however, had only exported, from its firſt eſtabliſhment in the year 1601 to July 1620, L548,090 in Spaniſh ſilver; whereas they might by licence within that time have exported L720,000. And in the ſaid nineteen years, they have exported, in woollen cloths, tin, lead, and other Engliſh and foreign wares, to the value of L292,286, being on an average L15,383 per annum. Upon the whole, our author thinks the trade to India ought to be conſidered as exporting annually in goods, &c. L480,000, and importing only L120,000, whereby there is an annual balance in our favour of L360,000, which is either received in money, or its equivalent, from Turkey, Genoa, Leghorn, Marſeilles, the Netherlands, &c. whither we ſend our Indian wares. He ſays, the French and Venetians export annually to Turkey L600,000 in bullion, for the purchaſe of Perſian raw ſilk, &c. which they afterwards in part manufacture and export, and partly re-export raw to all parts of Europe; from whence they bring home much more bullion than they before exported to Turkey; which is alſo a parallel caſe to that of our company's exportation of bullion to India. That in the company's late quarrels with the Dutch, twelve of our ſhips were ſurpriſed and taken by them, which has been a great loſs to the company; yet they had ſtill twenty-one good ſhips in India, and L400,000 of good eſtate; this trade employing 10,000 tons of ſhipping, 2500 mariners, 500 ſhip-carpenters, and about 120 factors. That with regard to the preſent complaints of the ſcarcity of money amongſt us, our laying aſide the Eaſt-India trade, inſtead of a remedy, would make the matter

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ſtill worſe, unleſs we could likewiſe ſuppreſs the commerce of all the other nations of Europe to India; and eſpecially that of the Dutch, to whom, in ſuch caſe, we ſhould be obliged to pay ſuch prices as they ſhould pleaſe to impoſe for their Indian wares.' As Mr. Munn was an eminent merchant, and ſeems perfectly maſter of his ſubject, we thought ſuch a brief view of the Eaſt-India trade at that time would be curious and acceptable.

In all the accounts hitherto publiſhed of our Eaſt-India commerce, there is no mention of cinnamon; becauſe the Portugueſe being ſtill poſſeſſed of the iſle of Ceylon, where alone the beſt is produced, that ſpice was to be had only from Liſbon.

King James, in ſome of his ſpeeches, and the people of England in general, duely conſidering the great advantages reaped by other European nations from their ſilk manufactures, about this time teſtified much earneſtneſs for the propagation of ſilk worms, and of white mulberry trees, for feeding the ſilk worms; which however has hitherto not ſucceeded, perhaps owing to the coldneſs of our climate. But with reſpect to the manufacture of raw ſilk into broad ſilk fabrics, they began about this time to ſet about it in earneſt. For which end, one Mr. Burlamach, a merchant, by the direction of the king, brought from beyond ſea ſilk-throwſters, ſilk-dyers, and broad-weavers; and the manufacture has in proceſs of time proved ſo extremely advantageous to the nation, and is ſo very conſiderable in our days, as to be thought to employ no fewer than at leaſt fifty thouſand people in all its branches, and ſome think half as many more. Mr. Munn, in his treatiſe, ſays, that even then many hundreds of people were continually employed in winding, twiſting, and weaving ſilk in London. The anonymous author of an ingenious pamphlet, in 4to, publiſhed in 1681 (ſaid to have been Sir Joſiah Child), gives it as his opinion, that throughout Chriſtendom, generally ſpeaking, there are more men and women employed in ſilk manufactures than in the woollen; in which we muſt beg leave to differ from him; as alſo in another aſſertion in that piece, viz. that the number of families already [i. e. 1681] employed therein in England amounted to above 40,000. Nevertheleſs, there are abundance of very juſt reflections in the pamphlet, which is entitled, *A treatiſe, wherein is demonſtrated that the Eaſt-India trade is the moſt national of all trades.*

King James commiſſioned certain phyſicians, merchants, grocers, and apothecaries, to direct the garbling of the drug called tobacco, and to ſeparate the good from the unwholeſome parts thereof. The king, in his commiſſion, complains that the duty he had laid on tobacco was not well paid: and the commiſſion was probably intended for the better aſcertaining that duty. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 190.]

King James iſſued his proclamation, importing, that whereas Roger North, Eſq. and others, adventurers for an intended plantation and ſet-

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tlement of a trade and commerce in thoſe parts of the continent of America near the river of Amazons, which were preſuppoſed not to be under the obedience and government of any other prince or ſtate, hath ſecretly conveyed himſelf away, and diſloyally precipitated and embarked himſelf and followers on this deſign, contrary to our royal pleaſure and commandment expreſsly ſignified to him by one of our principal ſecretaries; our admiral of England having alſo refuſed him leave to go: We then, out of weighty conſiderations and reaſons of ſtate, and upon the deliberate advice of our privy-council, have reſolved to ſuſpend and reſtrain the ſaid plantation and voyage for a time; and have thereupon ſtraightly commanded the ſaid North and aſſociates for a while to ſurceaſe their ſaid deſign, till our farther pleaſure be known. We have therefor held it fit hereby to make a public declaration of our miſlike and diſavowment of this their raſh, undutiful, and inſolent attempt: and do hereby revoke and diſannull all power, authority, and commiſſion, which they may pretend to derive from us. And we do hereby charge them immediately to make their ſpeedy return home, with all their ſhipping, &c. and forthwith to preſent themſelves to ſome of our privy-council. And we do hereby ſtrictly require, as well the governors as all other the partners and adventurers intereſted as members of the company and incorporation intended for that plantation; as all other merchants, captains, mariners, &c. not to aid, abet, or comfort, the ſaid North and his aſſociates, with any ſhipping, men, money, ammunition, proviſions, &c. And our admirals, captains, &c. of any of our ſubjects ſhips, if they meet them at ſea, or in harbour, ſhall attack, ſeize, and ſummon them to return home, and ſhall bring them back, and commit them to the charge of ſome of our officers, &c. till we give farther order concerning them. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 215.]

Sir Henry Savill made a noble eſtabliſhment for two profeſſors of mathematics in the univerſity of Oxford; one of which was for geometry, and the other for aſtronomy: the ſalaries of each being L160 per annum. Both theſe branches of mathematics are well known to be greatly beneficial to navigation and commerce. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 217.]

King James I is univerſally known to have had a mortal averſion to tobacco; of which we have the following evidence in the preamble to a proclamation.

'Whereas we, out of the diſlike we had of the uſe of tobacco, tending to a general and new corruption both of mens bodies and manners; and yet, nevertheleſs, holding it of the two, more tolerable that the ſame ſhould be imported, amongſt many other vanities and ſuperfluities which come from beyond ſeas, than be permitted to be planted here within this realm, thereby to abuſe and miſemploy the ſoil of this fruitful kingdom; and whereas we have taken into our

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'royal conſideration, as well the great waſte and conſumption of the 'wealth of our kingdoms, as the endangering and impairing the 'health of our ſubjects, by the immoderate liberty and abuſe of tobac- 'co, being a weed of no neceſſary uſe, and but of late years brought 'into our dominions; we therefor ſtrictly charge and command, that 'our proclamation of December laſt, reſtraining the planting of tobac- 'co, be obſerved.' [That proclamation is not in the Fœdera, but the octavo hiſtory of Virginia has given us its ſubſtance; viz. 'that the 'people of Virginia growing numerous, they made ſo much tobacco as 'overſtocked the market; wherefor the king, out of pity to the coun- 'try, commanded that the planters ſhould not make above one hun- 'dred weight of tobacco per man: for the market was ſo low that he 'could not afford to give them above three ſhillings the pound for it. 'The king adviſed them rather to turn their ſpare time towards pro- 'viding corn and ſtock, and towards the making of potaſh, or other 'manufactures.'] This king had aſſumed the pre-emption of all to- bacco imported, which he again ſold out at much higher prices. This record continues, 'and that no perſon or perſons, other than ſuch as 'ſhall be authoriſed by our letters-patents, do import into England any 'tobacco from beyond ſea, upon pain of forfeiting the ſaid tobacco, 'and ſuch farther penalties as we ſhall judge proper to inflict. And, to 'prevent frauds, all tobacco ſhall be marked or ſealed that ſhall hence- 'forth be imported.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 233.]

Some light is thrown upon the diverſions and amuſements of Lon- don and its vicinity, and the general cuſtoms of the age, by a grant from King James to Clement Cottrell, Eſq. groom-porter of the houſe- hold, to licence a limited number of places, for the uſe of cards, dice, bowling-allies, tennis-courts, and ſuch like diverſions; viz. within Lon- don and Weſtminſter, and the ſuburbs of the ſame, 24 bowling-allies; in Southwark, 4; in St. Catherine's, 1; in the towns of Lambeth and South-Lambeth, 2; in Shoreditch, 1; and in every other burgh, town, village, or hamlet, within two miles of the cities of London and Weſt- minſter, one bowling-alley. Alſo within the ſaid cities of London and Weſtminſter, and within two miles thereof, 14 tennis-courts. And to keep play at dice and cards, 40 taverns or ordinaries within the ſaid li- mits, 'for the honeſt and reaſonable recreation of good and civill 'people, whoe, for their quallitie and abilitie, may lawfully uſe the 'games of bowling, tennis, dice, cardes, tables, nineholes, or any other 'game hereafter to be invented.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 236.]

The pirates of the Barbary ſhores having at this time greatly diſturb- ed the commerce of England, the king ordered Sir Robert Maunſell, vice-admiral of England, to ſail with certain ſhips of the king's, jointly with other ſhips of his ſubjects, to deſtroy the pirates. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 245.]

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King James borrowed 200,000 imperial dollars of his brother-in-law King Chriſtian IV of Denmark, for the ſuccour of the palatinate, &c. for which he was to pay the uſual and legal intereſt of 6 per cent, being 12,000 dollars yearly. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, p. 255.]

It is here to be noted, that the rate of intereſt by law in England was at this time 10 per cent, and was not reduced to 8 per cent till the year 1624.

King James, in his commiſſion to Sir John Merrick, to be his ambaſſador to the great duke of Ruſſia, obſerves, 'that whereas our ſubjects trading to Ruſſia, by virtue of treaties, have long enjoyed ſundry privileges and immunities there, which now, by occaſion of the late troubles happening in that ſtate, have received ſome interruption; and the ſaid great duke and lord of Ruſſia having, by an honourable embaſſage to us, moved to us a continuance of amity, and ſome other things concerning our welfare: For renewing the league and amity between him and us, and the privileges of our ſubjects in his dominions, and likewiſe for the re-demanding of a great ſum of money, which at his requeſt we were pleaſed to furniſh him withal, we have conſtituted Sir John Merrick,' &c. And in the ſame year he gave the like commiſſion and powers to Sir Dudley Diggs, for the ſame errand to Ruſſia. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *pp.* 256, 257.]

About this time the Engliſh company trading to the Eaſt-Indies obtained leave of the king of Golconda to ſettle at Madras-patan, on the coaſt of Coromandel, where they were permitted to build the fort called St. George; which has ever ſince been the company's general factory for their trade to all parts eaſt of Cape Comorin. The principal ſtaple wares there, are calicoes of various kinds, and muſlins; although they likewiſe trade in all other Indian merchandize, and to all parts. At Madras (as they commonly call that place) and the adjacent villages, the company has been ſaid to have 100,000 perſons ſubject to them, from whom they receive conſiderable ſums in duties and cuſtoms. Fort St. George, however, is far from being a happy ſituation, being ſituated on a barren ſoil, and a tempeſtuous ſhore, having no kind of harbour, nor even a convenient landing-place for boats: it has no freſh water nearer than a mile diſtant; yet the company find their conveniency in it in other reſpects, eſpecially as to their trade in diamonds, muſlins, chintz, &c. and in putting off their European wares moſt in requeſt there, viz. ſtockings, haberdaſhery, gold and ſilver-lace, looking-glaſſes, and drinking-glaſſes, lead, wines, cyder, cheeſe, hats, ſtuffs, ribands, &c.

The Danes having reſorted to Eaſt-India ever ſince the year 1612, and having erected a company for that commerce, now formed a ſcheme for poſſeſſing themſelves of the cinnamon trade at Ceylon, and for that end ſent out five ſhips, eſcorted by two men of war: but the Portugueſe there obliged them to return home unſucceſsful.

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And for preventing the Hollanders from ſettling effectually, as they imagined, on Ceylon, on which they had for ſome years caſt a longing eye (having in 1612 made a treaty for that end with the king of Ceylon), the Portugueſe at this time increaſed the number and ſtrength of their forts along the coaſts of that iſland, whereby they ſo much hemmed in the king of that country, that without their permiſſion he could not hold correſpondence with any foreign nation: of which violence they afterwards found the bad effects themſelves.

Our voyage-writers give accounts of ſundry abortive attempts to make ſettlements in the country ſince called New-England; as, firſt, at the charge of the lord chief-juſtice Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others, in the year 1606, who had obtained of King James a grant, enabling them to plant between the degrees of 38 and 45 north latitude; and a ſecond time in 1608. Another in 1611, a fourth in 1612, a fifth in 1615 by the Virginia company, a ſixth in 1616, and alſo again in 1618 and 1619: though indeed ſome of them were rather trading voyages for fiſh, train-oil, and furs, than actual attempts for planting. They, however, made many occaſional diſcoveries and ſurveys of rivers, bays, &c. preparatory to ſuch a plantation. At firſt, it was called by ſome of the old geographers Norumbega, or more properly North-Virginia. But the firſt permanent plantation, which remains to this time, was not made till this year, at a place named Plymouth, in New-England; after having gained over ſome of the ſachems or chiefs of the Indians, and diſpoſſeſſed others of them, who made oppoſition thereto. And Captain John Smith, having ſurveyed the inland country, and preſented a map of it to Charles prince of Wales, the prince gave the country the name of New-England.

This year four of the Engliſh Eaſt-India ſhips, outward bound, made ſolemn publication in Saldania bay, near the Cape of Good Hope, of the poſſeſſion of the adjacent country for King James, and erected a mount in token of it. They thence ſailed to India, where they fought ſucceſsfully with the Portugueſe fleet, and took ſeveral prizes. They likewiſe took ſome of the mogul's own ſhips called junks, and ſome of the king of Decan's likewiſe, who had uſed our people ill; and they returned home in 1622.

Giles Hobbs, one of our Ruſſia company's factors, made a journey from Moſcow to Iſpahan, by the way of Aſtracan, and acroſs the Caſpian ſea, as the company's agents had done in Queen Elizabeth's time. In his letter he gives an account of a great trade for raw ſilk at ſundry ports on the Caſpian ſea; and inſinuates how eaſily the company might carry on that ſilk trade, by tranſporting it to Ruſſia. He ſays, that at Aſtracan the Perſian veſſels bring in their dyed ſilks, calicoes, and Perſian ſtuffs; and, in return, carry home cloth, ſables, martens, red leather, and old Ruſſia money: but that the Turks, Arabs, Armenians, and

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Portugueſe, were ſeverally plotting againſt our Perſian trade. The Portugueſe more eſpecially were our company's greateſt enemies on all occaſions.

The Ruſſia and Eaſt-India companies having (as related under the year 1619) laid down their whale fiſhery, four members of the Ruſſia company now ſent out ſeven ſhips to Spitzbergen, on their own private account; but they proved unſucceſsful.

1621.—In the next year they ſent the ſame number of ſhips thither again, with better ſucceſs. In both theſe voyages, and others alſo prior to theſe, mention is made of the quantity of oil brought home; but not the leaſt mention of whalebone or fins. They ſucceeded very badly in 1622; but in 1623, the laſt year of their union, they had good ſucceſs; though they were not able to drive the Dutch away, who were ſuperior in number of ſhips, and had the prince of Orange's commiſſion.

The truce between Spain and Holland expiring this year, the later began hoſtilities, by taking the town and port of St. Salvador in Braſil; and in their homeward voyage they took ſeveral Spaniſh ſhips.

The Engliſh at the Banda iſles were ſo ill ſupported by their friends at Bantam, that the Hollanders, collecting all their force, attacked them in the ſeveral iſlands, ſeizing on their forts, artillery, and other effects; burning ſuch towns as made reſiſtance, and putting many of the natives to the ſword. They are ſaid alſo to have impriſoned and otherwiſe cruelly uſed our company's people; and, in ſhort, after acting other barbarities, they drove the Engliſh abſolutely from thence, compelling the natives to make a ſolemn ſurrender of their country to them.

This is our Engliſh company's account.

But the Dutch, in their own vindication (printed at Amſterdam 1622) allege, that as early as 1609, the natives, by a ſpecial treaty, put themſelves under the protection of the ſtates-general; who agreed to defend them againſt the Portugueſe and their other enemies, on condition of receiving all their ſpices at ſtated prices: but that afterwards the Bandaneſe broke theſe engagements, and committed ſeveral violences againſt the Dutch, till the years 1616 and 1617, when this agreement was renewed; but was again ſoon after broken, by the inſtigation of the Engliſh, who furniſhed them with proviſions, ammunition, and ſhips, till the year 1620, when peace between the Engliſh and Dutch companies united their councils, for reducing the Bandaneſe into terms of trade, for the common benefit of both companies. For, it ſeems, the people of Banda had re-admitted ſome Portugueſe to trade there: and when the Dutch came to attack the Bandaneſe on that account, they were underhand ſupported by the Engliſh, contrary to the agreement between the Engliſh and Dutch; whereby the later alone undertook the reduction of thoſe iſles, for their common benefit. So that the

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Dutch met with much difficulty in ſubduing the Bandaneſe, which at laſt was effected; and they were obliged to acknowlege the ſtates-general for their ſovereigns, as before mentioned.

The Engliſh company replied to this, by recriminations, &c. Certainly at this diſtance of time it is by no means likely we ſhould be able to clear up the truth; neither is it indeed worth our while to attempt it.

The judicious Mr. Munn [Diſcourſe of Trade from England to East-India, *p.* 17] ſays, 'that of all Europe this nation drove the moſt profitable trade to Turkey, by reaſon of the vaſt quantities of broad cloth, tin, &c. which we exported thither; enough to purchaſe all the wares we wanted in Turkey; and in particular 300 great bales of Perſian raw ſilk yearly: whereas a balance in money is paid by the other nations trading thither. Marſeilles ſends yearly to Aleppo and Alexandria at leaſt L500,000 Sterling, and little or no wares *. Venice ſends about L400,000 Sterling yearly in money, and a great value in wares beſide. The Low Countries ſend about L50,000, and but little wares. And Meſſina L25,000 in ready money. Beſides great quantities of gold and dollars from Germany, Poland, Hungary, &c. And all theſe nations take of the Turks, in return, great quantities of camblets, grograms, raw ſilk, cotton wool and yarn, galls, flax, hemp, rice, hides, ſheeps wool, wax, corn,' &c.

What a fine account have we here of the Engliſh trade to Turkey, in thoſe days, and how different from the preſent time, when the French ſo much go beyond us therein, and the Dutch have ſo much improved their own manufactures ſent thither? We would, however, hope that our trade thither is ſtill profitable to us; at leaſt, it is become now abſolutely neceſſary for our ſilk manufacture †, and for its drugs, dyeing ſtuffs, &c. for our other manufactures.

A very impolitic and unjuſtifiable perſecution of the puritans or proteſtant diſſenters at this time brought on the effectual ſettlement of New-England, much ſooner and completer than otherwiſe could have been effected. Robinſon, a Browniſt miniſter, and his congregation, had retired into Holland, to avoid the perſecution of the high commiſſion courts, and other ſpiritual judicatures; but, not liking their reſidence there, they fixed their thoughts on a ſettlement in that new colony, which they reaſonably hoped might alſo prove an aſylum for all other perſecuted proteſtants. Among thoſe adventurers there were ſundry gentlemen of good families, who, upon the ſame motives, ſold their eſtates in England, to enable them to ſettle in America; ſuch as William Bradford, Eſq. of Yorkſhire; Captain Standiſh of Lancaſhire; Edward Winſlow, Eſq. of Worceſterſhire, &c. Sir Robert Naunton, one of the

* France had not then entered into the woollen manufacture.

† The importation of raw ſilk from the Britiſh territories in India has now rendered this country in a great meaſure independent of the Turkiſh dominions for the ſupply of that raw material. *M.*

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ſecretaries of ſtate, being a favourer of the puritans, was very aſſiſting herein, by obtaining the king's patent for planting there: and accordingly, this year, they ſettled at a place near Cape Cod, which they named New Plymouth, and by a formal inſtrument declared themſelves ſubjects of the crown of England, and ſolemnly engaged themſelves to an abſolute ſubmiſſion to ſuch laws and rules as ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the good of the colony; and they elected their own governor, for one year only.

For ſome years, however, they underwent conſiderable hardſhips, and loſt half of their number by ſickneſs; yet, receiving annual ſupplies of people from England, thereby, and by exchanging knives, ſciſſars, needles, &c. with the Indians for corn, and for furs, fiſh, and ſkins, which they ſent home to England, they were enabled in five years time to clear and cultivate as much land as produced corn enough, and to ſpare, of their own growth. And the mad perſecution of the puritans in England by the ſpiritual courts continuing, numbers of them, with their families and fortunes, from time to time, increaſed this colony. Thus, out of the great evil of perſecution and ill-judged reſtraints for conſcience ſake, have ſprung up much good to the Britiſh empire in America. For by the great numbers of honeſt and induſtrious people driven into that wilderneſs, with their effects, they were enabled to clear and cultivate a noble province in a ſhort ſpace, which otherwiſe might poſſibly have remained to this day thin, weak, and defenceleſs againſt the Indians and the French of Canada. Thoſe new-comers obtained two patents of the Plymouth council, for poſſeſſing the country of the Maſſachuſet's Bay, granted in 1627 and 1628, to Sir John Roſwell, Sir John Young, and ſundry other gentlemen of character: in the year following, ſix ſhips went thither, carrying 350 paſſengers and 115 head of cattle, beſides goats, rabbits, &c. And theſe laſt were ſent by thoſe called the London adventurers; who, in the year 1630, ſent ten ſhips for the Maſſachuſet's colony, with 200 paſſengers, many of whom were perſons of conſiderable faſhion; who, to avoid perſecution at home, choſe to ſettle in that wilderneſs: and yet, to their everlaſting reproach, they were ſcarcely warm in that aſylum, before they ran madly into the crime, with which they had before juſtly upbraided the prelatical party, by ſetting on foot a cruel perſecution of their proteſtant brethren and fellow planters, for mere ſpeculative, and moſtly unintelligible, points; whereby, and by their nonſenſical and barbarous treatment of poor old women, under the denomination of witches, they greatly obſtructed the growth of a colony ſo well begun, by cruelly putting to death ſome, and by driving out others, of the ſobereſt and beſt of their people! But, to the honour of the preſent generation be it recorded, that they are of a much more moderate and charitable diſpoſition, and are univerſally aſhamed of that violent ſpirit of their forefathers. The

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colony is at this day the nobleſt of all our North American continental provinces. And, by their late agent Mr. Dummer's account (in his Defence of the New England charters) they take off from Great Britain to the value of L300,000 annually in Britiſh product and manufactures; and by this time, very probably, our exports thither may be conſiderably increaſed; and will more eſpecially greatly increaſe by our poſſeſſion of the vaſt country of Canada, and in conſequence thereof, by our colony's freedom from the alarms and encroachments of the French behind them.

The Virginia company went on ſending ſupplies of people and neceſſaries thither from time to time, and now they ſent no fewer than 1300 perſons. Laws began to be regularly enacted, and the country laid out in plantations: churches were built; and the face of a well regulated colony began to appear. Yet, in this ſame year, in time of profound peace, the Indian natives had contrived a general maſſacre, and put it partly in execution, by murdering near 400 of the Engliſh; which barbarity was ſufficiently revenged next year; after which the colony recovered itſelf: and the king ſent thither ſtores of artillery and ammunition from the tower of London.

Petitions were preſented to parliament againſt monopolies and projects, particularly againſt the patents for licencing inns and public-houſes. —For the ſole making of gold and ſilver lace; a grievance the more intolerable, as the patentees, Sir Giles Mompeſſon, &c. made it (ſays Wilſon) of copper and other ſophiſticated materials.—For licencing pedlars and petty chapmen.—For the ſole dreſſing of arms.—For the ſole making of playing cards, and tobacco pipes.—The ſole exportation of liſts and ſhreds, &c.

At the expiration of the truce between Spain and Holland, the later, this year, erected a Weſt-India company; who, by patent, were empowered to form colonies, erect forts, and make alliances, on the continent and iſlands of America. Their firſt capital ſtock was 7,200,000 guilders. This company began with two moſt towering projects, both which miſcarried, viz. 1ſt, to drive the Portugueſe out of Braſil; and, 2dly, to attack Peru.

Spain being unable to cruſh the Algerines, who at this time were formidable in ſhipping, and greatly infeſted the Spaniſh coaſts, Count Gondemar, ambaſſador from Spain to King James, found means to cajole him into an undertaking for that purpoſe, having before gained the lord admiral (the earl of Nottingham) and next the duke of Buckingham, his ſucceſſor. They flattered that king with the mighty glory of ſuch a conqueſt, and the benefits which the taking of that piratical place would bring to the commerce of England. Sir Robert Maunſell was therefor ſent out with four ſhips, of 40 cannon each; 1 of 36, 1 of 34, 1 of 20, and 1 of 18, all braſs cannon (ſays Sir William Monſon, in

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his Naval tracts) the biggeſt ſhips being of 600 tons, and the ſmalleſt of 160 tons, manned with 1500 men, beſides 12 armed merchant ſhips, carrying in all 243 cannon and 1170 men, viz. 3 of 300 tons, 2 of 280, 2 of 260, 2 of 200, 1 of 180, 1 of 130, and 1 of 100 tons, from 12 to 26 guns, and from 50 to 120 men, per ſhip.

A ſlender armament for ſo great an undertaking; which alſo was badly executed. It ſeems they feaſted and banqueted in harbour inſtead of ſcouring the ſeas; whereby (ſays Monſon) they loſt the opportunity of deſtroying the pirates. They however attempted to burn the ſhips in the mole of Algiers; but it proved impracticable. And Mr. Burchet, in his Naval hiſtory, obſerves that in return for our viſit, our admiral's back was ſcarcely turned when thoſe corſairs picked up near forty good ſhips of ours, and infeſted the Spaniſh coaſts with greater fury than ever: wherefor (adds Sir William Monſon) 'if thoſe chriſtian countries 'which lie oppoſite to Algiers (viz. France and Spain) could never pre-'vail in their ſundry attempts againſt it, although their greater vici-'nity, and their having the conveniency to embark and tranſport an 'army without ſuſpicion or rumour, and of being ſuccoured by the 'iſles of Majorca and Minorca; what hope have we to prevail, who 'cannot ſo ſecretly furniſh an army and fleet but all the world muſt ring 'of it? And the warning given will be ſufficient for a garriſoned town 'of leſs force and fewer men than Algiers to prevent a ſurprize!' To ſay the truth, we are now wiſer by experience, and are not unacquainted with the ſubſtantial benefits we receive in our commerce, from thoſe corſairs keeping peace with us, whilſt they make war on other nations. And our poſſeſſion of Gibraltar, with our ſhips of war ſtationed there, will probably be ever ſufficient to keep thoſe of Algiers, Sallee, Tunis, and Tripoli, in conſtant awe of us.

In this ſame year a ſumptuary law paſſed in the parliament of Scotland, whereby no perſons were to wear cloth of gold or ſilver, nor gold and ſilver lace on their clothes, nor velvets, ſatins, or other ſilk ſtuffs, except noblemen, their wives and children, lords of parliament, prelates, privy-counſellors, lords of manors, judges, magiſtrates of principal towns, ſuch as have 6000 marks (i. e. ſomewhat more than L330 ſterling) of yearly rent in money, or elſe fourſcore chalder of victual yearly, heralds, trumpeters, and minſtrels. And it was by this law farther enacted, that even thoſe hereby permitted to wear ſilk apparel ſhould have no embroidering nor lace on their clothes, except a plain lace of ſilk on the ſeams and edges, with belts and hatbands embroidered with ſilk; and the ſaid ſilk apparel to be no way cut out upon other ſtuffs of ſilk, except upon a ſingle taffety. Foreign damaſk, table-linen, cambrics, lawns, and tiffanies, were limited to the above qualified perſons, as were alſo pearls and pretious ſtones. Alſo the number of mourning ſuits in great families was hereby limited: moreover, the faſhion of clothes

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was not to be altered. Servants to have no ſilk on their clothes, excepting buttons and garters; and to wear only cloth, fuſtians, and canvas, and ſtuffs of Scottiſh manufacture. Huſbandmen and labourers of the ground to wear none but gray, blue, white, and ſelf-black cloth of Scottiſh manufacture. Neither wet nor dry confections were to be uſed at weddings, chriſtenings, nor feaſts, except they be made of Scottiſh fruits. Alſo no clothes ſhall be gilded with gold. [*Act 25 of 23 parl. Ja. VI.*] This is probably the laſt ſumptuary law that ever will be made in Great Britain. Such reſtraints do not ſo well ſuit a free, and more eſpecially a commercial, country, wherein certain private follies and extravagances prove often national advantages.

This year Sir William Alexander, ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, (afterwards created earl of Stirling) obtained from King James a grant of a diſtrict in America, between the 42d and 46th degrees of north latitude, to which the king had given the name of Nova Scotia, to be held of the crown of Scotland: and in the year following, he and his partners ſent out a number of people from Scotland with an intent to ſettle there. It ſeems Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who then had the direction of the New-England colonies, had adviſed Sir William to this undertaking. But the Scottiſh embarkation went no farther that year than Newfoundland, where they wintered: and next year (1623) they did no more than ſurvey the coaſts of Nova Scotia *, and returned home without forming any ſettlement.

The excluſive juriſdiction on the river Elbe, claimed by Hamburgh, induced King Chriſtern IV of Denmark, to place ſome ſhips of war in that river: yet the emperor, having granted a charter to that city confirming their claim, the court of Denmark erected a toll-houſe at Gluckſtadt, where, by way of repriſal, they made all Hamburgh ſhips pay the toll. This brought on open hoſtilities, whereby that city was a great ſufferer; and was, in the end, obliged to ſubmit to King Chriſtiern, to pay him 1,120,000 livres, and to drop their pretenſions.

A treaty of hereditary league was concluded between James I, king of Great Britain, and his brother-in-law Chriſtiern IV, king of Denmark; the commercial and nautical articles of which are the following:

Article IV) In caſe either prince be invaded, the other ſhall ſupply him with eight ſhips of war, four of which to be of 150 or 200 tons ('*laſtarum nauticarum*'), and to have 150 or 200 men, with 20 cannon in

* They gave the name of *Nova Caledonia* to the peninſula on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the bay of Fundy, and that of *Nova Alexandria* to the northern part. [*Heylin's Coſmography, p.* 1024.] As an aſſiſtance to Sir William Alexander in the ſettlement of his colony, King James gave him a Scottiſh patent for advancing a number of gentlemen to the hereditary dignity of *baronets of Nova Scotia*, which, however, was not perfected till the year 1625. And ſo ſoon as that year the names of Nova Caledonia and Nova Alexandria ſeem to have been forgotten; at leaſt they are not once mentioned in the very prolix charter of King Charles I in that year to Sir Robert Gordon, the firſt of the baronets of 'the kingdom and dominion of Nova Scotia. *M.*

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each ſhip: the other four to be of 100 to 120 tons, with each 100 to 120 men, and 16 pieces of cannon.

XIII) The ſubjects of both contracting parties may freely reſort with their merchandize to each others dominions, paying the uſual duties.

XIV) Yet Britiſh ſubjects ſhall not reſort to ſuch parts of the Daniſh dominions as are prohibited by former treaties, (meaning Iceland, Weſtmony, and Wardhuys for fiſhing) without the ſpecial licence of his Daniſh majeſty.

XV) For ſhips wrecked in either country liberty is granted to recover what they can thereof; and they may demand the aſſiſtance of the other party, paying for it. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 305.]

King James obtained from the king of Denmark a further loan of 100,000 dollars, at the low intereſt of ſix per cent. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 315.]

King James iſſued a new proclamation againſt eating fleſh in lent, or on other fiſh-days. The reaſons now aſſigned for this injunction are, 'for the 'maintenance of our navy and ſhipping, a principal ſtrength of this iſland, 'and for the ſparing and increaſe of fleſh victuals.' The magiſtrates of London to examine upon oath the ſervants of all innholders, victuallers, cooks, alehouſe-keepers, taverners, &c. who ſell victuals, concerning what fleſh has been ſold by them in lent, &c. and ſhall oblige the maſters of thoſe houſes to give ſecurity not to ſell fleſh-meat in lent, &c. And he ſtrictly commands that none, of what quality ſoever, ſhall eat fleſh in lent, or on fiſh-days, without a licence from the biſhop of the dioceſe, or other perſons impowered to licence: and the like rules ſhall be obſerved by magiſtrates in other cities, and in the country. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 349.] Whether there was a real ſcarcity of fleſh-meat, or it was only the humour of the king and his council, is not perhaps eaſy to be determined; though from other parts of his conduct the later ſhould ſeem moſt probable, together with his laudable zeal for promoting the fiſhery.

1622.—In the following year King James commiſſioned the lord keeper and others to collect annually the names, qualities, and profeſſions of all ſtrangers-born (denizens or not denizens) now reſiding in England. And as there be ſundry laws in force for preventing aliens and ſtrangers-born from the uſe of handicrafts, and the making of manufactures in England, and from the liberty of ſelling by retail, and of buying and ſelling native commodities, the ſaid laws are to be put in execution. And our will is, that ſuch ſtrangers as uſe the trade of merchandize, and do not ſell by retail, nor employ themſelves in buying and ſelling the native commodities of this kingdom, may, notwithſtanding this our commiſſion, continue to enjoy ſuch liberties and freedoms as formerly they have enjoyed by the permiſſion of us and our predeceſſors. Only, we will that every ſuch merchant ſhall pay to our uſe ſuch annual acknowlegement, by way of quarterage, as by a ſchedule

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under our hand we ſhall direct, or as our commiſſioners ſhall ſet down under their hands; that ſo it may appear that they enjoy this freedom, not by right, but of our mere grace and favour. Alſo that no ſtranger-born, or born in England of parents-ſtrangers, who have not ſerved an apprenticeſhip of at leaſt ſeven years, ſhall hereafter ſell any wares by retail, but only in groſs: nor ſhall ſell even in groſs at fairs or markets, or out of the city or town where they dwell. And that ſuch ſtrangers, at preſent ſettled with their families in England, and who uſe any manual trade, or the making of our new draperies *, and who deſire to continue here, may quietly ſo do, provided they put themſelves under our royal protection: and whereas by the laws of this realm they ought not to work at all or uſe ſuch trades, but, as ſervants to the Engliſh, they ſhall now inrol themſelves as ſervants to ourſelves, our heirs, and ſucceſſors; whereby they may by law be freed and diſcharged from the danger and penalty of our laws. Yet, for the encouragement of all ſtrangers to bring new and profitable trades and manufactures into uſe here, every ſuch ſtranger inſtructing any of our natural-born ſubjects therein, may uſe ſuch trade for the ſpace of ten years: but they ſhall not at any one time keep above two foreign journeymen, nor retain any apprentice but by indenture for ſeven years. Yet our will is, that ſuch of the French nation, who, by reaſon of the late troubles in that kingdom, have taken refuge here, ſhall be ſhewn ſuch favour, beyond the proportion of other ſtrangers, as our commiſſioners ſhall think fit; if within a convenient time after thoſe troubles ſhall be overblown, they ſhall return into their own country again. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 372.]

This commiſſion was immediately followed by a proclamation againſt the exportation of any gold or ſilver, either in coin or plate, jewels, goldſmiths work, bullion, or other maſs. And 'for avoiding of all unneceſſary conſumption of ſilver and gold within this realm, much practiſed of late by ſome goldſmiths and refiners, and by the manufacturers of gold and ſilver thread, no finer of gold and ſilver, nor parter thereof by fire or water, ſhall allay any fine ſilver or gold, nor ſell the ſame to any but to the mint and to goldſmiths. And all gold and ſilver thread is hereby prohibited to be made in this realm, of what kind ſoever: nor ſhall any perſon either buy or ſell any ſuch gold and ſilver thread made in this realm. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 376.]

Had the king abſolutely prohibited the importation and uſe of that manufacture in England, there would have been ſome more conſiſtency in his conduct. Probably his aim was to increaſe his revenue by the cuſtom on imported gold and ſilver thread, though to the ruin of ſo many of his own people: beſides, goldſmiths work and jewels are as

* This exemption was in favour of the Walloons, who had introduced the new drapery in the preceding reign. But the chief object of the commiſſion was evidently to collect a tax from foreign merchants and workmen; a meaſure equally arbitrary and impolitic in a commercial country.

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much merchandize as any other commodity whatever, and therefor ought not to have been reſtrained; and ſo indeed are gold and ſilver in coin or bullion, in the judgment of the men in our days, though our laws prohibit the exportation of our own coin.

King James granted a commiſſion to Sir William Heydon and Charles Glemham, Eſq. to the following effect, viz. that he has been moved by ſundry letters and meſſages from the great mogul, to gratify him with ſome choice arts and rarities which his dominions afford. Wherefor, he commiſſions them to ſail thither with two ſhips, to advance the trade of his ſubjects, as their own occaſions ſhall permit, or as they ſhall be deſired by the company of merchants of London trading to the Eaſt-Indies, their factors or miniſters; to govern the ſaid ſhips, and the men therein; and to carry out and bring back ſuch merchandize as ſhall be judged proper, and be licenced; alſo to trade with the great mogul, or any other prince or potentate, between the Cape of Good Hope and the ſtraits of Le Maire, &c. The ſaid two gentlemen are therein ſtiled ſervants of his ſon the prince of Wales, and ſpecially recommended by him as properly qualified for this purpoſe. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 407.]

King James, in a ſpecial commiſſion to many lords and gentlemen, concerning the decay of trade in England, repreſents that from the general complaints of our ſubjects at home, as alſo by information from our miniſters employed in parts beyond ſea, it appears that the cloth of this kingdom hath of late years wanted that eſtimation and vent in foreign parts which formerly it had; and that the wools of the kingdom are fallen much from their wonted values; and trade in general ſo far out of frame that the merchants and clothiers are greatly diſcouraged; ſo that great numbers of people depending on them want work; the landlords fail in their rents, and farmers have not ſo good means to pay their rents as heretofor they had; ourſelves alſo find the defects thereof, by the decay of our cuſtoms and other duties; and in general the whole commonwealth ſuffereth: ſo, as it is high time to look into the cauſe of this great decay of trade, and of the commodities of this our kingdom, and how to have fit remedies, &c.: wherefor the king directs them to inquire into the following points, viz.

I) Why wool is fallen in price? What are the proper means to reſtore it?

II) How to prevent the exportation of wool and woollen-yarn, fullers earth, and wood-aſhes? How Iriſh wool, not uſed at home, may be brought into England; and the like of Scottiſh wool?

III) How to reduce the many laws in being concerning the making of cloth (ſome of which contradict each other) into one good general law?

IV) To inquire into the prices of dying ſtuffs.

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V) Whether, by any of the orders, reſtrictions, &c. of the company of merchant-adventurers of England, the prices of woollen cloth are too highly raiſed beyond ſea?

VI) How far companies or ſocieties of merchants may, or may not be, a cramp on trade, as many do allege? And how far joint-ſtock companies are beneficial or otherwiſe?

VII) How to remedy the preſent unuſual ſcarcity of money?

VIII) To inquire whether the balance of trade in general be not againſt our nation, by the imports of merchandize exceeding our exports; and how to remedy ſuch an evil? Alſo to conſider the gain or loſs that comes to our kingdom by the courſe of exchange now uſed by our merchants.

IX) How we may improve our native commodities to the beſt advantage.

X) To avoid vain and unprofitable returns (i. e. imports) of the commodities of foreign countries in ſuperfluities.

XI) For the better increaſe of the wealth of the kingdom, and of the importation of coin and bullion from foreign parts, we would have you to conſider what native commodities of this kingdom are of that neceſſary uſefulneſs to our neighbour nations that they may fitly return home a proportion of coin and bullion for a ſupply of treaſure.

XII) And, above other things, ſeriouſly and carefully conſider by what good means our navy and the ſhipping of this kingdom may be beſt maintained and enlarged, and mariners bred up and increaſed.

And to this end, we require you to take into your mature conſideration and judgements theſe things following, which ourſelves conceive to be very good means to attain the end we eſpecially aim at, as aforeſaid, viz.

Firſt, and principally, that the herring fiſhery upon the ſeas and coaſts appertaining to our own realms may be undertaken by our people for the common good: for the encouragement whereof we ſhall be always ready to yield our beſt aſſiſtance.

And to the end that the ſhipping of other nations may not be employed for importing foreign commodities whilſt our own ſhipping want employment, conſider how our laws now ſtand in force for prohibiting merchandize to be imported in foreign bottoms.

And farther, adviſe if it be not behoveful to put in execution the laws ſtill in force, which enjoin merchant-ſtrangers (as well denizens as not denizens) to employ the proceeds of the merchandize they import on the native commodities of this realm, to be exported by them.

And becauſe our merchants trading into the Eaſtland countries (i. e. all the ſouth ſhores of the Baltic ſea) were wont to make good returns by corn, which they have neglected of late, to their own hurt and the hurt of the kingdom, conſider how to give them encouragement, ſo as

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our own dominions may be ſupplied in time of want, and yet, in time of plenty, the huſbandry of this realm may not be diſcouraged.

Conſider alſo, that whereas our Eaſtland merchants did formerly load their ſhips with undreſſed hemp and flax in great quantities, which ſet great numbers of our people on work in dreſſing the ſame, and converting them into linen cloth; which kind of trade we underſtand is of late almoſt given over, by bringing in hemp and flax ready dreſſed, and that, for the moſt part, by ſtrangers. How may this be redreſſed?

And becauſe the Eaſt-India company have been much taxed by many for exporting the coin and treaſure of this realm, to furniſh their trade withal, or that which would otherwiſe have come in hither, for the uſe of our ſubjects; and that they do not return ſuch merchandize from India as doth recompenſe that loſs unto our kingdom; we authorize you to inquire and ſearch whether that company do truely and juſtly perform their contract with us concerning the exportation of money? And by what means that trade, which is ſpecious in ſhew, may really be made profitable to the public.

And as much treaſure is yearly ſpent in linen cloth imported at dear rates; and for that, if the fiſhery, ſo much deſired by us, be thoroughly undertaken and our ſhipping increaſed, it will require a much greater production of hemp for cordage, &c. in the fiſhery, which would ſet an infinite number of our people on work. Conſider how the ſowing of hemp and flax may be encouraged.

Alſo how the cloth and ſtuffs made of our own wools may be more generally worn by our own ſubjects.

All which you ſhall report and certify to the body of our privy council as ſoon as the ſeveral points ſhall be duely conſidered by you. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 410.]

With reſpect to the merits of this commiſſion of inquiry, it may be proper to remark, that though in every age there have been, and probably ever will be, cauſeleſs and groundleſs complaints of the decay of commerce, yet there ſeems at this time to have been ſome real grounds for complaint: for, 1ſt, the Hollanders had greatly improved their woollen manufactures, which now conſiderably interfered with ours in foreign parts; 2dly, the hot diſputes between the merchant-adventurers company and our ſeparate traders and exporters of woollen cloth ran high at this time, and did real hurt alſo to the ſale of that manufacture; 3dly, as we ſhall preſently ſee that the general balance of foreign trade went this year againſt us, it is no wonder that there were complaints of the ſcarcity of money; 4thly, the Dutch had alſo at this time (as we have ſeen) vaſtly increaſed their herring and cod fiſhery, whilſt our own people neglected it too much: no marvel therefore that our navy or ſhipping was at this time ſo much ſhort of theirs. But with reſpect to the exportation of wool and yarn from Ireland in article 2d,

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we have not been able to prevent it effectually, even to this day, notwithſtanding the ſeveral much ſeverer laws made againſt that pernicious practice ſince thoſe times. As for the query in article 1ſt, why the price of wool is fallen? that is anſwered already by the king's complaint in his preamble, that our cloth is not ſo much demanded beyond ſea as formerly: and ſurely the importing and uſing of Iriſh and Scottiſh wool was not likely to make it riſe in price! What relates to dying ſtuffs in article 4th ſeems a groundleſs, or at leaſt a trifling, complaint; and to the third we need ſay nothing. As for the 6th, we have in the ſeries of our work ſufficiently enlarged on companies, with and without joint ſtocks, and more eſpecially on our Eaſt-India company, whoſe advocates in thoſe times (as we have ſeen) ſeem to us ſufficiently to have anſwered the main objections of their enemies; which is all that needs to be ſaid by way of anſwer to that article. The 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th articles require no particular remark. The king's deſire to revive the obſolete and impracticable law concerning merchant-ſtrangers laying out all their money on our own merchandize was injudicious: but our importing all our hemp and flax rough is very right; and is ſince his time almoſt always practiſed. In all our reſearches we could never come at the report made by thoſe commiſſioners to the privy-council*.

The general balance of the commerce of England for the year ending at Chriſtmas 1622, as exhibited by Mr. Miſſelden, [*Circle of commerce, p.* 121, *ed.* 1623] was as follows.

'The total amount of exportations (including therein the cuſtom at '5 per cent on ſuch goods as pay poundage, the impoſts on bays, tin, 'lead, and pewter, and the merchant's profit of 15 per cent, together 'with freight and petty charges) was -	L2,320,436 12 10
'The total imports, (including L91,059 : 11 : 7 cuſ- 'toms, and L100,000 for fine run goods, &c.)	2,619,315 0 0
'Balance loſt to England this year by foreign com- 'merce - - -	298,878 7 2

This accurate author gives us alſo the total amount of the cuſtoms of England, outward and inward, for the year 1622, viz. L168,222 15/11 †.

De Witt (in his Intereſt of Holland) acquaints us, that the Dutch, for preventing diſturbance in their whale fiſhery, now erected an exclu-

* As the king expreſſes his intention that this ſhould be a ſtanding commiſſion, [*ſee p.* 411, *col.* 2] it may be conſidered as the firſt rudiments of the board of trade. *M.*

† The rule for computing the amount of the exports and imports was then to multiply the cuſtoms paid on either by twenty; which muſt have been very inaccurate, as probably every method will ever prove whereby any one may pretend to aſcertain the *exact* balance of the national commerce. As the cuſtoms of England in the year 1613, (already inſerted, alſo from Miſſelden) were L20,147 under the collection of this year, it was certainly not on a compariſon of thoſe two years that King James, in the preamble to his commiſſion of inquiry, founded his complaint of the decay of his cuſtoms.

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ſive company for it; who, by their own power and ſtrength, might protect their fiſhery; which, however, was laid open to all the inhabitants of the ſeven provinces in the year 1643, when neither the Engliſh (who were engaged in a civil war) nor the Danes, by reaſon of the increaſing power of the Swedes, were able to hurt them. But upon the breaking out of the ſecond war with England, the Dutch could neither ſpare their ſhips of war nor mariners to protect the great number of their Greenland ſhips; and therefor the ſtates prohibited their ſubjects from fiſhing there at all.

King James, who ſtill had the propagation of the ſilk worm much at heart, now earneſtly exhorted the Virginia company to ſet about the cultivation of mulberry trees for that purpoſe, and alſo the planting of vineyards, ſending thither printed inſtructions for thoſe ends. The earl of Southampton alſo, as preſident of that company, requeſted the governor and council to diſtribute copies of thoſe inſtructions all over the colony.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company now aſſiſted Schah Abbas, king of Perſia, to take the famous town and iſland of Ormus from the Portugueſe; for which great ſervice they had half the booty, and had certain immunities alſo granted to them, as particularly, to keep the caſtle of Ormus, ſoon after broken through, and to enjoy half the cuſtoms of Gombroon, to which the commerce of Ormus was removed, though till then only an inconſiderable village; which benefits, valued at L40,000 a-year, ſome ſay, the company enjoyed for fifty years following, and relinquiſhed upon the commencement of war between Perſia and the mogul, for a certain allowance of L3000 yearly; long ſince probably in diſuſe. The Portugueſe removed thereupon to Moſchat, in the Perſian gulf, on the eaſt coaſt of Arabia, which they fortified and ſoon brought to be a place of great traffic, till they were driven thence by the princes of that country; ſo that Moſchat is now a decayed place.

King James again commanded all lords ſpiritual and temporal, (privy councellors, and the ſervants of the king's and prince's houſeholds excepted) and all gentlemen who have ſeats in the country, forthwith to leave London, and to attend their ſervice in the ſeveral counties, to celebrate the approaching feaſt of Chriſtmas, and keep hoſpitality there; which, adds this arbitrary king, is now the more needful, as this is a time of ſcarcity and dearth. And in a ſecond proclamation he enjoins them not only to remain at their ſeats in the Chriſtmas time, but always, till his further pleaſure be known: alſo that widows of diſtinction be included in this order; and that ſuch lords and gentlemen as may have law buſineſs in London do leave their families in the country. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *pp.* 417, 428, and alſo 466.]

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company had at this time poſſeſſion of none of the ſpice iſlands, excepting Amboyna, where they had been ſettled for about two years paſt. It had been agreed between the two com-

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panies, that the Dutch ſhould have two thirds, and the Engliſh company one third part of its cloves, it being almoſt the only iſland producing that ſort of ſpice. But at the cloſe of this year our people were driven from this iſland in a moſt tragical manner. Whether Captain Towerſon, and the reſt of our factory there, had really formed a conſpiracy, as the Dutch allege, to ſeize the caſtle, and to expell the Dutch from the iſland, does not at all appear certain from the evidences produced. And even granting that it had been plainly made out, yet their barbarous racking and tormenting our people to extort a confeſſion of it, was moſt inhuman, and rather argued a ſettled deſign to get rid of the Engliſh at any rate! It is, however, a moſt diſagreeable ſubject to dwell on; let it therefor ſuffice briefly to obſerve, that ten of our people loſt their lives thereby, and the reſt were ſent away to the next Engliſh ſettlement. So the Dutch had now the ſole poſſeſſion of all the ſpice iſlands. Our company made heavy and juſt complaints of that barbarity, yet no violence was offered to the Dutch company on that account, nor any reparation made to our company till the year 1654.

In an agreement between King James and two contractors for victualling the royal navy, we ſee the kind of proviſions allowed to the ſailors, viz.

Every man's dayly allowance was one pound of biſcuit, one gallon of beer, two pounds of beef with ſalt four days in the week; or elſe inſtead of beef for two of thoſe four days, one pound of bacon or pork, and one pint of peaſe, 'as heretofore hath been uſed and accuſtomed:' and for the other three days of the week, one quarter of a ſtockfiſh, half a quarter of a pound of butter, and a quarter of a pound of cheeſe. Saving for the Friday, to have the quantity of fiſh, butter, and cheeſe, but for one meal; or elſe, inſtead of ſtockfiſh, ſuch quantity of other fiſh or herrings as the time of the year ſhall afford.

The purſers to be paid by the contractors for neceſſaries, as wood, candles, diſhes, cans, lanthorns, &c. viz. in ſervice, at ſea, 6*d* for every man per month, and, in harbour, 12*d*; and 2*ſ* to every ſhip for lading charges by the month.

The contractors to have the uſe of all his majeſty's brew-houſes, bake-houſes, mills, and other ſtore-houſes, as well at Towerhill as at Dover, Portſmouth, and Rocheſter *, paying the ſame rent as former contractors paid.

The allowance to the contractors was, for every man's victuals in harbour 7½*d*, and at ſea 8*d* per day.

Sir Allen Apſley and Sir Sampſon Darrell, the contractors, were hereby to enjoy during life the title and office of general purveyors of the victuals of his majeſty's navy. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 441.]

* Theſe were probably all the ports for victualling the navy at that time.

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In this year Gerard Malynes publiſhed his book intitled, *Lex mercatoria*, in folio. He ſtates the quantity of woollen goods of all ſorts, broad and narrow, long and ſhort, made yearly in all England, to be 250,000 pieces or cloths, beſide the new draperies called perpetuanas, &c. Yet he is ſo incorrect and ſo wide from probability in other matters, that there is no depending on him; for inſtance, he reckons the number of people in England to be 16,800,000, and in Scotland 9,000,000; in Ireland 5,500 pariſhes; and in France 22,000,000 of people.

At this time a controverſy aroſe, in print, between Malynes (who was a Netherlander, and had been much employed by King James in mercantile and money matters, and Edward Miſſelden, Eſq. an eminent merchant of London, concerning the balance of commerce running againſt us, as before ſtated, and for redreſſing the ſcarcity of money, then much complained of.

Malynes propoſed, as the means of keeping our money at home, to alter the courſe of exchange by authority; a wild and injudicious fancy: as if foreigners beyond ſea would be directed, againſt their own intereſt, to regard any ſuch laws made in England. This was in his work intitled, the Canker of England's commonwealth, dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil ſecretary of ſtate; and in his treatiſe which he called his Little fiſh and great whale. Mr. Miſſelden, in a piece intitled Free trade, or the means to make trade flouriſh, [12mo, 1622] diſplayed the folly of compulſion in ſuch matters; and more fully in a quarto treatiſe in 1623, which he called the Circle of commerce; wherein, and in another intitled Free trade, he explained the buſineſs of mercantile exchange as it is underſtood at this day, and the weakneſs of attempting to regulate by public authority what is governed by our imports and exports, by the greater or leſs demand for money at home and beyond ſea, by wars, famines, peſtilences, and by other accidental cauſes; all which render it impoſſible to regulate exchanges by authoritative means in dealings with other nations. For though it may be true (as Malynes alleged) that the undervaluing of our own monies, in compariſon with the monies of foreign nations, may contribute ſomewhat to the overbalance, or to the exchange going againſt us, yet the principal cauſe will ever be found to be, the greater value of our importation of foreign goods than of our own merchandize exported. This Malynes would not admit, but obſtinately inſiſted that exchange abſolutely over-rules all money and merchandize; and that a royal proclamation for raiſing the value of our money equal to, or rather higher than, foreign monies, would effectually turn the exchange, and alſo the balance of trade, in our favour. Malynes alſo furiouſly attacked Mr. Miſſelden's laſt treatiſe in one he named the Centre of the circle of commerce. Miſſelden, upon the whole, has plainly the advantage of his conceited antagoniſt; and judiciouſly treats of the true cauſes of the general balance of trade, then ſuppoſed to be run-

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ning againſt us, viz. the conſumption of unneceſſary foreign wares, for mere luxury; the loſs of our Eaſt-India ſtock by the violences of the Dutch company, piracies of the Barbary rovers; the wars of Europe; the neglect of the fiſhery; the new improvements of other nations in manufactures; the decay of our own draperies, &c. His Free trade was reprinted in 1651, and is well worth a peruſal even at this day *. The judicious Mr. Munn, in his treatiſe intitled England's treaſure by foreign trade, in 1664, (p. 103) has the following juſt remark, viz. 'in vain 'therefor has Gerard Malynes laboured ſo long, and in ſo many print-'ed books, to make the world believe that the undervaluing of our 'money in exchange does exhauſt our treaſure, which is a mere fallacy 'of the cauſe, attributing that to a ſecondary means whoſe effects are 'wrought by another principal efficient, and would alſo come to paſs 'although the ſaid ſecondary means were not at all. As vainly alſo hath 'he propounded a remedy, by keeping the price of exchange by bills 'at the *par pro pari*, by public authority, which were a new found of-'fice, without example in any part of the world, being not only fruit-'leſs but alſo hurtful.' Theſe treatiſes are long ſince out of print, and are become ſcarce, which has made the particular mention of them the more neceſſary.

We ſhall cloſe this year with obſerving, that, by the induſtry of the Engliſh Ruſſia, Eaſt-India, and merchant-adventurers, companies, and their building many ſtout ſhips, the commerce of the Hanſe towns was now greatly decayed, more eſpecially thoſe ports on the ſouth ſhores of the Baltic ſea; and their antient ſplendour and influence much abated. The French kings, Louis XI, Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I, had beſtowed great privileges on them. The Emperor Charles V had great loans of money from them; and King Henry III of England incorporated them at London as a trading gild, in acknowlegement of their aſſiſtance in his naval wars, and alſo for money they had lent him. But what availed all theſe conſiderations under their now general declenſion?

1623.—A new proclamation by King James, in the ſtile of his former ones, prohibited eating fleſh in lent, and on other fiſh days; 'for the 'maintenance of the navy and ſhipping, a principal ſtrength of this 'iſland; and for the ſparing and increaſe of fleſh victuals.' [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 447.]

The king gave a grant to the Eaſt-India company, impowering their preſidents and councils in India, or their council of defence there, to puniſh all crimes committed on land in India, either by martial or by

* Much acrimony appeared in this diſpute, and alſo an affectation, in imitation of the king's pedantry, of giving quotations from Greek and Roman authors upon points utterly unknown to the Greeks and Romans, with now and then an Hebrew ſentence, for the greater edification of their readers.

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common law, as the ſeveral caſes may require; ſo as every criminal be tried by a jury of twelve men. In this grant the king recites one, of the 13th year of his reign, which impowered this company to puniſh offences committed in their ſhips whilſt at ſea. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 450.]

The king, by a new proclamation, obliged perſons of quality and land eſtates to withdraw to their country ſeats, in order to promote hoſpitality, &c. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 466.]

Complaints being made by foreign princes, as well as by the merchants of England, that ſundry of our merchants, for their particular profit, ſupplied the rovers of Algiers and Tunis with ammunition and military weapons, and alſo with proviſions, whereby they were enabled to diſturb our own commerce, as well as that of other chriſtian nations, King James ſtrictly prohibited his ſubjects from ſupplying thoſe rovers with any of the 'ſaid particulars.' [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 483.]

The adventurers in the Virginia and Somer-iſles companies, by petition to the king, repreſented the miſmanagements of the ſaid two colonies, whereby their proſperity was retarded; the king thereupon iſſued a commiſſion to the lord chief-juſtice Jones, and others, for taking into their conſideration all letters-patent, commiſſions, orders, &c. relating to thoſe two colonies. They were alſo impowered to inquire into all ſums of money, levied either by the contributions of adventurers, or by voluntary gifts, bequeſts, lotteries, collections, and adventures, or in magazines, &c. for the furtherance of the ſaid plantations; and how the ſame have been expended: alſo what laws and orders the ſaid colonies have made, contrary to the royal charters; and into any frauds and other miſmanagements which may have cauſed the hinderance of their proſperity. And, laſtly, to lay down methods for redreſſing ſuch grievances, and reſtoring the proſperity of the colonies. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 490.]

The firſt excluſive term of the Dutch Eaſt-India company expiring in March 1623, the ſtates-general granted a farther term of twenty-one years longer, after which, their commerce flouriſhed and increaſed ſo much that they enlarged the number of their ſhips every year.

In a treaty between King James and Michael Feodorowitz, czar of Muſcovy, the articles relating to commerce are in ſubſtance as follows, viz.

If, under colour of commerce, any merchants or others ſhall carry warlike ammunition to the enemy of either party, it ſhall not be imputed to the princes of either ſide as any breach of friendſhip; but the party offending ſhall take the peril upon his own head.

All ſuch privileges and grants for freedom of commerce, as by treaties have been granted to the Engliſh merchants by his renowned majeſty of all Ruſſia, and his noble progenitors, ſhall remain in full force. And, by virtue of this alliance, the ſubjects of both princes may, by ſea and

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land, freely traffic to each others countries in all kind of merchandize; and may buy up, and freely tranſport away all kinds of jewels, pretious ſtones, and whatſoever elſe fitting for both the princes treaſuries, as freely as if they were the natives of the ſelf-ſame country.

Provided, that this freedom of commerce be underſtood on the part of Great Britain for all ſuch merchants only, and none other, as are allowed to trade into the dominions of Ruſſia, by the licence of their ſovereign, and according to the gracious letters and privileges granted, and to be granted hereafter, to the Engliſh merchants by his renowned majeſty of all Ruſſia, and the right reverend great lord and holy patriarch of all Ruſſia; and on the part of the ſubjects of the czar of Ruſſia, for all ſuch of his merchants as ſhall be by him allowed to trade into Great Britain, and none other.

And ſuch Engliſh ſubjects trading to Ruſſia, and Ruſſia ſubjects trading to England, without ſuch licences from their reſpective ſovereigns, ſhall be ſeized and delivered up to the reſpective agents of each nation.

The merchants in both countries ſhall be protected from all injuries, and have equal juſtice done them as the native ſubjects have.

Perſons guilty of death ſhall not ſuffer death, nor be put to the torture, till an anſwer from their reſpective ſovereigns ſhall be received concerning them.

The merchants in either country ſhall not be diſturbed on account of difference in religion.

Ambaſſadors, meſſengers, and poſts, and merchants going along with them, of both the contracting parties, ſhall freely and ſafely paſs and repaſs in all parts of both countries, with their attendants, goods, &c. And if either prince ſhall have occaſion to ſend ſuch into other countries, through the countries of the other contracting parties, viz. into Germany, France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, and Netherland, or unto and from Perſia, Turkey, and other parts of the Eaſt not in open hoſtility with either party; they ſhall freely paſs, with all their goods and people, and have due convoy by land and water. And in caſe of death on their journey, their goods ſhall be ſafely kept for thoſe who ſhall have a right to them.

In caſe of ſhipwreck on the coaſts of either prince, the goods ſhall be ſaved for the benefit of the owners. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 504.]

King James now iſſued a proclamation, wherein he obſerves, that in times of dearth, the poorer ſort of his people are pinched with the great want and dear prices of corn. That the treaſure of the kingdom alſo, in thoſe times, is much exhauſted, in providing corn from foreign parts. And, on the contrary, in times of plenty, the farmers, by the low prices of corn, are hardly able to ſupport their neceſſary charge, and pay their rents. And foreſeeing, as well by reaſon as by example of foreign

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nations, that ſuch things may not only in ſome good meaſure be remedied, but alſo the increaſe of tillage may be procured, and the better vending of our native commodities, ſtrength to our ſhipping, and the breeding of many mariners, by erecting magazines of corn, which, in times of ſcarcity, may ſerve to keep down the price of foreign corn, and in times of plenty may keep up the price of our home corn, at ſuch reaſonable rates as will well maintain the huſbandman's labour and hold up the gentlemen's rents,—upon deliberate advice with the privy council, he ordained,

That magazines of corn might be erected by ſuch merchants and others as ſhould be willing to adventure therein, in London, Dover, Portſmouth, Southampton, Briſtol, Exeter, Plymouth, Ipſwich, Lynn, Yarmouth, Hull, York, Newcaſtle, Cheſter, Liverpool, and Haverfordweſt, and in all the ſhire towns of this realm.

And to the intent that thoſe magazines might be ſtored with corn, he declared, that any of his ſubjects might import corn for them from foreign parts, in ſuch quantities as they ſhould think fit, paying only the cuſtoms and ſubſidies of the preſent book of rates. And any perſon might buy and ſtore up in the magazines whatever quantity of Engliſh corn he thought proper, when the average price of Engliſh wheat was under 23*s* per quarter, Engliſh rye under 18*s*, and Engliſh barley under 16*s*, in the counties where the ſame ſhould be bought.

And for the better encouragement of ſuch as ſhould adventure in the magazines, ſuch foreign corn as ſhould be thither brought, might be freely re-exported into foreign parts beyond the ſea in amity with us, ſo as at the time of ſuch tranſportation the uſual price of Engliſh corn in the three next adjacent counties to the magazines whence ſuch tranſportation ſhould be, did not exceed 40*s* the quarter for wheat, 26*s* 8 for rye, and 20*s* for barley. But when the prices for Engliſh corn were higher, then all foreign corn ſhould be kept in the magazines, to be ſold only within this realm, for the proviſion of the ſame.

And when Engliſh corn ſhould be under 32*s* the quarter of wheat, 18*s* rye, and 16*s* barley, then no foreign corn ſhould be ſold within this realm for any other purpoſe but to be ſtored in the magazines, or to be tranſported beyond ſea, paying the due cuſtoms and ſubſidies for the Engliſh corn; that the price of Engliſh corn might be held up for the benefit of the farmer, and that ſuch corn ſo to be tranſported might return a proportion of coin, for repleniſhing the treaſure of this kingdom.

Upon re-exportation of the foreign corn no duties were to be paid, and the exporter of ſuch foreign corn was to make oath that it did not grow in this realm. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 526.]

This plauſible ſcheme however did not take place.

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Magazines of corn at Dantzick and Amſterdam have been found extremely uſeful and profitable to thoſe two cities; though perhaps they might not anſwer ſo well in England. At leaſt ſuch a ſcheme as that we have juſt been reciting muſt undergo a ſtricter examination, and receive many improvements, before it could be reduced to practice in our days.

In this year Malynes (in his Centre of the circle of commerce, written by way of anſwer to Miſſelden's Circle of commerce) gives us the prices of Eaſt-India merchandize both there and here, viz.

In India, Pepper per pound weight,	$2\frac{1}{2}d.$	In England,	$20d$ or 8 to 1
Cloves, -	$9d.$	-	$5s$ or $6\frac{2}{3}$ to 1
Nutmegs, -	$4d.$	-	$3s$ or 9 to 1
Mace, -	$8d.$	-	$6s$ or 9 to 1
Indigo, -	$1s2.$	-	$5s$ or $4\frac{2}{7}$ to 1
Raw ſilk, -	$8s.$	-	$20s$ or $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1

The Dutch Weſt-India company now met with ſo much good luck in taking Spaniſh prizes, that they raſhly made a dividend of 25 per cent to their proprietors. Puffendorf juſtly obſerves, that they ruined themſelves by making ſuch large dividends, and by being more eager for conqueſts than for commerce.

1624.—Though the great complaints againſt monopolies had obliged King James to revoke them all by proclamation in the year 1610, that king and his miniſters, ever in want of money, ſuffered themſelves to be drawn into new ones afterwards. But in the year 1624, much louder complaints were made againſt them than ever, which produced an act of parliament, 'whereby all monopolies, and all commiſſions, grants, licences, and charters, formerly made or granted, or which ſhould hereafter be granted, either to perſons or corporations, for the ſole buying, ſelling, making, working, or uſing of any thing, were made void. And alſo the power to diſpenſe with any others, or to give leave to exerciſe or uſe any thing, againſt the tenor or purport of any law or ſtatute; or to compound with any others for any penalty or forfeitures limited by any ſtatute: alſo, all proclamations, inhibitions, reſtraints, warrants of aſſiſtance, or other matters whatever, any way tending to inſtitute, further, or countenance the ſame, were declared to be altogether contrary to the laws of this realm, void and of none effect. All ſuch monopolies were henceforth to be tried and determined by the common law of this realm, and not otherwiſe. And all perſons were diſabled to uſe any monopoly; and perſons aggrieved thereby might recover triple damages and double coſts. Excepting however patents which the king might ſtill grant for 14 years and no more, for new invented manufactures or arts, never practiſed before, and not being miſchievous to the ſtate, by raiſing the prices of com-

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modities at home, or the hurt of trade. Saving alſo to the city of London, and other cities and towns corporate, their charters concerning any cuſtoms uſed within them, or to any corporations, companies, or fellowſhips of any art, or of any company of merchants erected for the maintenance and enlargement of commerce. Nor did this act extend to charters for printing; or for making ſaltpetre, gunpowder, cannon, cannon-bullets, or alum; nor to Sir Robert Maunſell's patent for making glaſs; nor to a patent for making ſmalt; nor to another for ſmelting iron with pit-coal, granted to Edward Lord Digby.' [21 *Jac. I*, *c.* 3.]

By another ſtatute, it was enacted, that whereas the price of the value of lands and of other commodities of England was much abated; and that notwithſtanding the intereſt on the loan of money continued at ſo high a rate as ten pounds in the hundred pounds for a year, no perſon after the 24th of June 1625, ſhould directly or indirectly take for the loan of any monies, wares, or merchandize, &c. above the value of L8 for the forbearance of L100 for a year. And all bonds, contracts, and aſſurances, made *after* the time aforeſaid, for any uſury above the rates of L8 per cent, were declared void. And whoever ſhould take more, by means of any corrupt bargain, loan, exchange, cheviſance, ſhift, or intereſt of any wares, merchandize, &c. or by any covin, engine, or deceitful conveyance, for the forbearing of money, or other thing whatſoever, than eight per cent, ſhould forfeit triple the value of the money, &c. ſo lent. Scriveners, brokers, ſolicitors, and drivers of bargains for contracts and loans, who ſhould directly or indirectly take for negociating any ſuch loan, over and above the rate of five ſhillings for ever L100, or above twelvepence for making the bond, ſhall forfeit L20, and be impriſoned for ſix months. This act to continue for ſeven years. (Now follows what is ſhameful to appear in any ſtatute-book, after what has been juſt enacted.) Provided, that no words in this law contained ſhall be conſtrued or expounded to allow the practice of uſury in point of religion or conſcience! [21 *Jac. I*, *c.* 17.]

Sir Thomas Culpeper, a member of parliament, was greatly inſtrumental in obtaining this reduction: he laid before the houſe of commons a treatiſe, which he publiſhed in the year 1623, againſt the high rate of intereſt, which his ſon Sir Thomas reprinted in 1668, with intent to get intereſt brought lower, after being reduced to 6 per cent. The later obſerves that this act paſſed with all oppoſition imaginable; it being an untrodden path, and therefor to be hewn out by dint of reaſon. At its paſſing, a zealous oppoſer of it deſired it might be remembered that he had foretold the inconveniencies that would enſue. In anſwer to which, Sir Thomas Culpeper alſo deſired it might be remembered that he had propheſied many happy effects from it; to the king, in the improvement of his cuſtoms; to the landlord, in the advance of

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his rents, and value of his inheritance; to the merchant, in the quickneſs of his trade and benefit of his returns; to the borrower, in the eaſe of his condition, &c. Hereupon Sir Joſiah Child, in his Diſcourſe on trade (publiſhed in 1670), remarks, that in the year 1635, which was but ten years after paſſing this law, there were more merchants to be found on the exchange, worth L1000 and upwards, than were before the year 1600 to be found worth L100. That before this reduction of intereſt, the current price of lands was 12 years purchaſe, which ſoon after roſe conſiderably higher. That the lowering of intereſt enables the landlord to improve his eſtate, and thereby raiſe his rents: that it enables merchants to increaſe foreign trade, whereby home manufacturers and artificers will be increaſed, as alſo our ſtock of other uſeful people; and the poor will be employed *.

In the book, intitled, Cabala, or Myſteries of ſtate, we find a letter from Sir Walter Aſton, then the Engliſh ambaſſador in Spain, to Lord Conway, ſecretary of ſtate, giving advice that three Scottiſh ſhips with their cargoes, were confiſcated at Malaga, for bringing thither certain Dutch commodities. Which we here take notice of, as ſuch a precedent may poſſibly be of uſe hereafter, in diſputes concerning contraband merchandize; and to ſhow that the Scots had ſome commerce in the Mediterranean.

As the making of rivers navigable is of great benefit to commerce, we muſt note, that an act of parliament was now paſſed for making the Thames navigable for barges, lighters, and boats, from the village of Bercot, ſeven miles below Oxford, up to that city, for the conveyance of Oxford freeſtone by water to London, and of coals and other neceſſaries from London to Oxford, now coming at a dear rate, only by land-carriage; whereby the roads were become exceeding bad. [21 *Jac. I, c.* 32.] It is ſomewhat remarkable, that the preamble of this act takes notice, that the river Thames, for many miles beyond the city of Oxford, was already navigable for ſuch barges, lighters, &c. and alſo from Bercot to London. So here was only ſeven miles of that river to be made navigable. And that whereas a former act [3 *Jac. I, c.* 20] did not anſwer the end, viz. for clearing the paſſage by water from London to Oxford, and beyond, it was therefor hereby repealed.

By an act of parliament for granting the king three entire ſubſidies, and three fifteenths, and three tenths, for making war againſt Spain, there was a reſerve of L18,000 out of this grant for the relief of decayed cities and towns. [21 *Jac. I, c.* 34.]

This old way of granting ſupplies to the crown by fifteenths and tenths, has puzzled our modern antiquaries, who ſeem utterly at a loſs

* In this act the word *intereſt* is for the firſt time uſed for the forbearance of money, though the word *uſury* is alſo therein retained as a ſynonymous term.

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at this day to aſcertain the exact manner of levying them, though ſo late as this year. And this is the laſt time that we find mention of that way of granting aids to the crown. This we alſo conceive to be the laſt time that money was in this manner beſtowed on decayed cities and towns.

Cardinal Richlieu entered this year upon his miniſtry in France, and ſucceeded but too well in his great projects of depreſſing the grandees and the proteſtants at home; of reducing the ſuperiority of the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria, and of advancing the commerce, manufactures, and maritime ſtrength of France; whilſt he lulled aſleep the only two potentates of Europe who had it in their power to put a check to ſuch towering and dangerous ſchemes.

It was now that the Dutch firſt invaded Brazil, of which we ſhall ſee they held a conſiderable part for 30 years after.

It was now enacted [21 *Jac. I, c.* 28] that when wheat is not above L1 : 12 per quarter, rye 20*ſ*, peaſe, beans, barley, and malt, 16*ſ*, at the port whither they are brought to be exported, they may then be exported.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company having loaded four ſhips and two pinnaces for India, the duke of Buckingham, lord high admiral, knowing that they muſt loſe their voyage unleſs they ſailed by a certain time, extorted from the company L10,000 for liberty to ſail for India. This was one of the articles of his impeachment, in the year 1626. The duke, in his defence, alleged, that as the company had taken many rich prizes from the Portugueſe in India, and particularly at Ormus, a large part thereof was legally due to the king, and alſo to himſelf as lord-admiral; and that the ſaid L10,000 was the company's compoſition and agreement, inſtead of L15,000, which the law would have given againſt them: and that, moreover, the whole ſum, excepting only L200, was applied by the king for the ſervice of the navy.

It was in the reign of King James I, that the Dutch began the manufacture of fine woollen cloths, and thereby interfered with the Engliſh cloth trade in the Netherlands and elſewhere, inſomuch, that in the laſt year of this king's reign, a certificate was given into the parliament of 25,000 cloths having in that year been manufactured in Holland. Whereupon the houſe of commons reſolved, that the merchant-adventurers company's ſetting impoſts upon our cloths was a grievance, and ought not to be continued; and that all other merchants, as well as that company, might tranſport every where northern and weſtern dozens, kerſies, and new draperies: alſo that other merchants, beſide the merchant-adventurers company, might freely trade with dyed and dreſſed cloths, and all ſorts of coloured cloths, into Germany and the Low countries.

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The king renewed his prohibition of the manufacture of gold and ſilver thread, gold and ſilver foliate (leaf), purles, oes ſpangles, &c. as tending to the conſumption of the coin and bullion of this kingdom. And having granted a charter of incorporation to the governors, aſſiſtants, and commonalty of gold-wire drawers of London, he had hoped, by reducing thoſe trades under order and government, to avoid the unneceſſary waſte of coin and bullion. But having now fully underſtood, as well by the complaint of his commons in the late ſeſſion of parliament, as upon examination by the lords of the council, that not only the ſaid corporation (which was thereupon revoked and declared to be void), but alſo the ſaid manufactures, are unfit to be continued, &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 605.]

King James, by proclamation, once more confirmed all his former injunctions againſt erecting buildings on new foundations in London and its ſuburbs. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 608.]

We have a pretty diſtinct view of the condition of the colony of Virginia, in a commiſſion from King James to many lords and gentlemen, as follows, viz. we having, by letters-patent, of the fourth year of our reign, granted power to divers knights, gentlemen, and others, for the more ſpeedy accompliſhment of the plantation of Virginia, that they ſhould divide themſelves into two colonies: the one to conſiſt of Londoners, called the firſt colony; and the other of thoſe of Briſtol, Exeter, and Plymouth, called the ſecond colony. And we did, by ſeveral letters under our privy-ſeal, preſcribe orders and conſtitutions for directing the affairs of the ſaid colony.

And whereas, afterward, upon the petition of divers adventurers and planters of the London colony, we, by letters-patent, in the 7th year of our reign, incorporated divers noblemen, knights, &c. by the name of the treaſurer and company of adventurers and planters of the city of London, for the firſt colony in Virginia; granting them divers lands, territories, &c. to be conveyed by them to the adventurers and planters; with power to have a council there reſident for the affairs of the colony; and alſo to place and diſplace officers.

And afterward, in the 9th year of our reign, we, by letters-patent, did farther mention to give that company divers iſles on that coaſt.

And whereas, we, finding the courſes taken for ſettling the colony have not taken the good effect we intended, did, by a late commiſſion to ſundry perſons of quality and truſt, cauſe the ſtate of it to be examined into; who, after much pains taken, reported, that moſt of our people ſent thither had died by ſickneſs and famine, and by maſſacres by the natives; and that ſuch as are ſtill living were in lamentable neceſſity and want; though they (the commiſſioners) conceived the country to be both fruitful and healthful, and that, if induſtry were uſed, it would produce many good ſtaple commodities. But, by neglect of

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the governors and managers here, it had as yet produced few or none. That the ſaid plantations are of great importance; and would, as they hoped, remain a laſting monument of our moſt gracious and happy government to all poſterity, if the ſame were proſecuted to thoſe ends for which they were firſt undertaken. Whereupon we, entering into mature conſideration of the premiſes, did, by advice of our privy-council, reſolve to alter the charters of the ſaid company as to points of government: but the ſaid treaſurer and company not ſubmitting thereto, the ſaid charters are now avoided by a *quo warranto*. Wherefor, we direct you to conſider the ſtate of the ſaid colony, and what points are fitting to be inſerted in the intended new charter, and to report to us. And, in the mean time, to take care to ſupply the planters there with neceſſaries, and to do all other acts needful for maintaining the colony. The king ſoon after appointed Sir Francis Wyatt governor of Virginia, with eleven counſellors, reſiding in the colony. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *pp.* 609, 616.]

King James once more diſplayed his averſion to tobacco, by the following proclamation, viz.

'Whereas our commons, in their laſt ſeſſion of parliament, became 'humble petitioners unto us, that, for many weighty reaſons, much 'concerning the intereſt of our kingdom, and the trade thereof, we 'would, by our royal power, utterly prohibit the uſe of all foreign to-'bacco, which is not of the growth of our own dominions: and 'whereas we have upon all occaſions made known our diſlike we have 'ever had of the uſe of tobacco in general, as tending to the corrup-'tion both of the health and manners of our people: nevertheleſs, 'becauſe we have been often and earneſtly importuned by many of our 'loving ſubjects, planters and adventurers in Virginia and the Somer 'iſles, that as thoſe colonies are yet but in their infancy, and cannot be 'brought to maturity, unleſs we will be pleaſed for a time to tolerate 'the planting and vending the tobacco of their growth, we have con-'deſcended to their deſires: and do therefor hereby ſtrictly prohibit 'the importation of any tobacco from beyond ſea, or from Scotland, 'into England or Ireland, other than from our colonies before named: 'Moreover, we ſtrictly prohibit the planting of any tobacco either in 'England or Ireland.' The reſt of this proclamation relates to ſearching for and burning foreign tobacco, and marking and ſealing the legal tobacco of our colonies. On the 2d of March 1624-5 he iſſued another proclamation to the ſame effect. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *pp.* 621, 668.]

1625.—In February 1624-5, King James iſſued a freſh proclamation againſt eating fleſh in lent, &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 661.]

In that ſame month he iſſued his warrant to the duke of Buckingham, as high-admiral, that whereas many of his ſubjects had ſuffered great wrongs and damages, as well at ſea as otherwiſe; not only by the

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ſubjects of our brother the king of Spain, and of the Low countries, but alſo by thoſe under the ſtates of the United Netherlands; and all fair courſes and due proceedings have been in vain uſed, in demanding reſtitution or reparation thereof; and that thereupon our ſaid ſubjects have made humble ſuit unto us for letters of repriſal: we therefor will, require, and authorize you to grant your commiſſion for apprehending and taking the goods, ſhips, and merchandize of the king of Spain's ſubjects of the Low countries, as alſo thoſe of the ſubjects of the United Netherlands, for the ſatisfaction of our loving ſubjects ſo damnified; and in ſuch manner and form as ſhall be agreed on by our privy-council, or any ſix of them, in writing under their hands. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xvii, *p.* 667 *.]

King James died 27th March 1625. His lofty ideas of his prerogative are diſplayed in numerous proclamations and injunctions, commanding and prohibiting ſuch things as in later times would not be ſubmitted to under any other authority than that of parliament. His getting his attorney-general, Sir John Davis, to write, and dedicate to him, a treatiſe in favour of his prerogative of levying the tonnage and poundage-duty by his ſole authority, encouraged his ſon and ſucceſſor to levy ſhip-money in the ſame manner; which proved his ruin. Such doctrines, which Davis endeavoured to ſupport by quoting precedents, did virtually deſtroy all the eſſential rights of parliament; and particularly that of giving money for the public ſervice. Davis's book (the title whereof was, the Queſtion concerning impoſitions, tonnage, poundage, prizage, cuſtoms, &c. fully ſtated and argued from reaſon, law, and policy) was reprinted in the year 1656, probably by connivance of the government, for expoſing the arbitrary tempers of both father and ſon. Its concluſion runs thus: 'that by virtue of an antient 'prerogative inherent to his crown, the king of England may juſtly 'and lawfully ſet impoſitions upon merchandize, and may limit and 'rate the quantity and proportion thereof, by his own wiſdom and diſcretion, without an act of parliament.'

On the 30th of March 1625, Charles I king of England ratified the contract, which his father King James had made juſt before his death, for his marriage with the princeſs Henrietta Maria, ſiſter of Louis XIII king of France. Her portion was 800,000 crowns of 3 livres each (or L240,000 ſterling); half to be paid down, the other half in one year after. She was to have L18,000 ſterling (or 60,000 French crowns) yearly, for her ſeparate uſe. So that $3\frac{1}{3}$ French crowns, or 10 livres,

* We ſee a like warrant for repriſals a few months after by his ſon King Charles I againſt both the ſaid nations, exactly in the ſtile and form hereof; and another again in the ſame year. Yet, in neither of thoſe warrants are the particular damages complained of at all ſpecified. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *pp.* 12, 188.]

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were then equal to one pound ſterling. She was alſo to have the value of 50,000 crowns in rings. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 673.]

The author of an hiſtory of the Caribbee iſles (publiſhed at Paris in 1658, and at London, in Engliſh, in 1666), relates, that the Engliſh and French colonies in thoſe iſles had their beginning in the ſame year (1625): that Monſ. Deſnambuc, a ſea captain in the ſervice of France, and Sir Thomas Warner, an Engliſh gentleman, jointly took poſſeſſion of the iſle of St. Chriſtophers on the very ſame day, with about 300 perſons of each nation, in behalf of their reſpective kings; in order that they might have a place of ſafe retreat for the reception of the ſhips of both nations at any time bound for America. In thoſe firſt times, the Engliſh, it ſeems, were wiſer than the French, in building good houſes there, and having wives and children; whereas the French contented themſelves with ſuch huts as the Caribbean natives had, few of them being married. The firſt Engliſh planters employed themſelves in raiſing tobacco; but afterward, in imitation of Barbadoes, they fell into ſugar, indigo, cotton, and ginger, whereby they ſoon became rich. That iſland had been diſcovered long before by Columbus, though never planted till this year by any nation. It was, however, found to poſſeſs ſeveral natural advantages, which induced the Spaniards frequently to ſtop at it in their American voyages. But this French author frankly owns, that, for preventing any ſecret intelligence between the native Caribs of the iſland and the Spaniards, (who were at this time the common enemy of both nations in America) the Engliſh and French, in one night, diſpatched all the moſt factious of the Caribs; and, not long after, forced all the reſt to quit the iſland. In the following year the French king incorporated a number of gentlemen for planting the American iſles. This, therefor, according to this author, was the firſt of all the Weſt-India iſles planted by either England or France *; the bold claims of Spain to the ſole property of all thoſe iſlands having deterred other nations till now from ſettling thereon: but, as the power of Spain was now viſibly declining, thoſe nations juſtly thought they had a good right to take poſſeſſion of ſuch iſles as Spain had never yet planted on; as we ſhall ſee they gradually did on many others of them.

Our hiſtoriographers of the city of London relate, that it was in this year that hackney coaches firſt began to ply in London ſtreets, or rather at the inns, to be called for as they were wanted; and they were at this time only twenty in number. In ten years time they were increaſed ſo much in number that King Charles then thought it worth his while to iſſue an order of council for reſtraining their increaſe.

King Charles now renewed his father's commiſſion to twelve commiſſioners of the navy. Theſe ſeem to have been moſtly ſtationed, as at

* The Engliſh colony of Barbadoes was ſettled in the year 1614.

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preſent, in diſtinct branches; ſuch as a comptroller, a ſurveyor, a clerk of the navy, &c. The firſt of that number was Sir Richard Weſton, chancellor of the exchequer, and another of them was Sir William Ruſſell, who was alſo treaſurer of the navy. They were, as at preſent, ſubordinate to the lord high admiral, or the admiralty-board, from whom they were to receive directions in maritime affairs.

The proteſtant boors of Auſtria now took up arms, to recover the free exerciſe of their religion, and they became maſters of ſome places; but, not being ſupported by any foreign potentate, they were reduced to ſubjection in the following year, and ſeverely puniſhed. Hereupon the emperor Ferdinand II compelled all the proteſtant gentry, clergy, and ſchoolmaſters, to leave Auſtria; many of whom were kindly and wiſely received by the Swedes and other proteſtant ſtates, to the increaſe of their wealth and people.

King Charles by proclamation, prohibited the importation of any tobacco not of the growth of Virginia, or of the Somer iſles. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 19.]

King Charles iſſued a proclamation ſetting forth, 'that whereas the 'making of alum was diſcovered not many years ſince in Yorkſhire, 'and brought to ſuch perfection, as there is no doubt but ſufficient 'quantities may be made, as well for home uſe as for exportation: 'which being a work of ſo great honour to this kingdom, and of ſuch 'uſe and conſequence; whereby many families are kept at work, much 'treaſure ſaved at home, which heretofore was exported for alum, and 'ſome increaſe alſo to the revenue; he therefor ſtrictly commanded, 'that no foreign alum ſhould be imported, and that no Engliſh alum, 'once exported, ſhould be re-imported, or uſed in England.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 21.]

It was upon the farm of this alum duty, jointly with that on ſugar, and other branches of the revenue, that the famous merchant Sir Paul Pindar advanced to this king ſo large a ſum as £130,000, on account of which he and his creditors were great ſufferers, by reaſon of the civil wars which enſued.

Another of King Charles's proclamations this year was, for maintaining and increaſing the ſaltpetre mines of England, for the neceſſary and important manufacture of gunpowder. The king obſerves, 'that 'our realm naturally yields ſufficient mines of ſaltpetre, without de- 'pending on foreign parts: wherefor, for the future, no dove-houſe 'ſhall be paved with ſtone, bricks, nor boards, lime, ſand, nor gravel, 'nor any other thing whereby the growth and increaſe of the mine of 'ſaltpetre may be hindered or impaired; but the proprietors ſhall ſuf- 'fer the floors or ground thereof, as alſo all ſtables where horſes ſtand, 'to lie open with good and mellow earth, apt to breed increaſe of the 'ſaid mine of ſaltpetre. And that none hinder or deny any ſaltpetre-

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'man, lawfully deputed thereto, from digging, taking, or working any 'ground which by commiſſion may be taken and wrought for ſaltpetre. 'Neither ſhall any conſtable, or other officer, neglect to furniſh any ſuch 'ſaltpetre-men with convenient carriages, that the king's ſervice ſuffer 'not. None ſhall bribe any ſaltpetre-man for the ſparing or forbearing 'of any ground fit to be wrought for ſaltpetre. That all dovehouſes, 'and other places digged for ſaltpetre, be, when the earth thereof is 'wrought over, laid ſmooth and flat again as before. That no ſaltpetre 'be exported, neither ſold at home to any but the king's powder-maker, 'who ſhall not receive for any gunpowder ſold by him to any of the 'king's ſubjects above 10*d* the pound weight.' The proclamation proceeds to direct the trial of the goodneſs of gunpowder before it is ſold. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 23.] The ſaltpetre and gunpowder buſineſs was one of that king's greateſt monopoly-projects; and his manner of directing it was far from ſuiting the genius of a free people.

Charles was ſo much a tranſcript of his father that we are not to wonder at their proclamations having ſo great a reſemblance. His proclamation againſt new foundations in and near London, and for rebuilding the houſes either with brick or ſtone, is exactly in the ſtile and form of his father's. He alſo therein gives directions for the dimenſions, true making, and price of bricks, viz. that the ſize of them be, in length 9 inches, in breadth $4\frac{3}{8}$, and in thickneſs $2\frac{1}{4}$; and that the price of one thouſand ſuch bricks at the kiln ſhall not exceed 8*s*. No bricks ſhall be made within one mile of any of the gates of London, or of the palace of Weſtminſter. Cottages, ſheds, and other nuiſances, to be removed from the city and ſuburbs: with other commendable regulations for its beauty and uniformity. A ſecond alſo, of the very ſame tenor, came out in this ſame year. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *pp.* 33, 97.]

King Charles granted to Sir Francis Crane L2000 yearly, for ten years: the one half of which ſum was what he had formerly engaged to allow him for that term, for the ſupport of the tapeſtry manufacture at Mortlake in Surry: the other half was in lieu of paying him L6000 due to him for three ſuits of gold tapeſtries, delivered for the king's uſe. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 60.]

Another proclamation grants a commiſſion to many lords and gentlemen, for certain regulations in ſearching for mines of gold, ſilver, or copper, or of lead holding ſilver, as alſo for quickſilver in Cardiganſhire; of which mines the king had granted a leaſe for 31 years to Sir Hugh Middleton. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 66.]

After the Virginia company had, at ſundry times, raiſed by ſubſcriptions from their adventurers a capital of no leſs than L200,000, ſtill, in vain, hoping for gold and ſilver mines, and other very rich productions, many of them at length became weary of the charge, as not finding the profit by any means to anſwer expectation, and ſold out their ſhares; and

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ſuch as continued in it had perpetual wranglings. So valuable a country and colony was, however, by no means to be abandoned; more eſpecially as the planters there were now well able to ſubſiſt independently of their mother country. Several gentlemen, therefor, about this time, with their effects and with many ſervants, went thither on a ſeparate bottom. Whereupon the king iſſued the following proclamation, which firſt eſtabliſhed the prudent form of government, in which this and the other regal colonies have remained till now (1762), viz. that whereas, in his father's time, the charter of the Virginia company was, by a *quo warranto*, annulled; and whereas his father was, and he himſelf alſo is, of opinion, that the government of that colony by a company incorporated, conſiſting of a multitude of perſons, of various diſpoſitions, amongſt whom affairs of the greateſt moment are ruled by a majority of votes, was not ſo proper for carrying on the affairs of the colony: wherefor, to reduce the government thereof to ſuch a courſe as might beſt agree with that form which was held in our royal monarchy; and conſidering alſo, that we hold thoſe territories of Virginia and the Somer iſles, as alſo that of New-England, (lately planted) with the limits thereof, to be a part of our royal empire; we ordain, that the government of the colony of Virginia ſhall immediately depend on ourſelf, and not be committed to any company or corporation, to whom it may be proper to truſt matters of trade and commerce, but not the ordering of ſtate affairs. Wherefor our commiſſioners for thoſe affairs ſhall proceed as directed, till we eſtabliſh a council here for that colony, to be ſubordinate to our privy-council. And we will alſo eſtabliſh another council, to be reſident in Virginia, who ſhall be ſubordinate to our council here for that colony. And at our own charge we *will* maintain thoſe public officers and miniſters, and ſuch ſtrength of men, munition, and fortification, as ſhall be neceſſary for the defence of that plantation. And we will alſo ſettle and aſſure the particular rights and intereſts of every planter and adventurer. Laſtly, whereas the tobacco of thoſe plantations (the only preſent means of their ſubſiſting) cannot be managed for the good of the plantations, unleſs it be brought into one hand, whereby the foreign tobacco may be carefully kept out, and the tobacco of thoſe plantations may yield a certain and ready price to the owners thereof; to avoid all differences between the planters and adventurers themſelves, we reſolve to take the ſame into our own hands, and to give ſuch prices for the ſame as may give reaſonable ſatisfaction; whereof we will determine at better leiſure. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 72.]

Had tobacco been then as much in uſe as at preſent, this monopoly of it, ſo early begun by King Charles, would have enabled him to raiſe much money, without depending on parliament. And it was certainly a good ſcheme to enhance the price of it at his pleaſure! From this time forward, aſſemblies of the repreſentatives of the planters in Vir-

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ginia regularly met by authority of the crown, to enact laws, with the consent of the king's governor and council, the last having ever since acted separately as an upper house: but the dernier resort in all law proceedings is in the assembly. A patent-office was now also established, not only for offices in Virginia, but for disposing of vacated grants of new lands, on the easy terms of 2*s* sterling per annum quit-rent to the crown for ever, for each hundred acres to be granted. And this encouraged many persons of substance to go from England and settle there, whereby the country soon became populous; and the Indians decreasing even faster than the English increased, thereby the later have enjoyed peace and tranquillity.

King Charles appointed commissioners for inquiring into and removing the causes of the low price of wool, and of the exportation thereof; as also for regulating the making of cloth, stuffs, &c.; concerning the fishery also; and the hemp, flax, and corn trade of Eastland; the East-India trade; the bringing in of bullion; the linen cloth trade, &c. exactly in the form of the late king's proclamations for those ends, as already noted. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 81.]

We find now the first authentic record of copper coins being used in England by royal authority; the king reciting, that whereas his late royal father took order, that instead of unwarranted farthing tokens, till then used by vintners, chandlers, tapsters, and other retailers, to the loss of his loving subjects, there should be others made by his own warrant *, under his own royal name and inscription, and a constant rechange settled, whereby the subject might have the lawful use of them, with much ease and without loss. Which copper money having since had general circulation through our kingdoms of England and Ireland, has brought a general benefit. We do therefor hereby command, that no farthing or other tokens shall be made or used but those of our royal father, by his letters-patent, and of us, by like letters-patent, granted this same year to the duchess dowager of Richmond and Lenox, and Sir Francis Crane, for which they are to pay us one hundred marks per annum for seventeen years. The said copper farthings (or farthing tokens) to have thereon, on one side, two sceptres crossing under a crown; on the other side, a harp crowned, with the king's name and

* This warrant does not appear (See above under the year 1609). It was probably soon after the time that King James was so earnest for an union of the two kingdoms; for Ruddiman (quoting a manuscript work of Thomas Craig upon the proposed union) observes, that one of the objections made by the Scots to the union was, that, as the English had no copper money, if the money of Scotland was thenceforth to be regulated entirely by the English standard, the poor must suffer greatly by the want of copper money. [*Ruddimanni præfatio ad Andersoni Diplomata*, *p.* 66, *not. f.*]

Ruddiman, immediately after the passage now quoted, says, that James I coined copper money in England. So it may be considered as certain, that there was copper money in England before the reign of Charles, as the accuracy and integrity of Ruddiman are sufficient to establish the truth of it; and he may have seen the copper pieces of James's coin, though not to be found now. *M.*

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titles. The patentees were thereby bound to deliver out 21/ in tale of farthings for every 20/ of ſilver, and to pay back 20/ in ſilver for every 21/ by tale in copper farthings, whenever demanded. [*Fœdera, V.* xviii, *pp.* 108, 143.]

King Charles, like his father, was generally much indebted to the merchants, goldſmiths, &c. of London, who advanced money from time to time to the crown, by way of anticipation on the public revenues. The king acknowleges his debt of L27,000 of this ſort to the famous merchant Sir William Courten; the half of which ſum had been lent to King James, the other half to himſelf. For which loan intereſt was allowed at the rate of L8 per cent. [*Fœdera, V.* xviii, *p.* 156.]

King Charles granted an excluſive patent for fourteen years to a goldſmith of London, for the ſole making and practice of certain compound ſtuffs and waters, extracted out of certain minerals, &c. of this realm, called by the name of cement, or dreſſing for ſhips, to prevent them from burning in fights at ſea; and alſo to preſerve them from the ſea-worm or bernacle: for which grant this projector was to pay forty ſhillings per annum into the exchequer. This ſeemed to be but a trifling matter; yet, as we ſhall ſee a great number of ſuch from time to time authorized by this king, it ſeems to have been from the beginning, his intention thereby to accumulate a new revenue, without depending on parliamentary grants.

King Charles made a grant of one of his pinnaces to his high admiral the duke of Buckingham, in conſideration of his undertaking to adventure for a diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage to China, &c. An action (ſays this grant) of great importance to trade and navigation, and in ſundry reſpects of ſingular benefit to all our realms and dominions. [*Fœdera, V.* xviii, *p.* 166.]

The king appointed his lord high admiral, the duke of Buckingham, to command in chief, both by ſea and land, on an intended expedition againſt Spain. His inſtructions were, to annoy that crown by all ways poſſible, either by plundering the towns, or by taking the plate fleet, or other ſhipping, &c. He was alſo to detach ſome of his ſhips to the port of Sallee, in Barbary, to treat for redeeming the Engliſh captives there, and for ſecuring trade from the piracies; as alſo for procuring proviſions for his fleet, which had 10,000 land forces on board. [*Fœdera, V.* xviii, *p.* 171.] But, miſſing the plate fleet, Sir John Burroughs landed in the bay of Cadiz, burnt a few villages in that neighbourhood, and then returned home, without having done any effectual ſervice with ſo great an armament.

A league offenſive and defenſive was concluded at the Hague, on the 2d of Auguſt, between King Charles and the ſtates of the United Netherlands, againſt Spain. The ſtates-general were to join twenty of their ſhips of war to the Engliſh fleet, which is ſaid to have conſiſted of eighty-

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two ſhips of war, for a joint attack upon Cadiz: the Dutch to have one fifth part of the ſpoil: which deſign, however, was never put in execution; any more than another, of the ſame year, and againſt Spain too, dated Southampton, 17th September 1625, conſiſting of forty articles. [*Collection of treaties*, *V.* ii, *ed.* 1732.]

We muſt here do King Charles the juſtice to remark, that in this year we find three different applications from him to his brother-in-law Louis XIII of France, for ſending back the ſhips he had lent him; and inſiſting on their not being employed againſt his proteſtant ſubjects, (meaning the Rochellers.)

Queen Henrietta Maria's marriage portion of 800,000 French crowns, was in this ſame year brought into England, all in ſilver money, intended to be recoined at the tower; but a plague raging in London, which had infected ſome of the coiners, the king poſtponed the recoinage; and for the more eaſily paying the ſoldiers and ſailors wages of the fleet then fitting out, he declared the French coin to be current for a time. It was all of one ſort, called a quart d'ecu, (i. e. a quarter crown) worth 19½*d.* Yet, by an inundation of baſe and light ones, the king was quickly obliged to annull the currency of that coin.

King Charles being in great difficulties for money to carry on his war againſt Spain, employed the duke of Buckingham to borrow L300,000 ſterling of the ſtates-general of the United Netherlands, or their ſubjects, upon the pledge of a great number of incomparably rich and noble crown jewels and veſſels of gold, adorned with pretious ſtones, which were delivered to that duke out of the king's jewel houſe. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 246.]

King Charles iſſued a proclamation prohibiting all commerce with Spain and the Spaniſh Netherlands; and commanding that no ſhip of 60 tons or upwards be ſet to ſea, unleſs ſhe be furniſhed with muſkets and bandeliers, becauſe of the danger of his ſubjects venturing to ſea in theſe perilous times, ill furniſhed with arms and weakly manned. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 251.]

He again iſſued a proclamation, exactly in the uſual form, againſt eating fleſh in lent, or on other fiſh days; and for the ſame reaſons. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 268.]

This king being to be crowned on Candlemas day, iſſued out writs to the ſheriffs, to oblige all who held lands of the crown of the value of L40 yearly, or upward, who were not already knights, to come and take that order upon them. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 278.]

The reader needs not be acquainted, that this was an uſual practice of our kings in elder times to raiſe money on urgent occaſions.

1626.—The author of the *Golden fleece*, [4to, 1626] a judicious treatiſe on commerce, gives a ſuccinct view of the Eaſt-India commerce, &c. as it then ſtood with reſpect to Europe, viz.

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'Before the Londoners and Hollanders ſailed thither, the Turks uſed 'to ſhare with the Portugueſe in thoſe commodities which now the pro- 'teſtants trade for. Heretofore they paid at Liſbon, Aleppo, or Alexan- 'dria,

'For every lb. weight of pepper, 2ſ; now it coſts us in India but 3d
'——————————— mace, 4ſ6 ——————————— 9d
'——————————— cloves, 4ſ6 ——————————— 10d
'——————————— nutmegs, 2ſ ——————————— 4d
'——————————— indigo, 4ſ ——————————— 1ſ

'Perſian raw ſilk, per pound 12ſ. now from the Perſian gulf under 8ſ

'And if we tranſport none of our corn, but only that of foreign na- 'tions, carrying alſo ſome of our tin, lead, and woollen cloths, to the 'Perſian gulf, where they are beſt vendible, there is no queſtion but this 'kingdom will be much enriched: for the Sound of Denmark, the Hanſe 'towns, and France, will return us more money than we need to ſend 'into India.'

King Charles by proclamation ordered that the medium allowance for every ſailor ſhould be 20ſ per month, which till now was but 14ſ, by which means there will accrue to every ordinary ſailor 14ſ (net money) per month, beſides an allowance out of it of 4d to a preacher, 2d to a barber, and 6d per month to the cheſt at Chatham: whereas the ordinary men have now but 9ſ4 (net) per month, and no allowance at all given to a preacher. Out of the ſurpluſage of which (addition) all officers wages were likewiſe reſpectively raiſed; and an allowance alſo for a lieutenant and a corporal.

'And whereas Queen Elizabeth for the encouragement of ſhip-build- 'ing, gave a premium of 5ſ per ton for every ſhip built above the bur- 'den of one hundred tons, which was revived by King James; King 'Charles now allowed 5ſ per ton for every ſhip that ſhould be built of '200 tons and upwards.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 679.]

The author of the Golden fleece gives us a ſketch of the fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, in which he ſays, the ports of Devonſhire annually employed 150 ſhips, and carried (as at this day) their fiſh to Spain and Italy. It ſeems in thoſe days, that fiſhery was grievouſly diſ- turbed by pirates, who had, in a few years before, pillaged them to the damage of L40,000, beſides the loſs of 100 pieces of ordnance, and of above 1500 mariners, to the great hinderance of navigation. In another place he ſays, that this fiſhery maintained 8000 perſons for ſix months in Newfoundland, and ſupported many thouſands of families at home, as well their own families as thoſe employed in preparing nets, caſks, victuals, &c. and in repairing the ſhips for that voyage*.

* The judicious Mr. Wood, the preſent ſecre- tary of the board of cuſtoms, in his *Eſſay on trade* (1718) thinks, that one hundred years before (i. e. about 1618) England had above 200 ſail of ſhips employed in this fiſhery, and furniſhed all Europe with fiſh.

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In this ſame year, the famous Sir Thomas Herbert ſailed with ſix ſhips for Eaſt-India, of which, and of Perſia, Japan, and the Moluccos, he gives a judicious account, for the time he lived in. At Caſbin, in Perſia, Sir Robert Shirley and Sir Dudmore Cotton, the two Engliſh ambaſſadors (with whom he had travelled) both died; and he returned home over land through Perſia.

Howell, in his life of King Louis XIII of France, publiſhed in the year 1646, gives us an edict of that king, in this year, which prohibits all commerce with England; and that no kind of grain, wines, or pulſe, ſhould be exported to England; nor from England to France; nor any cloths, ſerges, wools, lead, tin, ſtuffs, ſilk ſtockings, &c. By this (ſays Howell) one may obſerve the advantage that England hath of France, in variety and ſubſtance of merchandize. This we here take notice of the rather, becauſe, were we ever ſo much at peace with that nation in our days, the caſe is ſo widely different from what it was then, that they would take none of thoſe particulars from us but lead and tobacco; and they now know better than to prohibit the importation of our wool. So fluctuating is the courſe of trade in this and many more inſtances which might be produced. For Cardinal Richlieu, after reducing the power of the great nobility of France, earneſtly promoted manufactures and maritime commerce, for the enriching of that kingdom; which Moriſot (in his Orbis maritimus) juſtly calls the ſplendour of kingdoms whilſt in peace, and their main ſupport in wars. To this end he incorporated a ſociety of one hundred merchants for traffic, both to the eaſt and weſt, by ſea and land, with a capital of 600,000 livres; who alſo engaged to lay out as much more in building ſtout ſhips at Morbihan, near Vannes, in Bretagne, where they erected warehouſes, offices, and docks, and ſo many dwelling houſes as made a good town. To that company alſo he committed the ſole trade to Canada, which they very ſoon greatly improved. That cardinal, indeed, highly merited the dignity conferred on him of ſuperintendant-general of the commerce and navigation, and high-admiral of France. He perſuaded Louis XIII to lay out a vaſt ſum in the purchaſe of ſhips in Holland, Denmark, and the Hanſe towns, for the protection of the coaſts, the rovers of Barbary having taken or deſtroyed above one hundred French ſhips, and made ſlaves of ſome thouſands of their people, whereby many families were undone: which improvements, though not effected ſo early as this year, we judged might come in properly enough in this place.

The king having ſuddenly diſſolved the parliament, becauſe they refuſed to ſettle the duty of tonnage and poundage on him, till their grievances ſhould be redreſſed, by his own authority directed the cuſtoms, ſubſidies, and impoſts on merchandize, exported and imported, to be collected as uſual in the manner they were collected at his father's death. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 737.]

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The king directed a commiſſion to the officers of his mint, for his money to be coined of the ſame fineneſs as before, viz. ſilver, of 11 oz. 2 pwt. fine; crown gold of 22 carats fine; and angel gold to be, as already it is, of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains fine: alſo that a pound weight of ſilver ſhall make in current money L3 : 10 : 6. And that the pound weight of crown gold ſhall make in current money L44 by tale, of ſuch pieces of gold as are now uſually coined of that fineneſs. [*Fœdera, V.* xviii, *p.* 741.] This was an unaccountable direction, to have two ſets of gold coins of different fineneſs and purity, (in which he imitated his father) and alſo to coin his ſilver money lighter than before; of which we ſhall preſently treat more fully.

King Charles being determined to raiſe what money he wanted, without being beholden for it to a parliament, granted a commiſſion to the lord-treaſurer and other great officers of ſtate, to ſell or grant in fee-farm, or for term of lives or years, in poſſeſſion or in reverſion, all or any of his honours, manors, old caſtles, foreſts, chaces, parks, lands, tenements, woods, &c. both in the ſurvey of the exchequer, and in the duchy of Lancaſter; as well ſuch as were held by copy as by leaſe, cuſtody, &c. [*Fœdera, V.* xviii, *p.* 771.] The king had run himſelf deeply in arrear, for fitting out his late fleets with land forces, &c. againſt Spain: there was alſo a conſiderable debt at his father's death; and he had already mortgaged to the city of London, in its corporate capacity, divers manors, lands, tenements, &c. Thus did this king moſt improvidently for himſelf, and his ſucceſſors, though perhaps not inauſpiciouſly for the liberties of the people, diveſt himſelf of a moſt royal eſtate and revenue in lands: an eſtate which had ever been the principal independent ſupport of the yearly expenſe of his predeceſſors, and their houſehold in times of peace.

The king, in two ſeparate commiſſions, appointed an envoy to the piratical ſtates of Barbary, and to the town of Sallee, to treat of the redemption of Engliſh captives, and alſo of peace and commerce with them; for which purpoſes the envoy carried with him all the Moors who had been made priſoners by the Engliſh, as alſo four braſs and two iron cannons, with ammunition, &c. as preſents: a method early practiſed by all other chriſtian ſtates in treating with thoſe people, to ſupply them with weapons for their own deſtruction! [*Fœdera, V.* xviii, *pp.* 793, 807.]

It being near Chriſtmas, King Charles again enjoined the nobility, &c. to withdraw from London, to exerciſe hoſpitality at their ſeats in the country. [*Fœdera, V.* xviii, *p.* 798.]

The French having this year ſeized on the Engliſh merchant ſhips in divers ports of France, by way of repriſal for three French ſhips lately taken by the Engliſh ſhips of war, and likewiſe on account of certain older pretended claims on England, amounting in all to L25,000 ſter-

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ling, King Charles granted a commiſſion for ſeizing on all the French effects in the Engliſh ports, by way of counter-repriſal. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 802.]

1627.—A proclamation of King Charles came out, importing, that the practice of making ſaltpetre in England, by digging up the floors of dwelling-houſes, dove-houſes, ſtables, &c. tended too much to the grievance of his ſubjects: and that, notwithſtanding all the trouble and charge attending this method, the undertakers could never yet furniſh this realm with one third part of the ſaltpetre requiſite, eſpecially in time of war, when moſt wanted; the earth of itſelf not being able to engender the matter whereof ſaltpetre is made, in many years, without the aid of artificial means for enriching the earth: and yet the neceſſity of the preſent times requires ſo much to be made, as would ſo impoveriſh the earth, that in a ſhort time we ſhould be utterly deſtitute of that ineſtimable treaſure. Whereupon Sir John Brooke, and Thomas Ruſſell, Eſq. have propoſed to us, to make ſuch quantities of ſaltpetre as our realms ſhall want, and alſo to ſupply foreign nations therewith, by a new invention of their own, of which they have given demonſtrative proof, and for which we had already granted them an excluſive patent: and as thoſe patentees now want nothing but leave to collect a ſufficient quantity of urine for their manufacture of ſaltpetre, at their own charge; the king therefor commands all his ſubjects of London, Weſtminſter, &c. near to the place where the ſaid patentees have already erected a work for the making of ſaltpetre, that, after notice given to them reſpectively, they carefully keep in proper veſſels all human urine, throughout the whole year, and alſo as much of that of beaſts as can be ſaved, for the patentees to carry away from time to time. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 813.]

Another proclamation came out againſt eating fleſh in lent, and on other fiſh days. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 822.]

The king alſo now iſſued a commiſſion of inquiry into nuiſances in and near London; ſuch as ſtalls, ſlaughter-houſes, brew-houſes, ſmiths forges, brick kilns, coach-houſes, tallow-chandlers, ſinks, vaults, dung-hills, layſtalls, garbage, broken pavements, inmates in houſes crowding the ſame, &c. and for redreſſing of all ſuch like diſorders. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 827.]

He alſo commiſſioned certain aldermen, &c. of London to ſeize all foreign tobacco, not of the growth of Virginia or Bermudas, for his benefit, agreeable to a former commiſſion: alſo to buy up, for his uſe, all the tobacco coming from thoſe plantations, and to ſell the ſame again for his benefit. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 831.]

The king, notwithſtanding this order, in the ſame month publiſhed a permiſſion to import 50,000 pounds of Spaniſh tobacco; but then it was to be all bought by himſelf, and again ſold out to his ſubjects. He

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directed that the Spaniſh tobacco, and alſo all the Virginia and Somer-iſles tobacco, ſhould be imported into London only, and marked likewiſe with three different ſeals or ſtamps. Moreover, as great quantities of tobacco were ſtill ſown in England, contrary to law, he now renewed the former prohibition of planting it in England. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 818.]

King Charles granted a commiſſion to captain John Hall, to command four ſhips and a pinnace for next year's voyage to Eaſt-India, under the direction of the Engliſh company of merchants of London trading to the Eaſt-Indies. This was only a piece of form: but he farther earneſtly prohibits all his other ſubjects, excepting the company, from reſorting to India, under the penalty of forfeiting ſhips and cargoes; half to the king, the other half to the company, purſuant to King James's charter to them, dated the 31ſt of May, in the 7th year of his reign.

And King James having, in the year 1617, granted letters-patent to the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, to export to India all ſuch foreign coin and bullion as they ſhould firſt import from beyond ſea, ſo as the ſame ſhould not exceed the ſum of L100,000 in any one year, King Charles now licenced them, in conſideration of the prohibition of commerce with Spain, whereby they were diſabled from procuring the quantity of ſilver they yearly wanted, to export, in their next voyage only, L30,000 in foreign gold, in lieu of ſo much ſilver. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 853.]

The king iſſued a proclamation againſt furniſhing Spain with proviſions, ammunition, or materials for ſhipping of any kind; the king of Spain and the archduke (ſays he) having previouſly iſſued like orders on their part with reſpect to our dominions.

King Charles granted freſh letters of repriſal in behalf of ſuch of his ſubjects as have had their ſhips and merchandize taken by the French: no redreſs having been obtained, though often demanded; and the like repriſals were again granted on the 20th of April following. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *pp.* 861, 887.]

King Charles appointed Sir Peter Wyche to be his ambaſſador to the grand ſignior Sultan Moratt, with the cuſtomary powers of appointing conſuls in the ſeveral ports of Turkey, &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 862.]

To what we have this year exhibited from the Fœdera concerning King Charles's quarrel with his brother-in-law King Louis XIII, we ſhall here add, that Louis's not only detaining the ſeven Engliſh ſhips lent to him, but alſo employing them againſt his proteſtant ſubjects, raiſed a great clamour in England: thereupon King Charles ſeized on ſeveral French ſhips in Engliſh ports; and Louis, on the other ſide, ſeized on no fewer than 120 Engliſh ſhips in his ports. King Charles alſo now ſent home all his queen's French ſervants; and, in fine, publiſhed a de-

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claration of war againſt France, wherein he accuſed Louis of breach of articles with his proteſtant ſubjects, and of blocking up their towns and ports; for whoſe relief at Rochelle he, this ſame year, had ſent out the Earl of Denbigh with thirty ſhips of war; but, being too late in the year, he was driven back by ſtormy weather.

We have before noted, that King Charles was ſo ill adviſed, as, for his private gain, to raiſe the nominal value of his coin above its intrinſic value, by coining the pound weight of ſilver into L3:10:6 by tale, whereby he was to gain 8/6 on every pound weight of ſilver. His privy-council, however, were ſomewhat doubtful of the prudence of this meaſure: whereupon the famous Sir Robert Cotton, being excellently well ſkilled in ſuch matters, and the precedents of former reigns, was ordered to lay his opinion before the board; which was greatly to his reputation. For, in a ſet ſpeech at that board, (afterward printed with his other poſthumous pieces in 1651) he moſt judiciouſly diſplayed the great diſcredit as well as real loſs which would thereby redound to the king himſelf, as well as to the whole realm. He ſhewed, that the Roman empire kept up the purity of the ſtandard of the coin until the looſe times of Commodus, when exceſs of expenſe introduced neceſſity, and that brought on an alteration of the ſtandard: and that the majeſty of that empire gradually declined with the gradual alteration of their coin. So that there is no ſurer ſymptom of a conſumption in any ſtate than the corruption of their money.

Coming, in the next place, to ſpeak of our own princes, he ſhews the diſreputation which fell on King Henry VI, by not only abating the quantity of bullion in his coins, (though ſtill preſerving the nominal value) but likewiſe debaſing them, by directing the practice of alchymy (as they term it) in his mint! That King Henry VIII fell into the ſame bad meaſures. And that his daughter Queen Elizabeth was moſt wiſely adviſed by her treaſurer Burleigh, and by Sir Thomas Smith, that it would be for the honour of the crown and the true wealth of herſelf and people, to bring back the ſtandard of the coins to the antient parity and purity of her great-grandfather King Edward IV. Next, he judiciouſly ſhews, that as coin or money was deviſed as a rate and meaſure of merchandize and manufacture, if that meaſure be rendered mutable, no man can tell what he hath or what he oweth; and no contract can be certain. That princes are guarantees to their people for the juſtneſs of their coin, and muſt not ſuffer their faces to warrant falſehood. That this propoſal now on the anvil would take away the tenth part of every man's due debt in rent. That, by coining the ſhilling with leſs ſilver in it than before, a proportionably leſs quantity of any goods or merchandize will be ſold for it. That the Netherlanders will, with our preſent good coins, recoin with the king's ſtamp, and import on us the newly enhanced coin. That if men ſhall receive in the propoſed no-

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minal ſhillings and pounds a leſs proportion of ſilver and gold than they did before this projected alteration, and, at the ſame time, pay for what they buy at a rate enhanced, it muſt caſt upon all a double loſs. What the king will ſuffer by it in the rents of his lands is demonſtrated by the alterations ſince the 18th year of King Edward III, (anno 1344) when all the revenue came into the receipt, ponderé et numero, at the rate of five groats per ounce; which, ſince that time, by the ſeveral changes of the ſtandard, is come to five ſhillings, whereby the king hath loſt two thirds of his revenue; and the like in his cuſtoms and other receipts. And, as the king will loſe a fourteenth part in all the ſilver, and a twenty-fifth part in all the gold he ſhall receive, ſo likewiſe will the nobility and gentry in all their former ſettled rents, annuities, penſions, and loans. The like alſo will fall upon the labourers and workmen in their ſtatute wages: and as their receipts will hereby be leſſened, ſo their iſſues will be increaſed by raiſing the prices of all things. It will lay the loſs upon ourſelves and the profit on our enemies: ſince all our preſent good money will hereby be exported for bullion, our own goldſmiths being their brokers. This enfeebling of the coin is but a ſhort-lived ſhift, like drink to one in a dropſy, to make him ſwell the more. But the ſtate was never thoroughly cured, as we ſaw by King Henry the VIIIth's time, and the late queen's, until the coin was made up again. This moſt judicious and ſeaſonable remonſtrance was ſo well approved of, that the project was entirely ſet aſide. We ſhall, nevertheleſs, ſeventy years later than this time, ſee ſo pernicious a propoſal again ſtarted to King William's miniſters; and had it not been for the remonſtrance of another great man, the famous John Locke, (who poſſibly was indebted for the ſame juſt notions to this ſpeech of Sir Robert Cotton's) ſeemed in a fair way to be accepted of.

In this ſecond year, therefor, of King Charles I, a pound weight of gold, of the old ſtandard of 23 carats 3½ grains, fine, and half a grain allay, was coined into L44: 10 by tale, viz. into roſe-rials of thirty ſhillings, ſpur-rials of fifteen ſhillings, and angels of ten ſhillings: and a pound weight of another ſtandard, viz. of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats allay, (called crown gold) into L41 by tale, viz. into units of twenty ſhillings, double crowns, ten ſhillings, and Britiſh crowns, five ſhillings. And a pound weight of ſilver, of the old ſtandard of 11 ounces, 2 pennyweight, fine, into 62 ſhillings, by tale; namely, into crowns, half crowns, ſhillings, ſixpences, twopences, pence, and halfpence.

We find the following catalogue of excluſive patents for new projects in this year, all for fourteen years.

1) 'A patent to Lord D'Acre, and two others, for the ſole making 'of ſteel, according to the invention of Thomas Letſome, one of the 'ſaid patentees.'

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II) 'To Sir John Hacket and Octavius de Strada, for rendering sea-'coal and pit-coal as useful as charcoal, for burning in houses, without 'offence by the smell or smoke, according to their invention.'

III) 'To Thomas Rouse and Abraham Cullyn, for the sole making 'of stone pots, jugs, and bottles, according to their new invention.'

Also IV and V) 'One for draining water out of mines, &c. and an-'other for making guns, great and small.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 870.]

About this time, (according to the ingenious author * of Caribbeana, 2 V. 4to, 1741) the sugar trade of England had its rise in the first settlement of the island of Barbados †, the mother of all the sugar colonies. Yet, till several years after this time, the Portuguese supplied most parts of Europe with Brazil sugars.

At this time, according to a French pamphlet on the East-India trade, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, issued his letters-patent, inviting his people to form a Swedish East-India company: but the war in Germany and that great king's death a few years after prevented the accomplishment of that design.

The following proclamation from King Charles I will partly shew the nature of the London goldsmiths business, and the state of the English silver and gold coins at the time.

'Whereas the exchange of all manner of gold and silver, current in 'monies, or otherwise, as the buying, selling, and exchanging of all man-'ner of bullion in species of foreign coins, billets, ingots, &c. fine, re-'fined, or allayed, howsoever, being fit for our mint, hath ever been, 'and ought to be, our sole right, as part of our prerogative royal, and 'antient revenue; wherein none of our subjects, of what trade or qua-'lity soever, ought at all, without our special licence, to intermeddle, 'the same being prohibited by divers acts of parliament and proclama-'tions, both antient and modern: and whereas ourself and divers of 'our royal predecessors have for some time past tolerated a promiscu-'ous kind of liberty to all, but especially to some of the mystery and 'trade of goldsmiths in London and elsewhere, not only to make the 'said exchanges, but to buy and sell all manner of bullion: and from 'thence some of them have grown to that licentiousness, that they have 'for divers years presumed, for their private gain, to sort and weigh all 'sorts of money current within our realm, to the end to cull out the old 'and new monies, which, either by not wearing, or by any other acci-'dent, are weightier than the rest; which weightest monies have not only 'been molten down for the making of plate, &c. but even traded in and 'sold to merchant strangers, &c. who have exported the same; whereby

* Late attorney general of Barbados.

† Others, as we have already seen, dated the first settlement of Barbados twelve years earlier. Ligon, the author of the History of Barbados, has left a blank for the date of the discovery of the island by Sir William Courten.

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'the consumption of our coins has been greatly occasioned, as also the 'raising of the silver even of our own monies to a rate above what they 'are truly current for; by reason whereof no silver can be brought to our 'mint, but to the loss of the bringers, &c. For the reforming of all 'which abuses, we have, by the advice of our privy-council, determined 'to resume our said right, for our own profit and the good of the realm: 'and for this end we do now appoint Henry earl of Holland and his 'deputies to have the office of our changes, exchanges, and out-changes 'whatsoever, in England, Wales, and Ireland. And we do hereby 'strictly charge and command that no goldsmith nor other person what-'soever, other than the said earl of Holland, do presume to change, &c. '(as above) and as the following articles do more fully direct in sub-'stance, viz.

'I and II) 'None (without our special licence) shall transport to fo-'reign parts any gold or silver, in coin, plate, or bullion, as by statute, '9 *Edw. III, and* 2 *Hen. IV.*

III) 'None shall presume to melt down the current coins of our king-'doms, nor to cull and sort from the rest any of the weightier mo-'nies.

IV) 'None but our said changer, and his deputies, shall receive or take, 'by way of payment, or exchange, directly or indirectly, for any species 'of foreign coin, or other gold or silver, more than the rates which now 'are or hereafter may be given or allowed for the same at our mint or 'exchange.

V) 'To prevent the frauds of goldsmiths against the statute of the '18th of Queen Elizabeth, every goldsmith, on the sale of any plate, 'shall deliver a ticket, with his name or mark, to the buyer, expressing 'the day of sale, the weight of such plate, and the value or rate of the 'gold or silver apart, and also the value and rate of the fashion apart, 'by which may appear at what rate the one or the other was valued,' &c.

VI) 'In every piece of gold current for 30*s*, 20*s*, 15*s*, 10*s*, 5*s*, and '2*s*6, the abatement shall not exceed four grains and an half for 30*s* 'pieces, three grains, two grains and a half, two grains, one grain, and 'half a grain, for the other respective pieces; which several gold coins 'wanting no more shall pass current, as if of full weight and value: but 'if they want respectively more in weight than the said several respect-'ive abatements, then they shall not be current; but shall be brought 'to our exchanges or mint, to be melted down and made into new 'coin.

VII) 'No false or deceitful stuff or manufacture of gold or silver, 'less in fineness than our money of gold or silver, shall be made, sold, 'or imported. Yet this order shall not restrain any subject from im-'porting of bullion from beyond sea, to be carried to our mint to be

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'coined. Goldſmiths, however, may continue, agreeable to the fran-
'chiſes, &c. granted to them by charters from us and our predeceſſors,
'to buy any gold or ſilver in plate or other manufacture, as heretofore, ſo
'as the ſame may be bought or exchanged only to make plate or other
'manufacture; and they do not give a higher rate for the ſame than
'the rate of our mint; and that, under colour thereof, they do not buy,
'exchange, or intermeddle with any foreign ſpecies of money or other
'bullion, either foreign or of our own produce; all which ought to be
'carried to, and coined at, our mint.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 896.]

In the ſame year King Charles directed a ſpecial commiſſion of lords and gentlemen, 'for ſix ſhips of war to be fitted out, viz. three of 300
'tons each, and three of 200 tons burden, for the guard of the northern
'ſea coaſts of England from foreign enemies, whereby trade was much
'interrupted, and the city of London and other parts of the kingdom
'much damaged for want of coals and other commodities, uſually tran-
'ſported from Newcaſtle upon Tine and Sunderland, both to London
'and parts adjacent, and to moſt other parts of our dominions. And,
'for bearing the expenſe of this armament, the king (beſide the for-
'feitures of recuſants convict) hereby appropriates a voluntary offer
'made by the owners of coal-pits and the ſellers of coals, to be carried
'from thoſe two towns, either by ſea or land, of ſixpence on every chal-
'der of coals.'

Here we may obſerve, 1ſt, what a poor armament this was for the king to appoint a ſpecial commiſſion of lords and gentlemen to get it ready; 2dly, there is no other place therein named but Newcaſtle and Sunderland for the coal-trade; 3dly, that this new town of Sunderland was by this time grown up to be ſomewhat, although in Camden's Britannia, written but twenty years before, it was not deemed worthy of a bare mention; 4thly, that by this time the coal-trade from thoſe parts to London and other ſouthern parts was become very conſiderable; laſtly, that though the king had many good ſhips of his own (for thoſe times) yet they were all laid up at Chatham and Portſmouth; he having no funds for employing them againſt his foreign enemies, who were probably privateers from the Spaniſh Netherlands.

Notwithſtanding the patent of the preceding year for the new way of making ſaltpetre from urine, for which an office had been erected in Southwark; and notwithſtanding King Charles's declaration that the former way of keeping floors digged up, &c. was ſo troubleſome to his ſubjects, yet ſo unſtable was he, that we find him now renewing his former orders and directions of the year 1625 for keeping the floors of dove-houſes, ſtables, &c. free from ſand, gravel, &c. for the growth of the mine or material of ſaltpetre, as before. And he gives a commiſſion to the duke of Buckingham, &c. that, by reaſon of the extraordinary need there then was of ſaltpetre for gunpowder, they cauſe enter,

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break open, and work for ſaltpetre, as well within houſes, lands, &c. of us, as of our ſubjects; and to uſe all ſuch ground, earth, walls, and water, as ſhall be requiſite for that purpoſe. And alſo to take carriages and carts for the ſame, at the price of fourpence per mile per cart; the empty veſſel to be recarried gratis, as formerly. Alſo to take ſea-coal and wood-aſhes, at reaſonable prices; as alſo work-houſes, barns, yards, &c. for working the mine of ſaltpetre at reaſonable rates, &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *pp.* 915, 918.]

The king iſſued a new proclamation concerning tobacco, much in the ſtile of his own and his father's former ones, and for the ſole monopoly thereof.

I) He enjoins the plucking up of all tobacco growing in England and Ireland, and ſtrictly forbids the planting any more.

II) None ſhall hereafter import any Spaniſh or other foreign tobacco without the king's ſpecial commiſſion.

III) And becauſe ſuch foreign tobacco ſhould not be uttered under pretence of being the tobacco of Virginia and the Somer iſles, and other Engliſh colonies; and that the planters in his ſaid colonies may not give themſelves over to the planting of tobacco only, and neglect to apply themſelves to ſolid commodities fit for the eſtabliſhing of colonies (which will utterly deſtroy theſe and all other plantations); from henceforth no tobacco, even of our own colonies, ſhall be imported, without our own ſpecial licence: and what ſhall be ſo imported ſhall be delivered to our uſe, upon ſuch reaſonable price as ſhall be agreed on.

IV) No perſon ſhall henceforth buy any tobacco here, but from our commiſſioners: which tobacco ſhall be ſealed or ſtamped; and when ſold again, a note ſhall be made, expreſſing the time when bought, and the quantity and quality thereof. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 920.]

King Charles iſſued the following declaration, viz.

'Whereas the kingdom of Ireland, by reaſon of the peace and plenty 'it hath of late enjoyed, is ſo ſtored with profitable commodities and 'merchandizes, that they have not only enough for their own uſe, but 'alſo for exportation:

'And whereas the ſaid Iriſh exported commodities are ſuch as are 'uſually or moſtly carried to countries not in league or friendſhip 'with us, (meaning Spain and Portugal) for the increaſe therefor of 'our revenue we have thought fit to raiſe a higher and greater im-'poſition or increaſe of ſubſidy on the goods therein ſpecified; whereby 'our ſaid enemies, or thoſe not in league with us, who ſtand in need of 'thoſe commodities, muſt pay higher rates for the ſame than hereto-'fore.

'The commodities herein ſpecified were pilchards, herrings, ſalmon, 'butter, ſalted fleſh of all kinds, ſheep and calves ſkins, ox hides, tallow 'candles, iron, wool, yarn, ruggs, blankets, wax, goat and deer ſkins,

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'live bulls, oxen, cows, horſes, pipe-ſtaves, corn and pulſe of all kinds: 'but the additional duties thereon ſhall not take place for any import- 'ations into England. No pipe-ſtaves, or wool, or ſheep-ſkins with the 'wool, ſhall be exported from Ireland without a ſpecial licence: and 'merchants-ſtrangers ſhall pay one fourth part more than natives at 'ſuch exportations.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 932.]

The king again iſſued the uſual proclamations enjoining the nobility and gentry to withdraw to their country ſeats for the keeping of hoſpitality, and againſt eating fleſh in lent and on other fiſh days; for the ſeemingly idle reaſons already ſo often aſſigned. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *pp.* 950, 961.]

The king renewed his commiſſion for the better execution of his former proclamation touching the office of his changer and re-changer of gold and ſilver, and for reſtraining goldſmiths from culling and melting down of the coin. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 970.]

In a long liſt of dignities and offices created in this year, there is one 'for the ſole making and regiſtering of all manner of aſſurances, inti- 'mations, and renunciations, made upon any ſhip or ſhips, goods, or 'merchandize, in the royal exchange, or other places within the city of 'London, for thirty-one years.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xviii, *p.* 987.]

Other projected monopolies of this year for the term of fourteen years, were,

I) 'A charter to three perſons for the ſole practice of their new in- 'vention for melting iron ore, and making the ſame into caſt works and 'bars, with ſea-coal and pit-coal only.

'II) 'A device for plowing of land without either horſes or oxen.

'III) 'For the ſole uſe of a new-invented engine to make all kinds 'of mills to grind and perform their wonted labour without the help 'either of horſes, wind, or water, under the yearly rent of L100 to the 'exchequer.'

In the ſame year King Charles is ſaid to have made a grant to James Hay earl of Carliſle of the fine iſland of Barbados, and alſo of all the other Engliſh Caribbee iſlands. Yet the earl of Clarendon, in one of his tracts, teſtifies that James Ley, earl of Marlborough and lord treaſurer, had a prior grant thereof in this ſame year, and that he afterwards in 1629, (as ſhall be ſhewn from the Fœdera) conſented to have thoſe iſlands granted to the earl of Carliſle, upon payment of L300 per annum: although the planters themſelves then inſiſted on the king's taking them under his own immediate protection, and on the revocation of the charter to Lord Carliſle; and with good reaſon, as they alone had been at the expenſe of planting the ſame. Sir William Courten, who firſt planted Barbados in the reign of King James I, is ſaid by his ſon to have been three years in quiet poſſeſſion of it, and to have expended L30,000 in forts, buildings, and plantations there. How he came now to loſe it,

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or whether he ſold it in parcels to the planters, or if his right was diſputable, does not clearly appear. In a printed account of his great loſſes ſuſtained in his trade to the Eaſt-Indies, his ſon poſitively affirms that his father firſt diſcovered, planted, and fortified, the iſland of Barbados, and afterward had a grant of it from King Charles I, in the third year of his reign, by a patent; and that the earl of Carliſle, in virtue of his grant the following year, intruded, and took forcible poſſeſſion thereof; for which injury Sir William's repreſentatives never had any compenſation. Theſe Weſt-India iſlands, before they fell into the planting of ſugar canes, were in thoſe early times thought of very little worth, otherwiſe the grant above-named would not have been ſo readily made. The planters, however, went on in improving them during all the civil war and the uſurpation; but at the reſtoration of King Charles II it was determined by the king and council that out of the revenue of Barbados, then greatly improved, the L300 per annum ſhould be allowed to the earl of Marlborough for his life; and that, once for all, L1000 ſhould be paid to the earl of Kinnoul, who claimed under the earl of Carliſle's grant, ſo as he ſurrendered Lord Carliſle's charter: and thus Barbados and all the other Caribbee iſles (Barbuda excepted *) thenceforward came under the immediate government of the crown, as they have ever ſince remained.

This year a ſolemn agreement was executed between the Engliſh and French planters for dividing the iſland of St. Chriſtophers between them, and proper boundaries were fixed, which (ſays our French author) remain to this day (viz. anno 1658): but there was a ſpecial proviſo that fiſhing, hunting, the ſalt ponds, the moſt pretious kind of wood for dyers and joiners work, and the havens and mines, ſhould all be common to both nations: they alſo made a mutual covenant for their defence againſt the common enemy (meaning Spain.) The ſame author adds, that a company in London ſupplied the Engliſh there with every thing very well; and that the Engliſh, being better acquainted with the ſea and with colonizing, improved their moiety of the iſland much better and quicker than the French did theirs: ſo that the Engliſh were enabled in the following year, 1628, to go over to the iſle of Nevis, and to plant thereon; it being but about half a league diſtant.

The two nations lived well enough together till the revolution in England in 1689, when the French, by ſurpriſe, and before war was declared in Europe, fell upon the Engliſh, at the inſtigation of the Iriſh papiſts ſettled with them, and maſtered them, obliging them to retire to Nevis. And the year following the Engliſh, headed by Colonel Coddrington, ſerved the French in the ſame manner: yet they were reſtored by the peace of Ryſwick. On the breaking out of the war in 1702,

* See below in the year 1628.

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Colonel Coddrington again diſpoſſeſſed the French; and by the peace of Utrecht we have it entire. It is a noble and fruitful iſle, making 10,000 hogſheads of ſugar yearly, and has plenty of other excellent productions, as cotton, ginger, &c. and is well watered.

The iſland of Dominica, lying between Martinico and Guadaloupe, has been claimed both by England and France; and for that reaſon has never yet been planted by either nation; and has ſtill many Carib natives on it, who were much increaſed by the Caribs retiring to it, who had been driven out of the other neighbouring iſlands by the Europeans. This iſland is ſtill included in the commiſſion of the governor of Barbados, though the French would not permit our ſettling it. The Carib natives were ſaid to favour the French more than the Engliſh, and to ſell their poultry, hogs, &c. to thoſe of Martinico: yet we, as well as other European nations, did ſometimes wood and water on it, although it has neither ports nor good bays for ſhelter.

Deſeada is partly planted by the French; though the time when is not well known: and it is generally ſaid to be of very ſmall importance.

1628.—At this time the Hollanders did infinite damage to the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies, by taking their plate fleet, and plundering the coaſts of the iſland of Cuba. It would be almoſt endleſs to enumerate the damages they at different times did to Spain, till the year 1648, when the peace of Munſter put a perid to all their differences.

We may in a great meaſure underſtand the true ſtate of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's affairs at this time from their petition and remonſtrance to the houſe of commons, printed in the year 1628; being in ſubſtance, that the company having exiſted twenty-eight years, by charters from Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles, they traded with great ſucceſs to India, until ſundry ill accidents from ſtorms and enemies, but more eſpecially from profeſſed friends and allies, (meaning the Dutch company) have infinitely damaged it. Which misfortunes, together with our annual exportation of foreign coin to India, having begot ſuch cauſeleſs complaints as thereby have much diſcouraged the adventurers from any longer trading under the general cenſure of all ranks in the nation. They therefor humbly pray that honourable houſe to take the under-mentioned articles or queries into their conſideration: and if upon their examination the ſaid trade ſhall be found to be unprofitable to the kingdom, that it may be ſuppreſſed; but if otherwiſe, they pray that it may be ſupported and countenanced by ſome public declaration, for the ſatisfaction of all his majeſty's ſubjects, and the better encouragement of the preſent adventurers.

Article I) The company's trade much increaſeth the ſtrength of England with mariners, warlike ſhipping, ammunition, and all uſeful artificers relating thereto; as alſo the general traffic of England, not only

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by its own trade to India, but by its large magazine of many rich Indian wares to be exported to foreign countries, as Turkey, Italy, the Eaſt country, &c.—Here they expatiate on their former benefits to the public, when ſome few years before they employed 15,000 tons of ſhipping all at one time, either going to, coming from, or trading in, India, from port to port: and that at preſent they employ 10,000 tons and 2500 mariners: that laſt year they imported pepper to the value of L208,000 ſterling, whereof the value of L180,000 was re-exported to foreign parts in a few weeks, and much the like of indigo, calicoes, and divers other rich wares; by which re-exportations they employ 2000 more tons of ſhipping and 500 mariners: that at leaſt 1000 perſons are ſupported by the building and repair of their ſhips, the making their artillery, naval ſtores, proviſions, &c. beſide the tonnage employed by the company to fetch timber and pipe-ſtaves out of Ireland *, and hemp out of Eaſtland; and for importing wines, elephants teeth, wrought ſilks, coral, quickſilver, &c. to furniſh out thoſe voyages: that the great magazines of naval ſtores and ammunition, which the company has always ready, are often helpful to others, as being no where elſe to be had for money at home; and they at this time make 30 barrels of gunpowder weekly, at their own powder-mills, of the ſaltpetre they import from India.

II) It increaſes the general wealth of the nation; it ſaves much money yearly to our nation in the expenſe of Indian wares, by ſupplying them ſo much cheaper than they could have them from other European nations; it increaſes very conſiderably the king's cuſtoms; improves the price of land, and of wool, tin, lead, iron, &c.: wherefor, though in the company's late unfortunate years they have themſelves been loſers, yet the crown and nation have all the while been gainers by this trade. That the vent of our cloth, lead, tin, &c. in India continually increaſes. That it is by reaſon of the company's having for three years paſt been expelled the ſpice iſlands by the Dutch that thoſe ſpices are twice as dear as when the company imported them from India. That the raiſing the price of lands being of the greateſt conſequence to gentlemen, this can only be done by our exporting more in value of our own native commodities than we import to thoſe of other nations, the balance whereof will come to us in treaſure; and an increaſe of treaſure will ever enhance the price of lands. And that the treaſure ſo received by the balance of our foreign commerce is the only money which can remain permanently with us, and by which we are enriched. That this increaſe of money will alſo naturally increaſe the price of wool, tin, lead, &c. which alſo will contribute to increaſe the price of lands, as does alſo the increaſe of the merchants riches gotten by traffic. That it

* Ireland, then capable of ſupplying ſhip timber, is now quite deſtitute of it.

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well merits consideration that there are three different species of profit in foreign commerce: 1st, the merchant may be a loser when the nation may be a gainer by this traffic: for instance, the company shall send out goods or money to the value of L100,000 and bring home L300,000 value in return; yet though this return trebles the public stock, the company may nevertheless be losers, if the goods in return be so bulky as to occasion so much freight of shipping, insurance, customs, and other charges, as amount to L200,000, which added to the principal of L100,000 will make the company losers, although the nation may be gainers by the additional L200,000; 2dly, the merchant may be a gainer by a losing trade to the nation, if our imports exceed our exports in the general balance; and lastly, the king may be a gainer in his customs, when both the merchant and the nation may be losers by some trades.

III) The next two articles, viz. the company being a means to weaken the king of Spain and his subjects, and to exhaust their treasure; and their counterpoising the swelling greatness of the Dutch, and keeping them from being absolute lords of the seas, if they could drive us out of this rich traffic, as they have long endeavoured to do, both by policy and force, were considerations suitable to that age alone, and therefor not now to be regarded.

IV) To the common objection that the East-India trade exhausts our treasure (which objection was made so early in Spain as the reign of the emperor Charles V) the company replies that this trade is so far from doing it, that, with respect to their carrying it on, it is the best means to increase the treasure of this kingdom: for they receive a greater balance in cash by the vast quantity of East-India merchandize re-exported to other countries than the sums sent out to India; beside employing much shipping and many sailors therein, &c.: all which the company submitted to that honourable house. But the sudden dissolution of the parliament prevented their taking this remonstrance into their consideration; and the company continued to carry on their trade to India, though with various success.

This piece being one of the most authentic and judicious vindications of our East-India trade, we have made the larger extract from it, as it may hereafter save the trouble of exhibiting the same sort of answers to future objections concerning it. It was so well esteemed as to be afterward reprinted in the year 1641: yet we must here in point of justice remark, that in that whole piece there is not the least mention of the company's being a monopoly, although that was then one of the objections against it. The company's silence on that tender point was probably the effect of their great prudence, as not being able in that critical time to satisfy the house of commons concerning what they were then loudly complaining of in general, both within and without doors.

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Notwithſtanding the fomer diſappointments in the planting in, or trading to, Guiana, it was now again attempted by a company; and a patent was granted to Captain North, &c. who had been with Sir Walter Raleigh in the laſt unfortunate adventure thither. They even went ſo far as to make a ſettlement on the river of Amazons, and began to erect buildings, fortifications, &c. But this came afterwards to nothing, though not immediately: for in Sir William Monſon's Naval tracts, publiſhed in the year 1635, he reports 'that there was then actually an 'Engliſh colony in Guiana, which yielded the beſt tobacco; and that 'the natives were the moſt tractable of any of our ſettlements.' How this came to be dropped, we apprehend, does nowhere appear; unleſs poſſibly this author meant the colony of Surinam, which was firſt ſettled by England ſomewhat near this time.

King Charles iſſued a proclamation againſt carrying proviſions or ammunition to France, Louis XIII having, in the preceding year, publiſhed two ſeveral edicts, 'full of acrimony,' againſt ſupplying England with the ſame. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 1.]

King Charles having in the preceding year miſcarried in his expedition againſt the iſle of Rheé, ſent out this year a fleet under the earl of Lindſay for the relief of Rochelle (then cloſely beſieged by Louis XIII, Cardinal Richlieu being at that ſiege in perſon). Our king this year concluded a treaty with the Rochellers, wherein he promiſed never to abandon them, nor to make peace with their king without comprehending them therein *. [*General collection of treaties*, *V.* ii, *p.* 259, *ed.* 1732.] Yet that fleet was obliged to return home without being able to effect it. King Charles in the ſame year ſent out another fleet for its relief under the earl of Danby, which alſo returned unſucceſsful, the boom placed before the entrance into its harbour being too ſtrong to be forced. Whereupon the poor Rochellers were forced to ſurrender to the French king, to the unſpeakable loſs of the French proteſtant church, as well as of England, which, by ſupporting Rochelle and other French proteſtants in general, might not only have been much better able to bridle the growing power of the French monarchy, but likewiſe to keep the balance of trade with that kingdom much more in our favour: for after the ſurrender of Rochelle and demoliſhing the fortifications, firſt

* King Charles's firſt letter to the mayor, ſheriffs, peers, and burgeſſes of Rochelle, was of the 19th of May, 1628. 'Gentlemen, be not diſcouraged though my fleet be returned; hold out to 'the laſt, for I am reſolved my whole fleet ſhall 'periſh rather than you be not relieved. For this 'effect I have ordered it to return back to your 'coaſts, and am ſending ſeveral ſhips to reinforce 'it: with the help of God the ſucceſs ſhall be 'happy for you.' His ſecond letter to them was of the 27th of May, O. S. 'Gentlemen, I have 'been much troubled to hear that my fleet was 'upon the point of returning home without obeying my orders in ſupplying you with proviſions: 'coſt what it will, I have commanded them to return to your road, and not to come away till you 'are ſupplied. Aſſure yourſelves that I ſhall never abandon you; and that I ſhall employ the 'whole power of my kingdom for your deliverance, until God aſſiſt me to obtain for you an 'aſſured peace.—Your good friend

'CHARLES REX.'

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of Montauban, and afterwards of Niſmes and Montpelier, the proteſtants were never able to make head againſt the catholics. Puffendorf relates that ſome have thought thoſe civil wars had, firſt and laſt, devoured above 1,000,000 of people, deſtroyed 9 cities, 400 villages, 20,000 churches, and 2000 monaſteries; and that 100,000 houſes were either burnt or demoliſhed thereby.

In this year the Dutch Weſt-India company are ſaid to have divided fifty per cent to their proprietors, chiefly by means of the capture of the Spaniſh plate fleet, as already mentioned, valued by ſome at twelve millions of guilders. They alſo got much treaſure by driving a Spaniſh ſquadron of ſhips on ſhore on the coaſt of Peru, and plundering them. By ſuch prodigious loſſes on the ſide of Spain it was as impoſſible for that monarchy not to decline very much as for the Dutch republic not to increaſe greatly in wealth and power.

King Charles again appointed commiſſioners to treat with the piratical ports of Barbary for the redemption of Engliſh captives there, and for eſtabliſhing peace and commerce with them; for which end he ſent them 6 iron cannon and 700 cannon bullets as a preſent.

So great was the power and wealth of the city of Dantzick at this time, being now in her meridian glory, that the great king Guſtavus Adolphus of Sweden being now at war with Poland, and ſending a ſquadron of eight ſhips of war to block up the port of that city, the Dantzickers ſent out ten ſhips of war againſt the Swediſh fleet, which they vanquiſhed; having killed the Swediſh adimral, taken the admiral ſhip, and obliged the reſt to fly. This is by Puffendorf's own confeſſion in his Hiſtory of Sweden. [*Engliſh-tranſlation*, p. 506.]

Sir David Kirk and his aſſociates, during a war between England and France, now poſſeſſed themſelves of Canada (which then conſiſted only of the country on the north ſide of the great river St. Laurence) together with the caſtle of Quebec; of which Sir David's ſon was appointed governor: and in the ſame year they conquered Nova-Scotia, which Sir William Alexander again poſſeſſed; when the French agreed to recognize our king's property of all Nova-Scotia: and it is ſaid they agreed to pay Sir David Kirk L50,000 for quitting the forts which he had poſſeſſed himſelf of in Canada; which ſum however was never paid.

This year the Engliſh, under Sir Thomas Warner, from St. Chriſtophers, again planted the neighbouring ſmall iſland of Nevis (formerly called Mevis) being about eighteen miles in circuit. It has plenty of freſh water ſprings, and has now ſcarcely any other ſtaple produce but ſugar and melaſſes, though it formerly yielded tobacco, ginger, and cotton. It is ſaid they have at this time about 3000 whites and 8000 negro ſlaves. From this iſland St. Chriſtophers, Euſtatia, Saba, Antigua, Montſerrat, St. Bartholemew, and Guadaloupe, may be plainly ſeen in a clear day.

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The iſle of Barbuda was alſo ſettled on by the Engliſh, conducted from St. Chriſtophers by Sir Thomas Warner, &c. At firſt they were ſo haraſſed by the the Caribs from Dominica as to be obliged to deſert it: yet the Carib natives being afterward greatly diminiſhed, the Engliſh again planted on it. It is about fifteen miles in length, and is the only proprietary government of all the Engliſh Caribbee iſles, its governor being in the nomination of the heirs of Chriſtopher Coddrington, Eſq. who was governor of Barbados in the reign of Queen Anne, and who ſettled this iſle and a good eſtate in Barbados for the ſupport of his college in the laſt named iſle, for the inſtruction of negro children. The breeding of cattle for the other Engliſh iſles is the principal employment of the inhabitants; and they alſo raiſe plenty of corn and other proviſions for the uſe of thoſe iſlands, but no ſugar.

It was about this time that the Dutch Eaſt-India company's ſhips diſcovered the ſouthern continent, firſt named Carpentaria, from its diſcoverer, and afterwards New Holland, lying to the ſouth of the iſland of Java; other parts of this country had the names of their diſcoverers given them, viz. De Witt's land and Nuyt's land. Nevertheleſs, after ſo many years diſcovery, neither the Dutch nor any other nation have as yet made any kind of advantage or improvement from it; nor has any ſettlement been hitherto made on that country in all this time. Another generation may poſſibly diſcover whether it be only a huge iſland, ſeparated from the continent next the ſouth pole, and may poſſibly make ſettlements thereon. Some pretend that there is ſome myſtery in the Dutch company's not making a ſettlement on this *terra auſtralis* or ſouth pole lands; the moſt probable account of this matter ſeems to be no more than that the Dutch Company have already as much territory as they can well manage; and that thoſe new lands are thought ſo very barren that it is not likely they would anſwer the charge and trouble of forming colonies thereon *.

We have ſeen that King Charles revived the office of the king's exchanger of gold and ſilver, which had been long in diſuſe; and a pamphlet was this year publiſhed by his authority, intitled, '*Cambium regis*, 'or the office of his majeſty's exchange royal; declaring and juſtifying 'his majeſty's right thereto, and the conveniency thereof;' wherein it was ſhown, that the prerogative of exchange of bullion for coin has always been a flower of the crown, of which inſtances are quoted from the time of King Henry I downward: that King John farmed out that office for no ſmaller a ſum than 5000 marks: that the place or office where the exchange was made in his reign, was near St. Paul's cathedral in London, and gave name to the ſtreet ſtill called the Old change: that,

* It is ſcarcely neceſſary to inform the reader that the country here mentioned is that on which the Britiſh government has ſettled a colony of convicts. *M.*

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in ſucceeding reigns, there were ſeveral other places for theſe exchange beſides London: that this method continued till the time of King Henry VIII, who ſuffered his coin to be ſo far debaſed that no regular exchanges could be made: that that confuſion made way for the London goldſmiths to leave off their proper trade of goldſmithrie, and to turn exchangers of plate and foreign coins for Engliſh coins; though they had no right to buy any gold or ſilver for any other purpoſe than for their manufacture; neither had any other perſon, but thoſe ſubſtituted by the crown, a right to buy the ſame. The king, therefor, has now reſumed this office, not merely to keep up his right ſo to do, but likewiſe to prevent thoſe trafficking goldſmiths from culling and ſorting all the heavy coin, and ſelling the ſame to the mint of Holland, which gained greatly thereby, or melting thoſe heavy coins down for making of plate; witneſs the pieces of 13½*d*, old ſhillings of Queen Elizabeth, 9*d*, and 4½*d* pieces; which being wieghty monies, none of them are now to be met with; whereby they have raiſed the price of ſilver to 2*d* per ounce above the value of the mint; which thereby has ſtood ſtill ever ſince the 11th of King James. That for above thirty years paſt it has been the uſual practice of thoſe exchanging goldſmiths to make their ſervants run every morning from ſhop to ſhop, to buy up all weighty coins for the mints of Holland and the eaſt countries, whereby the king's mint has ſtood ſtill. The former allowances in the old *cambium regis* were 1*d*, and ſometimes 1½*d* exchange upon the value of every noble, (i. e. 6/8.) Thoſe offices were uſually ſold by the crown for a good ſum of money, and the king's exchanger had alſo the ſole right of exchanging plate and any other manufacture of gold and ſilver at home for the king's coin, taking the like allowance, and alſo the coinage duty.

Againſt the revival of this royal exchange, the goldſmiths company of London earneſtly petitioned the king and council, as did afterwards the lord mayor, court of aldermen, and common council, in behalf of the goldſmiths company, who called themſelves no fewer than 900 families, whereas the royal pamphlet aſſerts that not above ten goldſmiths were concerned in this exchanging trade. In brief, upon a ſecond petition of the goldſmiths, the king told them to trouble him no farther, ſince his right to the office was undoubtedly clear.

1629.—On the 2d of March 1628-9 King Charles diſſolved his parliament, with many ſharp expreſſions of reſentment againſt thoſe members of the houſe of commons who oppoſed his meaſures; [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 29] by which the differences between him and his people grew dayly wider. Yet, rather than have any more parliaments, he went deeper into arbitrary and illegal methods for raiſing money by his ſole prerogative. So from this time till the year 1640 there was no parliament ſummoned.

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An attempt ſeems to have been now made to produce ſilk in England; as may be inferred from a grant to Walter lord Aſton, &c. of the cuſtody of the garden, mulberry-trees, and ſilk-worms near St. James's, in the county of Middleſex. Or, poſſibly, this was only the continuation of King James's project in 1608. There is a place a little way without the ſouth-weſt gate of St. James's park, towards Chelſea, whch ſtill bears the name of the Mulberry garden, and anſwers to the deſcription of the above.

This year the king gave excluſive grants of fourteen years for the following inventions, viz.

'1) For an engine for the more eaſy cutting of timber, under the 'yearly rent of 40*ſ* to be paid into the exchequer.

'2) For engines for draining marſh lands.

'3) For a medicine for preſerving ſheep from the rot.

'4) An engine for the ſafe tranſportation of horſes and other cattle 'from Ireland into England, and from England into Ireland.' [*Fœdera. V.* xix, *p.* 40.]

By an act of parliament [3 *Car. I, c.* 4] corn was permitted to be exported to the king's allies, when at the following (which muſt therefor have been then eſteemed moderate) prices, viz. wheat per quarter 32*ſ*, rye 20*ſ*, beans 16*ſ*, and barley or malt at 16*ſ*, per quarter.

King Charles, in the fourth year of his reign, incorporated the populous province of New-England, called Maſſachuſſet's-bay, of which Boſton is the capital. King Charles II, in the year 1684, having, for his arbitrary ends, compelled the city of London, by a *quo warranto*, to ſurrender their charters, this province likewiſe was obliged to ſubmit to it, as was alſo the colony of New-Plymouth and the province of Main; but that province was, in the year 1691, again incorporated by King William and Queen Mary, by its old name; but the crown thereby reſerved the appointing of its governor, deputy-governor, ſecretary, and judge-admiral: the other officers, civil and military, are in the nomination of their houſe of repreſentatives, who alſo elect the council. This province, together with Connecticut, Rhode-Iſland, and Providence plantation, conſtitute what is commonly called New-England. New-Hampſhire, alſo generally eſteemed a part of New-England, was made a ſeparate province, immediately depending on the crown, as is now alſo Georgia and Nova-Scotia; all whoſe governors, councils, and magiſtrates, are in the king's appointment. Thus Maryland and Penſylvania are a kind of monarchical tributary governments; Connecticut and Rhode-iſland may be called tributary popular governments; and Maſſachuſet's-bay is a mixture of regal and popular conſtitutions. In our days the two Carolinas and New-Jerſey are become regal governments, as Virginia and New-York were long before; as are alſo all our iſlands in the American ſeas, but Barbuda. Hitherto theſe different forms of government

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have not very materially or generally affected the commerce of the British empire, though moſt men are under apprehenſions that ſooner or later they may.

The ſilk manufacture at London had now become ſo conſiderable, that the ſilk-throwers of that city and within four miles of it were incorporated under the name of the maſter, wardens, aſſiſtants, and commonalty of ſilk-throwers.

Peace was proclaimed with France, and the intercourſe of commerce between the two nations, on the footing of antient treaties, was renewed. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 66.]

Upon this peace Cardinal Richlieu, who was ſuperintendant-general of the commerce and navigation of France, reſolved to maintain three ſquadrons of ſhips conſtantly in pay; two for the guard of the French coaſts on the Ocean and on the Mediterranean, and the third to remain ready in the ports of Gaſcoigne, for convoying the French merchant ſhips trading to Canada. This was doubtleſs a very wiſe reſolution in that able miniſter, France being till now utterly deſtitute of maritime ſtrength.

We find that, upon King Charles's diſbanding his army, which had been employed beyond ſea, ſwarms of Iriſh beggars were every where ſeen, to the great annoyance of the country. The king thereupon iſſued his proclamation, commanding them forthwith to return to Ireland, to be conveyed from conſtable to conſtable to the ports of Briſtol, Minehead, Barnſtable, Cheſter, Liverpool, Milford, or Workington; directing them to be puniſhed as rogues or vagabonds, wherever found begging afterwards. They were to be ſhipped at the charge of the reſpective counties. And it was thereby farther directed, that no ſhip ſhould bring over any beggars from Ireland *; and that Engliſhmen begging as diſbanded ſoldiers or mariners ſhould be puniſhed as vagabonds. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 72.]

Many were the ſhifts and devices which King Charles was put upon, in the long interval of parliament, for procuring money. We find him commiſſioning Sir Sackville Crow to get 610 pieces of iron cannon caſt 'in our forge, within our foreſt of Dean, in Gloceſterſhire, or elſe-'where, as to you it ſhall ſeem fit.' And he employed Philip Burlamach, an eminent merchant, to ſell thoſe cannon (viz. 4000 ton weight thereof) to the ſtates general of the United Netherlands, for redeeming from them his crown jewels, pawned in the year 1625, for L300,000. Thus England was ſtill eminent for its manufacture of iron artillery beyond any other country in Europe. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *pp.* 89, 99.]

* It were to be wiſhed that the ſame regulation were now in force, unleſs (which would be much better) means were found to ſet all the Iriſh poor to ſome uſeful employment immediately upon their arrival in Britain: for the ſtreets of London are ſhamefully crowded with them.

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He confirmed the ſtarchmakers company's monopoly, eſtabliſhed by his father; and he prohibited the importation of French wines for a limited time, on pretence of a complaint of the merchants and vintners, that the quantity thereof remaining unſold was ſo large that they could not carry on their buſineſs without ſuch a temporary prohibition. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *pp.* 92, 94.] This too was probably a monopolizing job!

The king alſo prohibited the ſale of any veſſels, whether Engliſh or foreign built, to foreigners. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 95.]

The coaſts of England and Ireland were now much infeſted by pirates of various nations. King Charles therefor commiſſioned his lord treaſurer Weſton and others, 'to ſend forthwith to ſea ſuch ſhips as they ſhould judge needful for ſuppreſſing of thoſe pirates, who committed all manner of hoſtilities and ſpoils, to the utter overthrow of all mutual trade between our own ſubjects and all other merchant-ſtrangers, ſubjects of our friends and allies.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 102.]

The king's neceſſities obliged him to retrench the expenſe of his houſhold, by aboliſhing the greateſt part of the dayly tables in his palace, being till then, it is ſaid, eighty in number, for the entertainment of his officers and ſervants; and allowing them, in lieu of thoſe tables, a certain annual ſum by the name of board-wages: whereby both the crown and the houſehold ſervants are in the iſſue conſiderable gainers. This was probably by Sir Robert Cotton's advice, who, in a ſpeech at the council-table, told the king that there was never a back-door of his palace into Weſtminſter but what coſt him L2000 yearly.

This we conceive was the original of the board-wages, which, in all the liſts of the houſehold of our monarchs, we ſee to be ever ſince allowed to the king's menial officers and ſervants. Some farther reductions of the ſame ſort have been ſince made in the king's houſehold; in lieu of which an addition has been made to their ſalaries.

This year the Spaniſh admiral had orders, in his way to New Spain, to drive the Engliſh and French from the iſland of St. Chriſtophers, where he ſeized on ſome Engliſh ſhips; and landing, drove the French from their forts, and obliged them to embark, as he alſo did as many of the Engliſh as their own ſhips could hold. But when the Spaniſh fleet was gone, the Engliſh left in that iſland ſet aſſiduouſly to improving it: the French alſo returned to their old plantations; and both nations were well ſupplied and ſupported from their mother countries. The Engliſh planters becoming ſoon too numerous for their moiety of that iſland, emigrants from it ſettled in Barbuda, Montſerrat, Antigua, and Barbados; as the French alſo did in Guadaloupe, &c. in the ſame neighbourhood.

King Charles confirmed his grant to James Hay earl of Carliſle, and to his heirs for ever, of all the Caribbee iſlands, ſituated between the 10th and 20th degrees of north latitude, and between the 315th and 327th

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degrees of longitude, herein named by the king the province of Carliſle, and the Carliſle iſlands, And in December following, the earl appointed Hugh Lamy, a French proteſtant of Normandy, to receive, during life, all the rents and revenues of the iſlands, upon his undertaking to carry colonies of his countrymen thither, and to fortify and improve the iſlands, allowing him the twentieth part of the revenues. All which was confirmed by King Charles, in the ſame manner as they had been granted two years before to the earl of Marlborough, as we have noted under the year 1627. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *pp.* 127, 128.]

King Charles confirmed the appointment made by Sir Robert Heath, his attorney-general, to the above mentioned Hugh Lamy, of the office of receiver-general of the revenues of the province of Carolana, and the adjacent iſles of Bahama, lying between the 31ſt and 36th degrees of north latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. Carolana, with the Bahama iſles, had been granted, on the 30th of October 1629, by King Charles to Sir Robert Heath, and to his heirs, and was the ſame country (excluſive of the iſles) now named North and South Carolina, and Georgia, together with the uſurped French colony behind them, called Miſſiſippi or Louiſiana. Sir Robert afterwards conveyed his province of Carolana to the earl of Arundel, who was at the expenſe of planting ſundry parts of it: but the war which broke out in Scotland, (in which that lord was the king's general) and the ſubſequent civil war in England, prevented his farther progreſs therein. The five Indian nations of the Iroquois, who have been ſo long the voluntary vaſſals of the Engliſh crown, and who had lately conquered all the lands from their own original country behind New-York as far as the Miſſiſippi and beyond it, made a ſurrender and ſale of all thoſe conqueſts to the governor of New-York, in King James II's reign. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 128.—*Cox's Deſcription of Carolina*, *pp.* 109, 113, 116, *&c.*]

It is commonly ſaid, that about this ſame year the Engliſh began to plant on the iſland of Providence, the chief of the the Bahama iſles, till then quite uninhabited. King Charles I, after the concluſion of peace with Spain, confirmed his grant of thoſe iſles; and England has continued to keep up her right to them as the firſt occupiers, although they have ſcarcely planted in any of them, excepting this of Providence; and even it is planted to very little purpoſe, any farther than for a retreat in caſe of ſtorms, and to prevent pirates and foreign nations from poſſeſſing it. Tortuga alſo is juſtly claimed by Great Britain, becauſe of our having early reſorted thither for ſalt, though not as yet properly planted by us.

King Charles iſſued the following proclamation, in behalf of the Eaſtland company, viz.

'Whereas the Eaſtland company have, by the ſpace of fifty years at 'leaſt, had a ſettled and conſtant poſſeſſion of trade in the ſaid Eaſtland

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'parts in the Baltic ſeas; and have had the ſole carrying thither of our 'Engliſh commodities, and alſo the ſole bringing in of all the commo- 'dities of thoſe countries, namely, hemp-yarn, cable-yarn, flax, pot- 'aſhes, ſoap-aſhes, Polonia wool, cordage, Eaſtland linen cloth, pitch, 'tar, and wood; whereby our kingdom hath been much enriched, our 'ſhips and mariners ſet on work, and the honour and fame of our na- 'tion ſpread and enlarged in thoſe parts *.

'And whereas, for their farther encouragement, the ſaid company have 'had and enjoyed, by letters-patents from Queen Elizabeth, the exclu- 'ſive privileges above named, with general prohibitions and reſtraints 'of all others not licenced by the ſaid letters-patents: we minding the 'upholding of the ſaid trade, and not to ſuffer the ſaid ſociety to ſuſtain 'any violation or diminution of their liberties and privileges, have 'thought good to ratify the ſame.

'And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all our cuſtomers, 'comptrollers, &c. that they ſuffer not any broad cloth, dozens, ker- 'ſeys, bays, ſkins, or ſuch like Engliſh commodities, to be ſhipped for 'exportation to thoſe parts, nor any hemp, &c. as before named, or 'any other commodities whatſoever, of thoſe foreign countries wherein 'the ſaid company have uſed to trade, to be imported by any but ſuch 'as are free of that company.

'Provided always, that the importation of corn and grain be left free 'and without reſtraint. We alſo ſtrictly command, that the ſtatutes 'of the 5th of King Richard II, the 4th of King Henry VII, and the '32d of King Henry VIII, made againſt the ſhipping of merchandize 'in ſtrangers bottoms, either inward or outward, be duely put in ex- 'ecution; and that neither the ſaid company, nor any other whatſo- 'ever, be permitted to export or import any of the above named com- 'modities in any but Engliſh bottoms, under the penalties in the ſaid 'ſtatutes contained.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 129.]

The great increaſe of the commerce of England having of late years very much increaſed the inland carriage of goods, whereby the roads were more broken than heretofore, King Charles iſſued his proclamation, confirming one of his father's, in the 20th year of his reign, for the preſervation of the public roads of England, commanding that no common carrier, or other perſon whatſoever, ſhall travel with any waine, cart, or carriage, with more than two wheels, nor with above the weight of twenty hundred; nor ſhall draw any waine, cart, or other carriage, with above five horſes at once. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 130.] How great is the alteration ſince this time, that waggons, permitted to carry above thrice that weight, have come into ſuch univerſal uſe.

* The company was erected in the year 1579.

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In the catalogue of the grants of offices by King Charles during this year, we have one called, 'an office for the regiſter of ſales and pawns 'made to retailing brokers.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 132.] Which retailing brokers ſeem to have been much the ſame we now call pawnbrokers. This was probably one of that king's lucrative monopoly grants.

London at this time abounded in wealth and grandeur, compared to its condition in former ages. The gay appearance of goldſmiths ſhops ſhining with plate on the ſouth ſide of the ſtreet called Cheapſide, thence named Goldſmiths-row, was then thought very grand, extending from Bucklerſbury to the Old change, (four ſhops only excepted of other trades) which ſmall exception made the privy council think it worth while to direct the judges to conſider what laws there might be in force to oblige the goldſmiths to plant themſelves in Cheapſide and Lombard ſtreet, for the uſe of their trade.

1630.—In the year 1630, Guſtavus Adolphus king of Sweden, having entered into Germany with an army, occaſioned much damage to the commerce of the Hanſe towns, by the devaſtations committed by his troops. In that king's manifeſto he accuſes the Imperialiſts of forbidding his merchants all freedom of commerce, ſeizing on their merchandize, and confiſcating their ſhips, under the pretence of eſtabliſhing a general commerce at Lubeck for the Hanſe towns; which, in effect, was driving the Swedes from the whole commerce of the Baltic, and erecting a naval force at the expenſe of his merchants, in order freely to ravage and pirate in that ſea; having newly created an unheard of dignity of a general of the ſeas for that purpoſe, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the ports and fortified places of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, fortifying the port of the free Hanſeatic city of Straelſund, for a receptacle and retreat to their pirates. [*Collection of treaties*, *V.* ii, *pp.* 292, 304.] Had the houſe of Auſtria ſucceeded in their deſign of rendering themſelves abſolute in the empire, there would ſoon have been an end of all freedom of commerce in the ports of Germany; and this gave a fine handle to Guſtavus to take the city of Straelſund under his protection, whereby the Swedes have ever ſince held a port ſo very commodious for introducing their armies into Germany; though Staelſund is far from being bettered, ſince from a free city it is become ſubject to Sweden. For the aid of the king of Sweden, and the ſupport of the liberty of commerce, King Charles, underhand, encouraged James marquis of Hamilton to ſign a treaty this year with Guſtavus, for raiſing and conveying 6000 Scottiſh troops to Germany; though King Charles would not appear in it for fear of offending the emperor, who gave him hopes of reſtoring the palatinate to the king of Bohemia, his brother-in-law.

King Charles confirmed his father's proclamation againſt the exportation of wool, woolfells, woollen-yarn, Corniſh hair, fullers-earth, and wood-aſhes, and alſo hides, either raw or tanned, upon pain of confiſca-

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tion, &c. for the encouragement of the Engliſh woollen manufactures; and ordering that, for the better utterance of cloth within this kingdom, all black cloths and mourning ſtuffs at funerals ſhould be only of the wools of this kingdom. And the falſe dying of cloth and ſtuffs being a great hinderance to their vent, none ſhould therein uſe any logwood or blockwood. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 155.]

In another proclamation King Charles obſerves, 'that iron-wire is a 'manufacture long practiſed in the realm, whereby many thouſands 'of our ſubjects have long been employed; and that Engliſh wire is 'made of the tougheſt and beſt Oſmond iron, a native commodity of 'this kingdom, and is much better than what comes from foreign parts, 'eſpecially for making wool cards; without which no good cloth can 'be made. And whereas complaints have been made by the wire-'drawers of this kingdom, that, by reaſon of the great quantities of 'foreign iron-wire lately imported, our ſaid ſubjects cannot be ſet on 'work, therefor we prohibit the importation of foreign iron-wire, and 'wool-cards made thereof, as alſo hooks and eyes, and other manu-'factures made of foreign wire. Neither ſhall any tranſlate and trim 'up any old wool cards, nor ſell the ſame either at home or abroad.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 163.]

The king iſſued another proclamation againſt erecting houſes on new foundations in London, Weſtminſter, or within three miles of any of the gates of London, or of the palace of Weſtminſter. Alſo againſt entertaining inmates in houſes there, 'which would multiply the inhabi-'tants to ſuch an exceſſive number that they could neither be govern-'ed nor fed.' He alſo enjoins the rebuilding of old houſes with brick or ſtone; and forbids cellars for victualling houſes, and ſheds and other annoyances in the ſtreets: renewing alſo his former regulations for making bricks and tiles. And that all theſe regulations may be effectual, he appoints Sir James Campbell lord mayor of London, jointly with many lords and gentlemen therein named, or any four of them, to be his commiſſioners for theſe ends. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *pp.* 177, 181.]

The following proclamation by King Charles, partly ſhews the ſtate of the ſilk manufacture of England, viz. 'that the trade of ſilk within 'this realm, by the importation thereof raw from foreign parts, and 'throwing, dying, and working the ſame into manufactures here at 'home, is much increaſed within a few years paſt. But a fraud in the 'dying thereof being lately diſcovered, by adding to the weight of ſilk 'in the dye beyond a juſt proportion, by a falſe and deceitful mixture 'in the ingredients uſed in dying, whereby alſo the ſilk is weakened 'and corrupted, and the colour made worſe; wherefor we ſtrictly com-'mand, that no ſilk-dyer do hereafter uſe any ſlip, alder-bark, filings 'of iron, or other deceitful matter, in dying ſilk either black or co-'loured. That no ſilk ſhall be dyed of any other black but Spaniſh 'black, and not of the dye called London black, or light weight. Nei-

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'ther ſhall they die any ſilk before the gum be fair boiled off from the 'ſilk, being raw.'—With many other regulations relating to ſilk-dyeing, and the proportional weight before and after dying, too tedious to be now particularized. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 187.]

King Charles gave an excluſive patent to four perſons for a pretended new invention for melting, forging, or fining iron, lead, tin, and ſalt; and for burning bricks, tiles, lime, &c. with the fuel of peat or turf reduced into a coal, without the uſe either of ſea-coal, pit-coal, or wood. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 189.]

One would naturally imagine that the condition of England, in reſpect of fleſh-meat and other proviſions, muſt in thoſe times have been very different from what it is in our days, otherwiſe we ſhould not ſurely have ſeen ſo many laws and proclamations in this and the two preceding reigns againſt the uſe of fleſh in lent, and other fiſh-days; but in this year there was a ſtill more extraordinary proclamation on this ſubject, wherein the king takes notice of the abuſes committed by ingroſſers, badgers, broggers, and buyers of corn, it being then a year of ſcarcity. And the more to ſave the proviſions of the nation, he enjoins the general practice of the antient laudable cuſtom, that no ſuppers were wont to be kept on Fridays, nor on the eves of feaſts commanded to be faſted, nor on Wedneſdays and Saturdays in the ember weeks, and in lent; the ſame courſe being ſtill obſerved in the king's houſehold, and in the families of moſt of the nobility, and of many gentlemen, as alſo in the inns of court and chancery, and the colleges of univerſities. He alſo ordains, that the feaſts at halls of the city companies be forborn, and that half the expenſe thereof be given to the neceſſitous poor. And whereas foreign ſhips frequently come empty into the ports of England, to victual for long voyages, which, in a time of ſcarcity, is by no means to be ſuffered; ſuch ſhips, therefor, ſhall hereafter only take in ſuch a quantity of proviſions as the magiſtrates of the reſpective ports ſhall judge convenient, being only for their neceſſary ſubſiſtance till their return into their own country. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 195.]

There was this year a monopoly project, for the practice of a new invention for extracting gold and ſilver from copper, tin, and lead, granted for fourteen years, on paying one third of the net profits thereof to the king.

In the ſame year King Charles moſt laudably commiſſioned a number of his great officers of ſtate to inquire into the fiſhery on the Britiſh coaſts, how the ſame may be rendered more beneficial to the nation, by framing a general fiſhery company, compoſed of ſome of each of his three kingdoms. For which end he promiſed to iſſue like commiſſions to Scotland and Ireland *. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 211.]

King Charles iſſued a commiſſion, wherein he takes notice, that the merchant-adventurers company have frequently many conſiderable

* 'See more of this under the year 1633.

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ſums of money deducted from them, by perſons they deal with beyond ſea, on account of defects in our white cloths, in point of length, breath, and weight; whereby our cloths, in general, are depreciated in foreign parts. Therefor he appoints commiſſioners for the counties of Somerſet, Wilts, Gloceſter, and Oxon, to ſee the ſtatutes for the right making of white cloth put in execution, and that the ſearchers and overſeers do their duty. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 219.]

A treaty of peace and commerce was concluded between King Charles I of England, and King Philip IV of Spain, at Madrid, wherein what relates to commerce is to the following effect, viz.

Articles VII and XVIII) The ſame articles or conditions of commerce are hereby renewed that exiſted before the war broke out between Queen Elizabeth and King Philip II, and as ſtipulated in the IXth and XXIId articles of the treaty in the year 1604.

VIII) The merchant ſhips, and ſhips of war of both kings, ſo as the later do not exceed eight in number, may freely reſort to the ports of both countries, and may there take in proviſions, refit, and trade, as by antient treaties. But ſhips of war ſhall remain no longer than till they have refitted and revictualled. Neither ſhall a greater number of them come into any port of the other party, without ſpecial leave obtained from the ſovereign of that port: nor ſhall they, under colour of lawful commerce, ſupply the enemy of either party with proviſions, or with naval or warlike ſtores.

XI) No new impoſitions ſhall be laid in Spain on the merchandize of that country brought away by the Engliſh in their own ſhips.

XIX) No diſturbance ſhall be given in Spain to the Engliſh trading thither, on account of conſcience, where no ſcandal ſhall be given.

XX. Where any prohibited goods are exported, none but the delinquent ſhall be puniſhed for the ſame; nor ſhall any thing more be forfeited but the ſaid goods.

XXI) The effects of perſons dying in either country ſhall be ſecured for the benefit of their heirs, &c.

XXIII) In caſe of a rupture hereafter between the two nations, ſix months ſhall be allowed both parties to remove their effects.

XXIV) The ſhips of neither party ſhall be detained in the ports of the other party, nor ſhall be employed for warlike or other purpoſes, without the conſent of their own ſovereign. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 219.]

King Charles iſſued another proclamation againſt the cultivation of tobacco in England and Ireland; where, it ſeems, great quantities were ſtill raiſed. And, after inveighing againſt the inordinate uſe of tobacco, which he here terms an uſeleſs weed, he again forbids the importation of all foreign tobacco without his licence, and even orders that the quantity of tobacco from Virginia, the Somer iſles, and Caribbee iſles, be

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annually limited by himſelf, and that none be imported but into the port of London only. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 235.]

In Munn's judicious book, intitled, England's treaſure by foreign trade, treating of the advantage of permitting the free exportation of our own coin as well as of foreign bullion, he obſerves, 'that Ferdinand I, the grand duke of Tuſcany, was very rich in treaſure, and enlarged his trade by lending to merchants great ſums of money at a low intereſt: that myſelf had 40,000 crowns of him, *gratis*, for a whole year; although he knew that I would preſently ſend it away in ſpecie to Turkey, to be employed in wares for his country; he being well aſſured, that in this courſe of trade it would return again, according to the old ſaying, with a duck in the mouth. By his thus encouraging of commerce, within theſe thirty years the trade of his port of Leghorn is ſo much encreaſed, that of a poor little town, as I myſelf knew it, it is now become a fair and ſtrong city *.'

This year the Dutch Weſt-India company again invaded Brazil, with better ſucceſs than before, and reduced the city of Olinda, with the entire province of Fernambuque; and afterward they gradually extended their conqueſts much farther into that country.

The king gave excluſive grants or charters to David Ramſay, a great projector in thoſe days, for the following pretended new inventions.

I) To multiply and make ſaltpetre in any open field of only four acres of ground, ſufficient to ſerve all our dominions.

II) To raiſe water from low pits by fire.

III) To make any ſort of mills to go on ſtanding waters, by continual motion, without the help of wind, weight, or horſe.

IV) To make all ſorts of tapeſtry without any weaving loom, or other way ever yet in uſe in this kingdom.

V) To make boats, ſhips, and barges to go againſt ſtrong wind and tide.

VI) To make the earth more fertile than uſual.

VII) To raiſe water from low mines and coal-pits, by a way never yet in uſe.

VIII) To make hard iron ſoft, and likewiſe copper tough and ſoft; which is not in uſe in this kingdom.

IX) To make yellow wax white very ſpeedily †.

Another project in this year was, for conveying certain ſprings of water into London and Weſtminſter from within a mile and an half of Hodſdon in Hertfordſhire, by the undertakers Sir Edward Stradling and John Lyde, the projector being one Michael Parker, for defraying the expenſe whereof King Charles granted them a ſpecial licence to erect and

* Probably Mr. Munn was in Leghorn about this time, and may have written his book about 1660. It was publiſhed after his death by his ſon in the year 1664.

† Ramſay ſeems to have had as fertile a brain as any of the famous year 1720.

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publiſh a lottery or lotteries; according (ſays this record) to the courſe of other lotteries heretofore uſed or practiſed *. And for the ſole privilege of bringing the ſaid waters in aqueducts to London, they were to pay L4000 per annum into the king's exchequer; and the better to enable them to make the ſaid large annual payment, the king granted them leave to bring their aqueducts through any of his parks, chaſes, lands, &c. and to dig up the ſame *gratis*. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 242.]

We ſhould alſo note, that, in this ſame year 1630, a ſpecial licence was granted by King Charles, for importing horſes, and another for exporting dogs.

1631.—A project was now authoriſed by King Charles for the ſole uſe of an invention for defending marſh-lands from inundations of the ſea; the projector to pay 20*ſ* annually into the exchequer. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 251.]

We now meet with the firſt eſſay for coining milled money in England, by mills and preſſes, in the beautiful method practiſed in our days, in a commiſſion from King Charles to Sir William Balfour, then lieutenant of the tower of London, Inigo Jones, Eſq. ſurveyor of the king's works, and five others, who were thereby directed to examine the practice thereof by the undertaker, Nicholas Bryitt, a Lorainer, who for that purpoſe had gold and ſilver bullion delivered to him by Sir Robert Harley maſter of the mint. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 287.]

Quebec in Canada having been again ſeized on by Captain Kirk in the year 1629, before he knew of the concluſion of peace between England and France that ſame year, the king promiſed, under his ſign-manual, to his brother-in-law, Louis XIII of France, that, as ſoon as commiſſioners from him ſhould arrive at Canada, his people ſhould deliver up to France the fortreſs and town of Quebec: and that whatever had been embezzled therein ſhould be reſtored to the French. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 303.]

King James having, in the 20th year of his reign, granted letters-patent (which we have not before met with) for the ſole uſe of a new method of making hard ſoap, with a material called berilia, without the uſe of any fire; as alſo for burning and preparing bean and peaſe ſtraw, kelp, fern, and other vegetables found in his dominions, into pot-aſhes for making ſoap, King Charles granted a freſh patent, for fourteen years, to the old patentees Roger Jones and Andrew Palmer, jointly with Sir William Ruſſell, &c. for farther improving thoſe inventions, and for their ſole uſe thereof. This monopoly brought L10,000 into the exchequer. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 323.]

* This is, however, the earlieſt mention of lotteries, either in the Fœdera or the ſtatute-book. The words quoted prove that lotteries had already been uſed or practiſed. There was one at leaſt ſo early as the year 1612, the profits of which were allotted to carry on the ſettlement of Virginia. [*Chalmers's Annals, V.* i, *p.* 32.] *M.*

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THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
(UNIVERSITY OF LONDON),
CLARE MARKET, PORTUGAL ST., KINGSWAY, W.C.2.

SESSION 1920-21.

PUBLIC LECTURES.

The following lectures are open to the public without fee:—

"Economics as a Liberal Education." A lecture by Sir WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, K.C.B., Director of the School, on Monday, 4th October, at 5.30 p.m.

"Coal as a Factor in International Trade." A lecture by Professor SARGENT (Professor of Commerce) on Tuesday, 5th October, at 5 p.m., Sir CYRIL COBB, Chairman of the London Education Committee, in the Chair.

"The Origin and Growth of English Commercial Law." A lecture by Professor H. C. GUTTERIDGE (Sir Ernest Cassel Professor of Commercial and Industrial Law), on Wednesday, 6th October, at 6 p.m., Rt. Hon. LORD JUSTICE ATKIN in the Chair.

"Published Balance Sheets and Accounts." A lecture by Professor L. R. DICKSEE (Sir Ernest Cassel Professor of Accountancy and Business Method), on Thursday, 7th October, at 6 p.m., Mr. WILSON POTTER, Vice-Chairman of the Shipping Sub-Committee for Commerce Degrees, in the Chair.

"Forms of Industrial Self-Government." A course of three lectures by Professor L. T. HOBHOUSE, on Thursdays, 14th, 21st and 28th October, at 6 p.m., Sir WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, K.C.B., in the Chair.

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In a proclamation for reſtraining the exceſs of the private or clandeſtine trade carried on to and from the Eaſt-Indies, by the officers and ſailors in the company's own ſhips, there is a catalogue of the wares and merchandize licenced to be exported to India, and alſo of thoſe licenced to be imported from thence, viz.

Goods allowed to be exported to India: perpetuanas and drapery, pewter, ſaffron, woollen ſtockings, ſilk ſtockings and garters, riband-roſes edged with gold lace, beaver hats with gold and ſilver bands, felt-hats, ſtrong waters, knives, Spaniſh leather ſhoes, iron, and looking-glaſſes.

Goods which might be imported from India: long pepper, white pepper, white powder ſugar preſerved, nutmegs and ginger preſerved, mirabolans, beſoar-ſtones, drugs of all ſorts, agate-heads, blood-ſtones, muſk, aloes-ſocatrina, ambergris, rich carpets of Perſia, and of Cambaya, quilts of ſatin, taffaty, painted calicoes, benjamin, damaſks, ſatins, and taffaties, of China, quilts of China embroidered with gold, quilts of Pitania embroidered with ſilk, galls, worm-ſeeds, ſugar-candy, China diſhes, and puſlanes (i. e. porcelain) of all ſorts. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 335.] Not a word of tea as yet.

King Charles confirmed a grant made by King James for incorporating the ſtarch-makers of London, who were to pay to him 1500 the firſt year, 2500 the ſecond year, and for every ſucceeding year L3500. As for the monopoly of playing cards, the king bought them all of the company, and ſold them out again at a much higher price. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 338.]

This year a large Spaniſh fleet, attempting to cut off the communication between Holland and Zeeland, were utterly overthrown by the Dutch admiral Hollar, who took the whole fleet and near 5000 ſailors.

William Frizell and others got a grant of the office of poſtmaſter for foreign parts, in reverſion. It appears that this office had been firſt erected by King James, and that before that firſt appointment, and even ſometimes ſince, private undertakers only conveyed letters to and from foreign parts. King Charles, therefor, now ſtrictly enjoined that none but his foreign poſtmaſters ſhould hereafter preſume to exerciſe any part of that office. [*Fœdera*, *V*, xix, *pp.* 346, 385.]

King Charles erected a ſecond company for a trade to Africa, by a charter granted to Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, and ſundry merchants; to enjoy the ſole trade to the coaſt of Guinea, Binny (i. e. Benin) and Angola; between Cape Blanco, in twenty degrees of north latitude, and the Cape of Good Hope, at about thirty-four degrees of ſouth latitude, together with the iſles adjacent, for thirty-one years. The charter prohibits, not only all his own ſubjects, the patentees excepted, but likewiſe the ſubjects of every other prince and ſtate what-

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ever, to trade or reſort to or within the ſaid limits, on any pretence whatſoever *. Neither were any but thoſe patentees to import any red-wood, ſkins, wax, gums, dyers-grains, (grana tinctoria) nor any other merchandize, upon forfeiture of ſhip and cargo. And the patentees were impowered to ſeize all ſhips and merchandize they ſhould find within their bounds contrary to this charter, and might alſo explore the interior parts of Africa. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix. *p.* 370.] The patentees erected forts and warehouſes on that coaſt, at a great expenſe: yet the ſeparate traders (then called by the Dutch term interlopers) again broke in upon this company, as they had done on that of the year 1618, and almoſt forced the trade open again: and ſo it remained, till after the reſtoration of King Charles II; yet in the year 1651, the rump parliament granted a charter for five years to the Eaſt-India company, who made uſe of the caſtles and trade of the gold coaſt, as lying in their way to India; and it ſeems found their account in this trade for ſome time: for there they landed their goods brought from England, and carried the gold which they there received into India: although it ſeems their capital ſtock for this trade never exceeded L17,400; therewith, however, they erected two new forts. This third temporary company likewiſe licenced ſhips to trade to Guinea, for ten per cent of their cargoes, or three pounds per ton on the ſhips. A fine trade truely for this company, if it could have held long.

Two attempts were this year made for diſcovering a north-weſt paſſage through Hudſon's bay to China, viz. one at the king's command, by Captain Luke Fox, who arrived at Port-Nelſon, where he found the croſs and inſcription formerly erected by Sir Thomas Button, which he renewed for the king; concerning which voyage he afterwards publiſhed a ſmall quarto treatiſe called the North-weſt fox: and Captain Thomas James was ſent out by the merchants of Briſtol, and wintered in Hudſon's bay, in latitude fifty-two, naming the country New South Wales, giving names alſo to ſundry other bays, capes, &c. as Cape Henrietta Maria, &c. His account was alſo printed in the year 1633, by King Charles's order. The former author thinks there is a paſſage, though he miſſed it; the later thinks there is no great probability of any ſuch paſſage, although he made much more diſcovery in that bay than either Hudſon, Button, or Baffin, had done.

King Charles gave up the caſtle of Briſtol, with all its precincts and inhabitants, to the city, to be for the future in all reſpects a part of it, for the conſideration of L959 paid to the king; and of a fee farm of L40 yearly: by which conſiderable addition, the boundary, or pomerium, of the city of Briſtol, was now above ſeven miles in circumference.

* The king ſurely muſt have known that the Portugueſe were long before now ſtrongly ſettled on the coaſt of Angola, &c. and that he was granting privileges which he could not ſupport.

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1632.—The port of Sallee, on the Barbary coaſt, being in rebellion againſt the emperor of Morocco, and being a mere neſt of pirates, that prince, deſirous to reduce them to his obedience, but not having ſufficient ſhipping of his own for that purpoſe, requeſted the aſſiſtance of the king of Great Britain. Accordingly an Engliſh ſquadron having blocked up the town, while their own monarch beſieged them on the land ſide, they were forced to yield; the fortifications were diſmantled, the pirates executed, and 300 captive chriſtians delivered into our king's hands; whereby (ſays Dr. Heylin, *p.* 955) both he and the nation reaped great honour.

The king about that ſame time built and newly repaired his naval arſenals, docks, ſtore-houſes, &c. ſo effectually, that Leigh, in his Choice obſervations of all the kings of England (8vo, 1661), ſpeaking thereof, ſays, 'that thoſe naval edifices, &c. erected by him, are ſo magnificent 'and univerſally uſeful, that they are become a principal pillar of the 'nation's ſupport, ſo far as they relate to the naval defence of it; af-'fording variety of employment by the manufacture of cordage, as alſo 'by the careening and building of ſhips.' What more could he have ſaid, had he viewed Portſmouth, Plymouth, Chatham, Sheerneſs, Woolwich, and Deptford, in our days ſo vaſtly improved, enlarged, and beautified?

A treaty of peace with France was concluded by King Charles, which was in ſubſtance as follows.

I and II) King Louis XIII engages to pay into the hands of Sir Iſaac Wake, King Charles's ambaſſador at Paris, the value of the charges of three Engliſh ſhips; and to deliver up thoſe ſhips now in his ports of Diep and Calais.

III) King Charles reſtores to France all the places poſſeſſed by the Engliſh in New France, La Cadie, and Canada, particularly Port-Royal, (ſince named Annapolis-Royal) Quebec, and Cape Breton.

VIII, IX, X, XI) The ſum of 82,700 livres was to be paid to France for ſkins, knives, &c. found in Quebec. And alſo the value of the cargoes of ſeveral ſhips taken by the Engliſh, as herein ſpecified. Alſo 60,600 livres for five ſhips and their cargoes, taken by the Engliſh. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 361.—*General collection of treaties*, *V.* ii, *art.* 11.]

Moreover, in a treaty of commerce, concluded on the ſame day between the two monarchs, it was ſtipulated, in ſubſtance, viz.

Article III) To prevent damages to merchants, by detaining their ſhips at ſea, by the ſhips of war of either party, under pretence of ſearching for contraband goods, there ſhould not above three perſons, at any one time, enter any ſuch merchant ſhips, from any ſhip of war, to view or ſearch their papers for contraband goods. After which they ſhould not ſtop the ſaid merchant ſhips, nor turn them out of their way.

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IV) The ſhips of both contracting parties ſhould give 10,000 livres ſecurity, before ſailing out of the reſpective ports of France and England; not to injure, nor attempt to injure, the ſhips and merchandize of either contracting party.

The other articles relate to the manner of treating prize-ſhips and their men.

To this fatal treaty may be truely aſcribed all the diſputes we have had ever ſince with France concerning North America; our king and his miniſters being ſadly outwitted by Richlieu's ſuperior dexterity. The three places now delivered up to France were not, it is true, thought of the ſame importance then, as they are ſince found to be; yet it was very obvious, even then, to any conſiderate obſerver, that as thoſe French colonies ſhould increaſe in people and commerce, thoſe places would be of the utmoſt importance to France, and very dangerous to England: but more eſpecially, our parting with Port-Royal and Cape Breton is never to be excuſed; as the poſſeſſion of them by the French gave them a fair pretext for ſettling on the ſouth ſide of the river St. Laurence, and thereby gradually claiming the reſt of Nova-Scotia, bordering on New-England; whereas, had the French been ſtrictly confined to their original ſettlements on the north ſide of that river, the country is ſo bad, and the trade thereof ſo indifferent, that before now they would probably have quite abandoned them.

Though ever ſince the Dutch had commenced hoſtilities againſt Spain, upon the expiration of their twelve years truce in the year 1621, their trade and wealth were greatly increaſed, and individuals were greatly enriched, in the laſt eleven years of war; yet the province of Holland, which bore the main burden of that war, was, in its collective capacity, found to be in this year no leſs than fifty-five millions of guilders in debt, that province alone bearing (by the original union of Utrecht) fifty-eight per cent of the whole annual charge of the war.

King Charles granted a patent for fourteen years, for the ſole uſe and profit of an engine for diving in the ſea and other deep waters for loſt goods and treaſure. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 365.]

A patent was given to a phyſician, pretending to have, by long ſtudy and great expenſe, found out the following ſix whimſical ſecrets, viz.

1) An inſtrument, which may be called the wind-mate, very profitable when common winds fail, for a more ſpeedy paſſage of veſſels becalmed on ſeas and rivers.

2) The fiſh-call, or a looking glaſs for fiſhes in the ſea, very uſeful for fiſhermen to call all kinds of fiſhes to their nets, ſears, or hooks: as ſeveral calls are needful for fowlers to call ſeveral kinds of fowls or birds to their nets or ſnares*.

* Naturaliſts are agreed that fiſh have no organs of hearing.

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3) A water-bowe, for the more ſpeedy preſervation of houſes on land, and ſhips at ſea, from fire.

4) A building-mould, or ſtone-preſs, very requiſite for building churches or great houſes, by which ſtone windows, door-caſes, chimney-pieces, &c. are made more ſpeedily, without hewing, cutting, ſawing, carving, or engraving. As alſo for making bricks and tiles more beautiful to the eye, and more durable againſt foul weather, being as ſmooth as glaſs on the one ſide or end, with divers colours and works, as if carved by curious workmen.

5) A moveable hydraulic, or chamber weather-call, like a cabinet, which, being placed in a room, or by a bed ſide, cauſeth ſweet ſleep to thoſe, who either by hot fevers, or otherwiſe, cannot take reſt: and it withal alters the dry hot air into a more moiſtening and cooling temper, either with muſical ſounds or without.

6) The corrected-crane, by which wine, oil, or any other liquor, may be transfuſed from one veſſel, which cannot well be removed to another remote: as alſo water may be drawn from one place to another, without any ſucking or forcing by the mouth, as vintners and others uſe to do.

All theſe were excluſive for fourteen years, paying the yearly rent of L1 : 6 : 8 into the exchequer. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 371.].

Theſe are ſuch ſingular projects as are worth the recording, purely for their novelty: and were they any where elſe, but in ſo authentic a collection of our records, would probably be regarded in no other ſenſe than as a burleſque on many other projects of this age, and the famous year 1720.

King Charles once more iſſued a proclamation againſt the conſtant reſidence of the nobility and gentry with their families in London, wherein, beſide the uſual topics in former ones, he remarks, that, by reſiding in London with their families, a great part of their money and ſubſtance is drawn from the ſeveral counties whence it ariſeth, and ſpent in the city on exceſs of apparel, provided from foreign parts, to the enriching of other nations, and the unneceſſary conſumption of a great part of the treaſure of this realm; and in other vain delights and expenſes, even to the waſting of their eſtates: that this alſo draws great numbers of looſe and idle people to London and Weſtminſter, which thereby are not ſo eaſy governed as formerly, the poors rates increaſed, and proviſions enhanced. For all which reaſons, they are now limited to forty days from the date hereof, to depart with their families from London, Weſtminſter, and their ſuburbs, and to reſide on their eſtates. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 374.]

After reading this, and other ſuch proclamations, can any one wonder at this king's being termed arbitrary, and his getting ſo many enemies amongſt his ſubjects? ſince men of the greateſt fortunes were hereby

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poſitivly debarred a liberty, which, being innocent in itſelf, the meaneſt free ſubject would never patiently part with, of remaining where he likes beſt. Even this command was not without a view to the king's emolument, ſince thoſe who did not obey punctually, were condemned in grievous fines by the ſtar-chamber for the king's uſe.

King Charles this year licenced the Eaſt-India company to export L40,000 in foreign gold bullion to Perſia and India in lieu of ſo much of the L100,000, which by King James's charter they were impowered annually to export thither in foreign ſilver bullion. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 386.]

A dearth of proviſions continuing, the king prohibited the exportation of corn for one year. And by the ſame proclamation, he renewed a former one, againſt the exportation of wool, fuller's-earth, and leather. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 387.]

King Charles by a ſpecial warrant to his treaſury declared, that notwithſtanding the laws and cuſtoms of England forbid the exportation of any gold and ſilver to foreign parts, either in coin or bullion, yet he, being deſirous to cultivate the friendſhip of his moſt dear brother King Philip IV of Spain, and of the merchants of the Spaniſh Netherlands, grants a licence for the ſaid merchants to export gold and ſilver, either in our coin or otherwiſe, being the produce of the merchandize they ſhall import into England, as far as the amount of L2000 ſterling, in every ſhip returning home; ſo as the ſaid money be exported within the ſpace of one hundred days from their unlading the merchandize they import, until we ſhall otherwiſe ordain, any ſtatute or cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 396.]

In the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's vindication before the privy council, in anſwer to the allegations of the Turkey company in the year 1681, amongſt other points for ſhewing the great difficulties attending an Eaſt-India trade, it is aſſerted, that although formerly they had a ſtock of L1,500,000, yet in fifteen years time, viz. from 1617 to this year, their whole profit was no more than 12½ per cent.

This year gave birth to the proſperous colony of Maryland. Sir George Calvert, ſecretary of ſtate, having, in the years 1621 and 1622, obtained of King James a grant of part of Newfoundland, he ſome time after removed thither with his family, but he ſoon found it to be one of the worſt countries in the habitable world. Whereupon he returned back to England; and he, being a conſcientious Roman Catholic, (ſays Sir William Keith, in his hiſtory of Virginia) was inclined to retire with his family to ſome part of Virginia, there quietly to enjoy the free exerciſe of his religion; for which purpoſe he went thither himſelf, about the year 1631: but being diſcouraged by the univerſal diſlike which he perceived the people of Virginia had to the very name of a papiſt, he left Virginia, and went farther up the bay of Cheſapeak; and

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finding there a very large tract of land, commodiously watered with many fine rivers, and not yet inhabited by any christians, he returned to England, and represented to the king that the colony of Virginia had not as yet occupied any lands beyond the south bank of Potomack river; whereupon he obtained a promise of a grant of that unplanted country. But he dying before the grant was made out, his son Cæcil, lord Baltimore, took it out in his own name on the 20th of June 1632; the king himself naming it Maryland, in honour of his Queen Henrietta Maria. It is held by the lords Baltimore of the crown, in free and common soccage, as of the king's honour of Windsor, on paying yearly for ever, at Windsor castle, (if demanded) two Indian arrows: by which charter this lord-proprietor has as plenary or sovereign a power as any in America; having the sole right to all quit-rents of land therein, which he shall grant out to his landholders, who however, are empowered by the crown to lay on all proper taxes, &c. in their general courts, composed of their representatives, duely elected, and of the council; and the governor is always to be appointed by the proprietor with the king's approbation. In other respects, the king has no concern with the government of Maryland, any farther than relates to commerce, and to his customs on merchandize, as also to the admiralty jurisdiction, which our kings have wisely retained in all our colonies in America; and with respect to these points, the governors of this and all other charter, as well as regal, colonies, are obliged to obey the directions of the king and council, as also such orders as shall from time to time be sent to them from the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, since the erection of that most useful board.

The island of Montserrat was now planted by Sir Thomas Warner, governor of the neighbouring island of St. Christophers, who brought a colony thither from Ireland, and was also appointed its first governor. At first the planters thereof sent great quantities of indigo to England, though of late years they have run almost entirely into sugar, with some little cotton and ginger. It is about three leagues in length, and nearly the same in breadth. It has thriven extremely well, and may probably be inhabited by about 4500 white people, and about 10,000 negro slaves. It is better supplied with fresh water than Antigua, but has no good harbours, and is somewhat dangerous of approach, by reason of the many rocks on its shores.

This year (according to the French historian of the Caribbee isles, published in 1658) the Dutch West-India company first planted the small island of St. Eustatia. It is the strongest by nature of all those islands, having but one good landing place, where a few men may keep off a great army; it produces sugar, but is chiefly useful to the Dutch by its commodious situation for contraband or smuggling trade with all the European colonies in its neighbourhood, being always well stocked with

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European merchandize for thoſe ends. Some have made its white inhabitants to amount to 5 or 6000, and its negroes to 15,000.

While Sir Thomas Warner was governor of St. Chriſtophers ſome Engliſh families in or about this year ventured to ſettle on the iſland of Antigua, in that neighbourhood, though it was for ſome time reckoned uninhabitable, becauſe it has no freſh water brooks, or ſcarce any other but rain water preſerved in ponds or ciſterns. And, for that reaſon, it was ſoon after deſerted by them, and remained in a deſerted condition (as we ſhall ſee) till after the reſtoration of King Charles II.

1633.—In 1633, Lord Baltimore carried two hundred perſons to his new colony of Maryland, moſtly papiſts. This colony had in the beginning a very great advantage in being in the neighbourhood of that of Virginia already planted, from whence they ſupplied themſelves at firſt with fleſh-meat, poultry, &c. inſomuch that Maryland, being quickly and eaſily ſettled, became in a few years flouriſhing and populous. It has therefor at length became a large and noble eſtate to Lord Baltimore. In this province, as well as in that of Virginia, the planters live moſtly in ſeparate ſituations and not in towns, for the conveniency of the great number of rivers, and of creeks and inlets of the great bay of Cheſapeak, whereby they ſo eaſily convey their tobacco to the ſhips; ſo that in neither of thoſe colonies are there as yet any towns of conſiderable bulk or importance. For the greater planters have generally ſtorehouſes within themſelves, for all kinds of neceſſaries brought from Great Britain, not only for their own conſumption, but likewiſe for ſupplying the leſſer planters and their ſervants, &c. And, whilſt that kind of economy continues, there can be no proſpect of towns becoming conſiderable in either province, which is ſo far a benefit to their mother country, as without towns (wherein home manufactures and handicrafts are generally firſt propagated) they muſt continue to be ſupplied from Britain with clothing, furniture, tools, delicacies, &c.

The tobacco of Maryland, called oroonoko, being ſtronger than that of Virginia, is not ſo generally agreeable to the Britiſh taſte as the ſweet ſcented tobacco of the later colony; but the northern nations of Europe are ſaid to like it better, and they are thought to raiſe about as much tobacco, and to emply near as many ſhips as Virginia does. Its ſoil is in general extremely good, being moſtly a level country.

This year the parliament of Scotland reduced the intereſt of money from 10 to 8 per cent, being nine years after it had been ſo reduced in England.

By the management of cardinal Richlieu, prime miniſter to the French king Louis XIII, a ſubſidy treaty was concluded between France and Sweden, whereby Louis agreed to pay Queen Chriſtiana of Sweden one million of livres annually, for the defence of their common friends, for ſecuring the Ocean and Baltic ſea, and for obtaining laſting peace in the

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empire *. This was, probably, the firſt proper ſubſidy treaty between France and Sweden, ſince then frequently repeated.

The king iſſued a long proclamation for preventing frauds in the weaving, dying, milling, ſtretching, ſealing, meaſuring, ſearching, &c. of woollen cloths; many or moſt of which being ſince then repealed or altered, we ſhall not enlarge on it. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 445.]

The king granted a ſpecial commiſſion for one Young to go out with what ſhips, merchandize, and people, he ſhould judge proper, for the diſcovery of the unplanted parts of Virginia, or any where elſe in America, not poſſeſſed by any European power, and to ſettle the ſame as an Engliſh colony, &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 472.]

In the ſame year he iſſued his proclamation for regulating the retailers of tobacco in cities and towns; wherein none but reputable and ſubſtantial traders ſhould retail the ſame; of whom a catalogue ſhould be made for each city and town: and he expreſsly prohibits all keepers of taverns, ale-houſes, inns, victualling-houſes, ſtrong-water-ſellers, &c. from retailing tobacco. How little ſeemed he in this, as in many other reſpects, to underſtand his true intereſt.

This year a Dutchman erected a wind ſaw-mill or engine for ſawing timber, on the river Thames oppoſite Durham-yard in the Strand, London: whereby with the attendance of one man and one boy, as much work was done as twenty men can perform in the uſual way. But this method was afterward put down, leſt our labouring people ſhould want employment. How juſt ſuch reaſoning is, is ſubmitted to the public; ſince, by a parity of reaſoning, all wheel-carriages, &c. ſhould be ſuppreſſed. There is ſuch a ſaw-mill at Leith, near Edinburgh, which alſo goes by wind: and, as there is no legal reſtraint againſt ſo uſeful an engine, it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that in times when uſeful hands were ſo much wanted elſewhere, it has never ſince been attempted. Poſſibly the danger of popular clamour may have deterred men from purſuing it.

The author of the Preſent ſtate of England, [*part* iii, *p.* 93, *ed.* 1683.] acquaints us, that lacquer varniſh, which, imitating the gold colour, has ſaved much coſt formerly beſtowed on the gilding of coaches, &c. was now firſt brought into uſe in England by the ingenious Mr. Evelyn of Says-court near Deptford.

This year alſo, a new and great aſſociation or company was formed in England for carrying on the fiſhery, in which the earl of Pembroke, Sir William Courten, Sir John Harriſon, Sir Paul Pindar, &c. were concerned: and King Charles, to encourage that laudable purpoſe, enjoined lent to be more ſtrictly obſerved, prohibited fiſh caught by foreigners

* So ſays the author of Richlieu's life, though it was well known to be principally intended for the depreſſion of the houſe of Auſtria.

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to be imported, and agreed to purchaſe of that company his naval ſtores, and the fiſh for his royal navy. This was in conſequence of his commiſſion three years before, as mentioned under the year 1630. Yet all this, in a few years after, came to nothing, for want of judgement as well as honeſty in the managers of it: but as we have on many other occaſions preſumed freely to cenſure this king's conduct, we ought to do him the juſtice to acknowlege, that he did every thing in his power to promote this truely national deſign.

1634.—The king being bent on fitting out a formidable fleet, commanded the city of London to ſend to Portſmouth, at their ſole charge, the following quota of ſhips, with ordnance, tackle, &c. for twenty-ſix weeks, for the enſuing year 1635; and the like commands were ſent to the other ſea-port towns for proportionable quotas, viz.

One ſhip of 900 tons, and 350 men;
One of 800 tons, and 260 men;
Four, of each 500 tons, and 200 men;
And one of 300 tons, and 150 men.

This is properly the firſt year of that king's ſhip-money project, which ſo much contributed to his ruin.

At this time, according to Howel's Life of King Louis XIII of France, that kingdom being in perfect tranquillity, many wholeſome laws were made for ſuppreſſing luxury and finery of apparel. A new company of merchants was eſtabliſhed for New-France, and Paris was enlarged, the Tuilleries and part of St. Germain being brought into it.

King Charles by his own authority, laid a duty of 4*ſ* per chaldron on all ſea-coal, ſtone-coal, or pit-coal, exported from England to foreign parts. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 547.]

He iſſued a proclamation ordering that tobacco ſhould be landed nowhere in England but at the cuſtomhouſe quay of London, to prevent defrauding his majeſty of the duty thereon. Alſo againſt planting tobacco in England and Ireland, ſtill much practiſed, and againſt the importation of tobacco-ſeed. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 554.]

At the ſame time he granted an excluſive patent for fourteen years, for the art and myſtery of affixing wool, ſilk, and other materials of divers colours, upon linen cloth, ſilk, cotton, leather, and other ſubſtances, with oil, ſize, and other cements, to make them uſeful and ſerviceable for hangings, &c. the patentee paying L10 yearly into the exchequer for the ſame. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 554.]

The tobacco planters in Virginia, &c. being kept poor by the exorbitant prices which merchants made them pay for their neceſſaries from England, King Charles, for keeping up of the price of tobacco, and for preventing the planters from ſending any of it directly to foreign parts, whereby he might be deprived of his cuſtom thereon, iſſued a declaration, that he now reſolved to take the ſole pre-emption of all to-

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bacco into his own hands, at a reaſonable price. He therefor granted a ſpecial commiſſion to a number of gentlemen and merchants to tranſact this affair for him. The king was now more ſparing of his reflections on the malignity of tobacco than formerly, beginning to find the benefit ariſing from his cuſtom thereon: he therefor now obſerves, 'that 'in the colonies of Virginia, the Somer-iſles, and Caribbees, being but 'in their infancy, the chiefeſt commodity that muſt ſupport them, and 'enable them to raiſe more ample commodities, is this of tobacco.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 560.]

In this year, 1634, the Dutch Greenland company made an experiment of the poſſibility of the human ſpecies living through a whole winter at Spitzbergen, till now believed to be impoſſible. They left ſeven of their ſailors to winter there; and one of them kept a diary thereof from the 11th of September to the 26th of February following, when they were ſpent with the ſcurvy, and their limbs quite benumbed with cold, till they could no way help themſelves. They were all ſeven found dead, in the houſe they had built for themſelves, at the return of the Dutch ſhips in 1635. Had any of thoſe men lived till the next ſhips arrived, a Dutch fort would doubtleſs have been erected there. As for the claims of ſundry different European nations to a monopoly of the fiſhery of whales at Spitzbergen, they ſtood thus for ſome years after this time, viz. 1) the Engliſh alleged their having been the firſt diſcoverers, by Sir Hugh Willoughby, in the year 1553: 2) but the Dutch denied his having been ſo far north as Spitzbergen, and alleged their having firſt diſcovered it in 1596: 3) the Danes laid claim to it as a ſuppoſed part of Old Greenland, early poſſeſſed by them: but if prior diſcovery gave any juſt excluſive right at all to a country uninhabited and uninhabitable, it is moſt probable that the Biſcayners, who were the firſt whale-fiſhers of later ages, had the beſt right to it. Since thoſe times all nations have wiſely dropped their excluſive pretenſions, and that part of the icy world remains now alike free to all nations for this fiſhery.

A patent, granted by King Charles in the preceding year, was this year confirmed, for the ſole practice of an invention for ſaving much fuel, and for preventing much of the offence of ſmoke, to the great benefit of all people, and more eſpecially of brewers, dyers, ſoapboilers, ſaltmakers, &c. Alſo a patent for the ſole invention of cleanſing and grinding indigo: for which monopoly forty marks were to be paid annually into the exchequer. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *pp.* 561, 564.]

The next record is a proclamation for regulating the manufacture of ſoft ſoap, and for preventing the importation of fiſh-oil ſoap, and all other foreign ſoaps: and that the ſaid ſoft ſoap made by the Weſtminſter ſoap company ſhould not be ſold for more than 3*d* per pound. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 566.]

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Patents were given for two excluſive projects, viz. 1ſt, 'a new in-
'vented engine for ploughing of land without horſes or oxen, for
'which L20 was to be paid yearly into the exchequer;' and, 2dly, 'for
'an engine for getting up ſhips and goods ſunk in the ſea.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 569, 571.]

King Charles gave a grant to Sir Sanders Duncomb, ſetting forth, 'that whereas the ſtreets of our cities of London and Weſtminſter, 'and their ſuburbs, are of late ſo much encumbered with the unne-'ceſſary multitude of coaches, that many of our ſubjects are thereby 'expoſed to great danger, and the neceſſary uſe of carts and carriages 'for proviſions thereby much hindered; and Sir Sanders Duncomb's 'petition repreſenting, that in many parts beyond ſea, people are much 'carried in chairs that are covered, whereby few coaches are uſed 'amongſt them: wherefor, we have granted to him the ſole privilege 'to uſe, let, and hire a number of the ſaid covered chairs for fourteen 'years.' *Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 572.] This is the origin of ſedan chairs in London *.

John Day, citizen and ſworn-broker of London, had, for three years paſt, printed and publiſhed weekly bills of the prices of all commodities in the principal cities of Chriſtendom, 'which (ſays the king's 'grant this year to him) has never yet been brought here to that per-'fection anſwerable to other parts beyond ſea; by which neglect with-'in our city of London, being one of the mother cities for trade in all 'Chriſtendom, our ſaid city is much diſgraced, and our merchants hin-'dered in their commerce and correſpondence: wherefor, we grant 'unto the ſaid John Day the ſole privilege of vending the ſaid weekly 'bills for fourteen years.'

We muſt here do this king and his privy council the juſtice to remark, that in this patent, and alſo in ſome few former ones, there is a proviſo, that if at any time, during the ſaid term of fourteen years, it ſhall appear that ſuch grant is contrary to law, or miſchievous to the ſtate, or generally inconvenient, then, upon ſignification made by us under our ſignet or privy ſeal, or by ſix or more of our privy council under their hands, of ſuch prejudice, &c. this our preſent grant ſhall be void. This precaution was probably owing to many of this king's excluſive grants having been declared by trials at common law to be illegal monopolies, which the king was therefor obliged to revoke and make void.

The Dutch took the ſmall iſland of Curaçoa from Spain, by which means, being but eight leagues from the coaſt of Terra Firma, they have ever ſince driven a great illicit trade with the Spaniards there: and though it be not fertile, that diligent people, however, have culti-

* According to Wilſon, the biographer of King James, ſedan chairs were introduced in Britain by the duke of Buckingham. [*Arnot's Hiſt. of Edinburgh*, *p.* 598]. *M.*

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vated fine ſugar and tobacco plantations in it. They have plenty of logwood and cattle; and its town, of the ſame name, is well fortified, and inhabited by rich merchants. The Dutch alſo poſſeſs Bonaire and Aruba, iſlands near it, and ſubject to its governor. They alſo poſſeſs Saba and Euſtatia, and part of St. Martins, all inconſiderable iſlands near St. Chriſtophers.

King James having in the year 1605 incorporated the gardeners of London and within ſix miles of it, King Charles now confirmed that charter. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 582.]

We find that the company of merchant-adventurers of England had in this ſame year intereſt enough, probably by the aid of their common purſe, to get the king to iſſue a proclamation, ſtrictly prohibiting all perſons from exporting any white cloths, coloured cloths, cloths dreſſed and dyed out of the whites, Spaniſh cloths, bayes, kerſies, perpetuanos, ſtockings, or any other Engliſh woollen commodities, to any part either of Germany or of the ſeventeen provinces of the Netherlands, ſave only to the mart and ſtaple towns of the ſaid fellowſhip of merchant-adventurers for the time being. This proclamation farther ſubjoins: 'and to the end that the ſaid trade may be hereafter reduced and continued in an orderly and well governed courſe, we do hereby declare our royal pleaſure to be, that the ſaid fellowſhip of merchant-adventurers ſhall admit to the freedom of their ſaid trade all ſuch of our ſubjects dwelling in our city of London, and exerciſed in the profeſſion of merchandize, and no ſhopkeepers (except they give over their ſhops), as ſhall deſire the ſame, for a fine of L50 apiece, and thoſe of the outports for L25 apiece; and that the ſons and ſervants of ſuch as ſhall be ſo admitted ſhall pay at their admiſſion twenty nobles (i. e. L6 : 13 : 4) apiece. Laſtly, that none ſhall trade to the ſaid countries of Germany and the Netherlands in any of the ſpecies of woollen goods above named, but only ſuch as are free of the ſaid fellowſhip.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 583.]

And in a ſmall treatiſe, intitled, Free trade, publiſhed by J. Parker in 1648, a proviſo is added (not in the *Fœdera*), viz. provided the London merchants make themſelves free by midſummer 1635, and thoſe of the outports by Michaelmas 1635; but if they ſuffered thoſe times to lapſe, they were to pay double the reſpective ſums. Parker and others, who were opponents of this company, allege, that in this and preceding reigns, the company conſtantly made handſome preſents of annual new year's gifts to the miniſters of ſtate for the continuance of their intereſt; as for inſtance, in 1623, to the lord-treaſurer two hundred gold pieces of twenty-two ſhillings each, and a piece of plate; other preſents alſo were then made to the duke of Buckingham, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord keeper, the lord preſident, the ſecretaries of ſtate, &c.

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In this ſame year we have a flagrant inſtance of the ſhameful as well as impolitic bigotry of King Charles I, and of Laud archbiſhop of Canterbury, who makes his report, *inter alia*, to the king, purſuant to his inſtructions, concerning the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of his province of Canterbury, 'that the Dutch churches in Canterbury and Sandwich are 'great nurſeries of inconformity.' And he prays his majeſty, 'that 'ſuch of the French, Italian, and Dutch congregations, as are born his 'ſubjects, may not be ſuffered any longer to live in ſuch a ſeparation 'as they do; and inſinuates the danger of the church of England from 'a toleration of foreign proteſtants.' The Walloons of Norwich too were under the ſame prohibition, though they pleaded the toleration to them by King Edward VI, and ſo down to his then majeſty: but Laud's anſwer was poſitive,—they muſt obey! And the king on the margin of this part of Laud's report wrote as follows: 'Put me in mind 'of this at ſome convenient time when I am at council, and I ſhall re-'dreſs it.' Laud, it ſeems, thought it a great piece of condeſcenſion to permit thoſe Walloon and Dutch, who were not born in England, to enjoy their own way of worſhip, but their offſpring ſhould be compelled to go to their pariſh churches! It is here needleſs to remark how little that prince underſtood the true intereſt of his kingdom and of its commerce in giving way to that wretched bigot.

The Walloon, Italian, and Dutch proteſtant manufacturers ſettled in Norwich, Canterbury, Sandwich, &c. had hitherto been permitted to enjoy their own opinions reſpecting religious profeſſions and worſhip; but their children were now compelled by Laud archbiſhop of Canterbury to attend the pariſh churches. The conſequence of that eccleſiaſtical tyranny was (according to *Roger Coke's Detection of the court and ſtate of England*), that 140 families removed to Holland, where they taught the Dutch the way of managing the woollen manufacture, which has proved of very bad conſequence to England. And doubtleſs the like cauſes will ever produce like effects.

King Charles, by a proclamation, farther ſtrengthened the monopoly of his ſoap company in Weſtminſter, by prohibiting all perſons whatever, not free of that company, from either making or importing any ſoap. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 592.]

'King Charles granted a licence to Thomas Skipwith to make the 'river Soare navigable from its junction with the Trent up to the town 'of Leiceſter, he paying a tenth part of all the profits of ſuch new na-'vigation into the king's exchequer.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 597.] It is noble and wiſe in princes to encourage inland as well as foreign navigation, as greatly beneficial to commerce; but this condition annexed to the licence would be deemed ſordid and diſgraceful in our days.

The king renewed his former proclamations for prohibiting all dove-houſes, ſtables, cellars, warehouſes, &c. except thoſe of perſons of qua-

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ſity, from being paved with ſtone, brick, boards, ſand, lime, or gravel, and inſtead thereof, enjoining, that they be laid with mellow earth, fit for the generation of the mine of ſaltpetre, ſo abſolutely needful for the making of gunpowder.

And by the next record 'he aſſumed to himſelf the pre-emption of 'all ſaltpetre made in England, as alſo the monopoly of gunpowder 'made thereof.'

More grants for excluſive or monopolizing offices in this ſame year were, one 'for ſearching and ſealing all foreign hops;' another 'for 'viewing and weighing all hay and ſtraw in loads or truſſes;' and one 'for branding and marking all butter caſks. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *pp.* 601, 603, 605, 606.]

In this and the following year, 1635, Lord Baltimore ſent ſhips with people and proviſions to ſettle and cultivate his province of Maryland, the expenſe whereof amounted to at leaſt L40,000 *.

1635.—In the year 1635 the Dutch Eaſt-India company invaded and conquered the large iſland of Formoſa, near the Chineſe coaſt, and expelled the Portugueſe from thence; yet we ſhall ſee that twenty-ſix years after they were themſelves expelled thence by the Chineſe.

King Charles in a proclamation obſerves, that to this time there hath been no certain intercourſe between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and he now commands his poſtmaſter of England for foreign parts to ſettle a running poſt or two, to run night and day, between Edinburgh and London, to go thither and come back again in ſix days, and to take with them all ſuch letters as ſhall be directed to any poſt-town in or near that road; and that bye-poſts be placed at ſeveral places out of the road, to bring in and carry out the letters from and to Lincoln, Hull, and other places. The poſtage was fixed at 2*d* the ſingle letter, if under 80 miles; 4*d*, between 80 and 140 miles; 6*d*, if above 140 miles; and upon the borders of Scotland and in Scotland 8*d*; and in proportion for double letters and packets. The like rule alſo to be obſerved to Weſt-Cheſter, Holyhead, and thence to Ireland; alſo to Plymouth, Exeter, &c. on the weſt road: and as ſoon as poſſible the like conveyance to be ſettled for Oxford, Briſtol, and other places on the road; alſo to Colcheſter, Norwich, and divers other places on that road. The conveyances from London to Edinburgh, to Cheſter and Holyhead, and to Plymouth and Exeter, were ordered to begin the firſt week after Michaelmas next; twopence halfpenny per mile to be paid on the roads to the ſeveral poſtmaſters for every ſingle horſe carrying the letters. No other meſſengers nor foot-poſts were permitted to carry any letters but

* The guardians of his ſucceſſor, a minor, in a petition to parliament in 1715 againſt a bill for regulating the charter and proprietary governments in America, ſtated Lord Baltimore's expenſes at this ſum, the intereſt of which had never been received by any profits from thence. However that might be, the province has been a ſource of great revenue to the family afterwards.

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thoſe employed by the king's poſtmaſter-general, unleſs to ſuch places whither the king's poſts do not go, excepting common known carriers, or meſſengers particularly ſent on purpoſe, or elſe a letter by a friend. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 649.]

Thus the increaſe of England's foreign commerce increaſing her domeſtic commerce and correſpondence, rendered the extenſion of the poſt-carriage of letters abſolutely requiſite. It is indeed ſomewhat ſtrange, that trade having even before this time got to a conſiderable height, the above poſts were not ſooner eſtabliſhed. On the other hand, it is poſſible that King Charles's neceſſities might put him upon this extenſion of poſt-carriage ſooner than otherwiſe might have happened. Since his time there have been poſts eſtabliſhed on many more bye-roads, and ſome very lately in our time; and thoſe to moſt of our manufacturing towns, the two univerſities, and to the king's naval ports, have been extended to every week-day throughout the year.

Portpatrick in Wigton-ſhire being the neareſt part of Great Britain to Ireland, and the pier of it being deſtroyed by the ſea, a collection in the churches of Scotland and Ireland had been made for building a new one. As the moſt convenient paſſage to Ireland is from that port, and all the three kingdoms are thereby intereſted in it, King Charles this year granted a brief for a collection to be made alſo in all the churches of England for making that harbour a ſafe retreat for ſhips and boats. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 651.]

After the eaſtern Tartars had for twenty years together haraſſed China with conſtant war, they now ſubdued and placed their own prince upon the throne of that populous and opulent empire, whoſe poſterity have reigned there to this preſent time.

This year the bank of Rotterdam was erected, wherein bills of exchange are paid in large money, and only 10 per cent paid in ſchellings.

This year is remarkable for King Charles's moſt memorable impoſition of ſhip-money for the enſuing year 1636 on all the counties, cities, and towns, in England, by virtue of his own ſole prerogative. His pretence for this moſt arbitrary and illegal impoſition was, that the Dutch pretended a right to a free and undiſturbed fiſhery on his coaſts; to which pretenſion they had been encouraged by the famous treatiſe intitled *Mare liberum*, publiſhed by Grotius in 1612, though Grotius had not ſo much as once mentioned the Dutch claim to the freedom of the fiſhery on our coaſts, being content with aſſerting the freedom of fiſhing on the ſea in general; yet, before King Charles and his miniſters would break with the Dutch, and openly vindicate by arms his claim to the ſovereignty of the four ſeas, it was judged neceſſary to ſet Selden to write in ſupport of the dominion of the ſea; he, being a great lawyer, antiquary, and hiſtorian, was judged equal to the arduous taſk

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of anſwering ſo great a man as Grotius. Mr. Selden had begun his work in the reign of King James, probably upon the firſt appearance of Grotius's *Mare liberum;* and, after many years intermiſſion, he afterward reviewed, altered, and enlarged it, as he himſelf relates, by command of King Charles, to whom he dedicated it, when he publiſhed it in this year, under the title of *Mare clauſum.* Sir William Beecher, one of the clerks of the council, by the king's command, ſolemnly delivered a copy of it to the barons of the exchequer in open court, who ordered it to be placed among their records, where it ſtill remains. It is not poſſible to give in a ſmall compaſs a ſummary of the *Mare clauſum:* it is ſufficient to obſerve, that its arguments are drawn from old records and precedents of the titles and claims of the Saxon and Norman kings, in times when there was little or no commerce or naval power exiſting any where but in the Mediterranean ſea; times ſo very different from that wherein he wrote, when all the maritime nations of the weſt and north had a maritime commerce and a naval force, and when ſuch claims ſtrenuouſly aſſerted by any one naval potentate might reaſonably, and perhaps probably, bring on a confederacy of all the other potentates for reducing that one to moderation.

King Charles, bent on bringing the Dutch to acknowlege his ſea dominion, had now, beſides other naval armaments, built the greateſt ſhip of war that had ever been ſeen in England before, and gave it the name of the Sovereign, of 96 guns and 1740 tons. And the better to enable him to fit out a ſuperior fleet, he ordered his chancellor Coventry to iſſue writs to the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties, and to the magiſtrates, &c. of ſeveral towns, 'for aſſeſſing and collecting money for fit-'ting out ſhips of war for ſuppreſſing pirates and for the guard of the 'ſeas.' The precept for the county and towns of Dorſetſhire being given at large, it appears that they were commanded to procure and fit out a ſhip of 500 tons burden, with a commander and 200 ſailors, with cannon, ſmall arms, ſpears, darts, ammunition, &c. anſwerable, and ſtored with proviſions, and double equipage, and all other neceſſaries, for 26 weeks at leaſt; all which was to be paid and maintained at their own charge.

Here follows the liſt of all the ſhips which the ſeveral counties of England and Wales were commanded to ſupply for the year 1636.

	Ships.	*Tons.*	*Men.*
Dorſetſhire	1	500	200
Cornwall	1	650	260
Leiceſterſhire	1	450	180
Middleſex (Weſtminſter included)	1	550	220
Suffolk	1	800	320
Huntingdonſhire	1	200	80

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	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
Buckinghamſhire	1	450	180
Bedfordſhire	1	300	120
Derbyſhire	1	350	140
Hertfordſhire	1	400	160
Norfolk	1	800	320
Cumberland and Weſtmoreland, jointly	1	100	40
Yorkſhire	2, each	600	240
Staffordſhire	1	200	80
Wilts	1	700	290
Herefordſhire	1	400	160
Monmouthſhire	1	150	60
Shropſhire	1	450	180
Surrey	1	400	160
Hampſhire	1	600	240
Warwickſhire	1	400	160
Devonſhire	1	900	360
Kent	1	800	320
Northamptonſhire	1	600	240
Nottinghamſhire	1	350	140
Berks	1	400	160
Oxon	1	350	140
Rutlandſhire	1	100	40
Briſtol city	1	200	80
Glouceſterſhire	1	550	220
Cambridgeſhire	1	350	140
Lincolnſhire	1	800	320
Somerſetſhire	1	800	320
Northumberland	1	500	200
Worceſterſhire	1	400	160
Suſſex	1	500	200
London city	2, each	800	320
Durham	1	200	80
Lancaſhire	1	350	140
Eſſex	1	800	320
South Wales	1	500	200
North Wales	1	400	160
* Total	44	11,500	8610

* As an example of the expenſe of this armament, the Eſſex ſhip coſt L8000, levied as follows:

Thaxtead	L 40	Malden	80
Walden	80	Harwich	20
Colcheſter	400	All the reſt of the county	7380
			8000

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This duty was repeated annually till 1639, and was valued at L200,000 per annum (ſays the author of the Royal treaſury of England, publiſhed in octavo in 1625.)

And by a later commiſſion in this ſame year the king excuſed thoſe towns and counties which, by their ſituation, could not fit out the ſhips above ſpecified wherewith they were charged, provided they paid their quotas in money. By a ſubſequent commiſſion he directed the officers of his navy to receive the quotas of money, and therewith to rig out, victual, and man, from the king's yards and docks, a like ſhip, or ſhips. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p.* 697.] So that, after iſſuing a proclamation for reſtraining all but his own ſubjects from fiſhing on his coaſts without his licence, he ſent out a great fleet (in the year 1636) which attacked and diſperſed the Dutch fiſhing ſhips, ſome of which they ſunk, and compelled the reſt to retire into the Engliſh harbours for ſhelter: whereupon the Dutch agreed to pay King Charles L30,000* for permiſſion to continue their fiſhing for that ſummer; which, Ruſhworth, [*Collections*, *V.* ii, *p.* 322] ſays, was actually paid, and the Dutch moreover teſtified a willingneſs to pay a future yearly tribute for the like liberty. Yet De Witt in his Intereſt of Holland (ſpeaking of the bad curing of the herrings caught by the Engliſh fiſhing company, whereby they were rejected at Dantzic in the years 1637 and 1638, and which brought that company to nothing) acrimoniouſly ſubjoins thus; 'whereupon the Engliſh changed their 'former claim upon the whole fiſhery for that of demanding the tenth 'herring: which the diligent and frugal Hollanders reputed no leſs than 'to fiſh for, and pay tribute to, a ſlothful and prodigal people, for a 'mere paſſage along the coaſts of England.'

King Charles directed a ſpecial commiſſion for making the river Wey navigable from Guildford to the river Thames at Weybridge. It ſeems that river had been formerly navigable; for this record obſerves that it is now become unfit for carrying barges, boats, or veſſels of any burden, for tranſporting commodities to and from Guildford: and the commiſſioners were thereby authoriſed to ſurvey the river, and to inquire by what means it had become unfit for carrying barges, &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xix, *p*, 686.]

In Richlieu's Political teſtament we find that France even then abounded with the fineſt and beſt of manufactures: ſuch (ſays he) as the ſerges of Chalons and of Chartres, which have ſuperſeded thoſe of Milan. The Turks prefer the French draps de ſceau of Rouen before all others, next to thoſe of Venice, which are made of Spaniſh wool. Such fine pluſhes are made at Tours, that they are ſent into Spain, Italy, &c.; alſo fine plain taffeties. Red, purple, and ſpotted velvets, finer than at Genoa. France is the only place for ſilk ſerges. Mohair (camblet)

* Not 30,000 florins, as Rapin has it.

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is made as good here as in England; and the beſt cloth of gold, finer and cheaper than in Italy.

King Charles, by proclamation, prohibited the importation of foreign purles, cut-works, or bone-laces, or of any commodities laced or edged therewith. This he declared to be at the requeſt and for the benefit of the makers of thoſe goods in London and other parts of the realm, now brought to great want and neceſſity, occaſioned by the great importation of thoſe foreign wares: to prevent which for the future, he appointed the Engliſh-made goods to be ſealed or marked. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 690.]

Another of his proclamations prohibits the importation of any ſort of glaſs from foreign parts. It ſeems that King James, in the 13th year of his reign, had prohibited the making of glaſs with wood-firing, for the better preſervation of timber, and alſo prohibited the importation of foreign glaſs. 'Yet (ſays King Charles) ill-minded perſons, to the pre-'judice of our own glaſs works, having preſumed to import foreign 'glaſs, we now ſtrictly prohibit the ſame during the term granted by 'King James to Sir Robert Manſell, for the ſole making of glaſs; he 'having, by his induſtry, and great expenſe, perfected that manufacture 'with ſea-coal or pit-coal; whereby not only the woods and timber of 'this kingdom are greatly preſerved, but the making of all kinds of 'glaſs is eſtabliſhed here, to the ſaving of much treaſure at home, and 'the employment of great numbers of our people; and our ſubjects are 'now furniſhed with glaſs at far more moderate prices than they were 'when brought from foreign parts.' Yet the king permits Sir Robert Manſell to import ſuch glaſſes from Venice, Morana, or other parts of Italy, as he ſhould think fit, for ſpecial uſes and ſervices. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 693.] This permiſſion doubtleſs related to the fine Venetian flint glaſſes for drinking, the making of which in England was not brought to perfection till the reign of William III.

He alſo gave a patent for fourteen years for making wines from dried grapes or raiſins, which the patentee by his travels in foreign parts had learned; which wines had been approved of by all ſuch as have uſed them, to be moſt wholeſome and good, and will keep for ſea voyages: the patentee paying 40*s* yearly into the king's exchequer. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 716.]

We have a proclamation 'prohibiting any coin, plate, or bullion, 'from being uſed in making gold and ſilver thread, copper-gilt or ſil-'vered, gold or ſilver foliate, purles, ores, ſpangles, wire, and ſuch other 'manufactures, except what ſhall be imported from foreign parts, or 'which ſhall ariſe from the ſame works and manufactures being melted 'again: and that none of the current gold and ſilver coins of this realm 'be hereafter molten down by any refiner, goldſmith, &c. And that 'all gold and ſilver hereafter to be employed in the ſaid manufactures

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'be provided, prepared, and diſgroſſed by ſuch perſons only as we ſhall 'aſſign, and by none others; and which ſhall be by them ſold and de- 'livered to all perſons who ſhall uſe the ſame, according to ſuch ſtand- 'ards, and at ſuch rates and prices as we ſhall limit, and at ſuch places 'in London as our commiſſioners ſhall aſſign. And none ſhall make 'the ſaid wares but ſuch as ſhall be by them authorized: and a ſtamp 'to be put on all the ſaid manufactures *.' [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 718.]

The king, in a proclamation, complained that the great number of hackney coaches lately kept in London and Weſtminſter and their ſuburbs, and the general and promiſcuous uſe of coaches there, were not only a great diſturbance to his majeſty, his deareſt conſort the queen, the nobility, and others of place and degree, in their paſſage through the ſtreets, but the ſtreets themſelves were ſo peſtered, and the pavements ſo broken up, that the common paſſage was thereby hindered and made dangerous, and the prices of hay and provender, &c. thereby made exceeding dear: wherefor he commanded that no hackney or hired coaches ſhould be uſed in London, Weſtminſter, or the ſuburbs thereof, except they be to travel at leaſt three miles out of the ſame; and alſo that no perſon ſhould go in a coach in the ſtreets, except the owner of the coach ſhall conſtantly keep up four able horſes for our ſervice when required. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 721.]

Hiſtorians tell us (for which we acknowlege we have no other more authentic authority) that King Charles I, in the 15th year of his reign, granted a licence to the French to cure and dry their fiſh on the iſland of Newfoundland in conſideration of an annual tribute of 5 per cent: yet even this conceſſion was better than that ſtipulated by the treaty of Utrecht, which allowed that ill-judged privilege to France, without any conſideration at all.

The king ordained twopence to be advanced on every ſhilling paid to the reelers, &c. of woollen yarn. He alſo appointed an officer to ſearch, ſurvey, and ſeal, the reel-ſtaff in every county, and to regiſter the names of the owners of each reel in a book; which reels ſhould be all of one uniform ſize, whereby the goodneſs or badneſs of yarn would be eaſily known. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 730.]

In the ſame year he iſſued a commiſſion for the repair of Dover pier, lately damaged by the ſea; for which end he laid an additional duty of twelvepence on every packet of goods ſhipped thence by merchant-ſtrangers, to continue for three years. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 730.] That pier is directed to be farther repaired by cap. v. of the 11th and 12th of King William, and by the 7th ſtatue of the 2d and 3d of Queen Anne.

* Thus almoſt every proclamation, order, or grant, relating to manufactures, new inventions, &c. had a principal regard to the augmentation of the king's revenue, which at any rate he ſeemed inclinable to increaſe, rather than to be obliged to call a parliament for that end, ſince they would ſtill probably perſiſt, as before, to have national grievances go hand in hand with ſupplies.

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Private copper farthings, or tokens, as they were then called, being ſtill uſed in retail buſineſs, King Charles iſſued a proclamation forbidding the currency of them, and ordering that none be uſed but thoſe formerly iſſued by his father's authority.

Guadaloupe, one of the largeſt of the Caribbee iſlands, was now ſettled on by the French. According to the French author of the Hiſtory of the Caribbee iſlands, it is one of the moſt flouriſhing of them. He ſays that the French in that iſland uſed the plough, a thing not to be ſeen in any of the other iſles; and after the plough, it bears rice, Turkey-wheat, caſſavia-root, potatoes; and in ſome parts, ginger and ſugar-canes, with great increaſe.

The French from St. Chriſtophers in this ſame year firſt planted Martinico, where they found many native Caribs, with whom at firſt they lived peaceably, but had afterward fierce war with them, till they drove them into inacceſſible rocky places and mountains. The French inhabitants were, (in 1658) 10,000 in number, and the Indians and negroes as many more. It is the largeſt of all the Caribbee iſles, and is forty-five leagues in circuit. Though at firſt, like the other iſles, they chiefly planted tobacco and cotton, yet now (1658) it produced 10,000 hogſheads of ſugar, beſide ginger, pimento, cocoa, caſſia, &c. Here the governor-general of all the French Caribbee iſlands reſides to this day. It is now ſo fruitful and populous as to be ſaid to have a militia of 10,000 men or more, and 60,000 negros: being alſo finely furniſhed with rivers, ſprings, and harbours, and moſt excellent fruits, vaſt quantities of ſugar, melaſſes, coffee, cotton, indigo, ginger, &c.

In the ſame year, Colonel Jackſon, with a number of Engliſh ſhips from our Leeward iſlands, landed on Jamaica, and with only 500 men attacked the fort of St. Jago de la Vega, with 2000 Spaniards in it, which, with the city, they took and ſacked, with the loſs of forty men only; then they re-embarked, after receiving a ranſom for forbearing to burn it.

About this time the French firſt planted on the iſle of Cayenne, over againſt a river of the ſame name on the coaſt of Guiana, from whence, however, they were ſeveral times driven out by the Dutch; but the French finally retook it in 1676, and have held it ever ſince. It is about ſeventeen leagues in compaſs. Here they have ſundry ſugar plantations. They have ſince ſettled on the continent over againſt Cayenne.

We cannot be quite poſitive whether the French did not about this time ſettle on the great river of Niger, otherwiſe called Senegal river, on the weſt coaſt of Africa, where the beſt gum Senegal is produced, but we imagine from ſome circumſtances that it was nearly at this time *.

* The learned De Guignes dates the *firſt* ſettlement of the French at Senegal in 1364 or 1365. [*Memoires de Litterature, V.* xxxvii, *pp.* 518, 520.] *M.*

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In the ſame year, a very rich lead mine, in which was ſaid to be much ſilver, was diſcovered in Swediſh Lapland, near the town of Pitha, at the head of the Bothnic gulf.

1636.—The king made a new regulation of the colony of Virginia, whereby 'he appointed Sir John Harvey to be continued governor 'thereof; and empowered him and any three of his council to appoint 'a commiſſion for enlarging its limits, and for finding out what trades 'may be moſt neceſſary to be undertaken for the benefit of the colo-'ny; alſo to ſend out forces for ſubduing the Indians, and to make 'war or peace, as may beſt ſuit the ſafety of the colony and our ho-'nour. That in caſe of the governor's death, or his neceſſary abſence '(not to be allowed by leſs than four of the council there), one of the 'council to be appointed by the reſt ſhall act in his ſtead; the gover-'nor and council to be ſubordinate, ſubject, and obedient to the lords 'commiſſioners and committees here for our plantations, touching the 'preſent government of that colony, to whom as well as to us the go-'vernor ſhall, on the death of any member of the council, give notice 'thereof, that we may appoint another in his ſtead.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 3.]

As theſe regulations are in the main the ſame by which the colonies called regal, or ſuch as are immediately under the crown, are ſtill governed, they are for that reaſon here exhibited, being the firſt eſtabliſhment thereof in that manner.

'King Charles commiſſioned a number of lords and gentlemen to 'enable William Sandys, Eſq. to make the river Avon navigable 'for boats and barges, from its junction with the river Severn near 'Tewkſbury to the city of Coventry; and alſo the river Team, on the 'weſt ſide of the Severn towards Ludlow.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 6.]

The king renewed a proclamation of the 7th year of his father's reign, prohibiting all perſons, not his natural-born ſubjects, from fiſhing on the coaſts and ſeas of Great Britain and Ireland without a ſpecial licence firſt obtained from his majeſty. 'And by theſe preſents we make pub-'lic declaration, that our reſolution is, at times convenient, to keep 'ſuch a competent ſtrength of ſhipping upon our ſeas as may by God's 'bleſſing be ſufficient both to hinder ſuch farther encroachments upon 'our regalities, and to aſſiſt and protect thoſe our good friends and al-'lies who ſhall henceforth, by virtue of our licences to be firſt obtain-'ed, endeavour to take the benefit of fiſhing upon our coaſts and ſeas 'in the places accuſtomed.' He alſo confirmed another proclamation of the 17th year of King James, prohibiting the importation of whale-fins by any but the Ruſſia company. And he now directs, for the encouragement of that company and the increaſe of navigation, that none, whether natives or foreigners, ſhall import any whale-fins or whale-oil, but the ſaid company only, and this in their joint-ſtock capacity alone

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in reſpect to the whale fiſhery, under pain of forfeiting, &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *pp.* 15, 16.]

King Charles again regulated the clock-reel or reel-ſtaff for woollen yarn, by enjoining one uniform dimenſion for it. He alſo enjoined, that there be only one weight and one meaſure for every commodity to be bought or ſold throughout the kingdom, and that his clerk of the market for his houſehold ſhould have the overſeeing and examination of all weights and meaſures; for which conſideration the king hereby appoints certain fees to be paid to him *. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 41.]

A commiſſion was iſſued for inquiring into and preventing encroachments on the river Thames by ladders, ſtairs, trap-doors, &c. from whence rubbiſh and dirt were uſually thrown into it, to the great detriment of its navigation. Alſo another for compounding with ſuch as had been guilty of importing, ſelling, or uſing, a falſe dying wood called logwood, blockwood, or Campeſea wood (Campechy wood), contrary to two ſtatutes of the 23d and 39th of Queen Elizabeth; and for puniſhing ſuch as ſhould hereafter be found guilty in this reſpect. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *pp.* 47, 52.]

In a new commiſſion for levying ſhip-money, the quotas payable by London, Middleſex, and Northumberland, were ſomewhat lightened, and thoſe of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland a little enlarged. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *pp.* 56, 74.]

In the ſame year King Charles granted a patent to the Lord Maltravers and Sir Francis Crane for the ſole coinage of copper or braſs farthings; and, purſuant to an order of the ſtar-chamber, of the year 1634, it was now provided, that the ſaid braſs farthings ſhould not be forced upon poor labourers in payment, they having formerly been compelled to take all or moſt of their wages in ſuch farthings from deſigning men, who had bought up great quantities of them at a low rate. Silver (ſays Ruſhworth) was ſo ſcarce and gold ſo plenty at this time, that when cattle were ſold in Smithfield, they commonly bargained to be paid in ſilver and not in gold, inſomuch that twopence or more was uſually given for exchanging a twenty ſhilling piece into ſilver, although the gold was full weight.

The king appointed commiſſioners to compound with the tranſgreſſors of the laws made againſt deſtroyers of timber trees and woods in melting and forging iron. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 68.]

The king iſſued a monopolizing proclamation, that none ſhould buy any ballaſt out of the river Thames but a perſon appointed by him for that purpoſe. And having already monopolized all the ſaltpetre and

* This antient officer had formerly great power, which was generally abuſed, to the great oppreſſion of the ſubject, wherefor that office is long ſince juſtly in diſuſe. It is ſomewhat ſtrange that to this day nothing has been effectually done for reducing all merchandize to one weight or meaſure, ſo obviouſly convenient throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

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gunpowder, he now appointed a commiſſion for receiving of his two gunpowder-makers all the powder they ſhould make at $7\frac{1}{2}d$ per pound weight, and for again ſelling the ſame out to his ſubjects at ſuch prices as the commiſſioners ſhould from time to time fix.

In this commiſſion we find the king was not able to carry on this monopoly without the importation of ſaltpetre from foreign parts, there not being enough produced in England for the manufacture of all the gunpowder requiſite for his and his ſubjects uſe. He alſo prohibited the importation of foreign gunpowder; and directed that his officers ſhould not take above 1/6 per pound for gunpowder ſold out to his ſubjects, and that no retailers of it to whom it is thus ſold ſhould ſell it again for above 1/8 in London, and $1/8\frac{1}{2}$ per pound in the country, if diſtant thirty miles or more from London. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *pp.* 93, 96, 107.]

A malt and brewing monopoly was eſtabliſhed on pretence of reſtraining the exceſſive number of common maltſters, by means of whom not only a greater conſumption and waſte of barley was occaſioned, but alſo ſundry abuſes in the bad making of malt: likewiſe for reſtraining the great number of innkeepers and victuallers, who take upon them to brew ale and beer, which they ſell by retail, and make too ſtrong and heady, ſerving for drunkenneſs and exceſs; and thenceforth the king was to appoint, in fit places throughout the realm, a competent number of maltſters and common brewers to be incorporated, under ſuch fines and yearly payments to us as ſhould be thought meet. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 102.]

King Charles contracted with John Crane, Eſq. ſurveyor-general, for victualling his navy, nearly in the form of the contract for the like purpoſe already related under the year 1622. Mr. Crane was to be allowed for ſailors in harbour $7\frac{1}{2}d$ per day for their proviſions, and when at ſea $8\frac{1}{2}d$ per day. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 103.]

King Charles incorporated all the tradeſmen and artificers inhabiting ſuch places in the city of London as are exempted from the freedom thereof, as alſo thoſe in the outparts of Weſtminſter and Middleſex, within three miles of the ſaid city of London; thereby alſo excluding for the future all ſuch as have not ſerved ſeven years to their reſpective occupations, as well as all foreigners, from practiſing their reſpective trades. The pretences, ſcarcely plauſible, for this moſt extraordinary corporation, as in this proclamation, were, 'in order to prevent thoſe 'places from being peſtered with inmates, and alſo to prevent the pre-'judice done to ſuch as were freemen of London, and for the more or-'derly diſpoſing of trade and tradeſmen.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 113.] But although no payments into his exchequer are mentioned, it ſeems reaſonable enough to ſuſpect that he was thereby laying a foundation for ſome ſuch tax.

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In a list of offices bestowed in this 12th year of King Charles's reign, there is one for the office of clerk and keeper of all the king's stores and storehouses at Deptford, Chatham, Portsmouth, and elsewhere, for his Majesty's ships and navy. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 126.] It seems probable that neither Plymouth, Sheerness, nor Woolwich, had then royal docks and storehouses, otherwise it should seem they would have been named in that grant, the words *and elsewhere* seeming to be merely expletive.

By this time the Dutch West-India company had reduced the greatest part of the coast of Brasil, having (according to Voltaire's *General history of Europe*, *chap.* xi.) in the space of thirteen years sent thither 1800 ships for war and commerce (others say but 800), which were valued at four millions and an half sterling; and had in that space taken from Spain, then sovereign of Portugal, 545 vessels. That company, in this year, 1636, sent thither Prince Maurice as governor-general, and while he remained there, which was eight years, their affairs in general prospered well enough: but yet their first declension in Brasil may be dated from the Portuguese shaking off the Spanish yoke in the year 1640, soon after which remarkable revolution they gradually gained ground of the Dutch in Brasil, from whence we shall see them entirely expelled in the year 1654.

The Spaniards having possessed themselves of the two small isles of St. Marguerite and St. Honorate, on the coast of Provence, in the year 1635, whereby they greatly annoyed that coast, the French now fitted out forty-two ships at Rochelle, which were joined in the Mediterranean by twenty-four galleys, the whole commanded by the count de Harcourt, who, on the coast of Italy, near Monaco, attacked the joint fleets of Spain, Sicily, Naples, and Florence, and obtained a complete victory (says Morisot in his *Orbis maritimus*), sinking their best ships, and putting the rest to flight. Thence they went and ravaged the island of Sardinia.

Moreover, Cardinal Richlieu, the French prime-minister and director-general of the marine, considering how much France lay open to the attacks and insults of England for want of a maritime force, had for some years been preparing all the ships he could either purchase from beyond sea, or collect from all the French ports of the Ocean and Mediterranean, and had now got together what the judicious author of an excellent pamphlet, published in 1695, named, Considerations requiring greater care for trade in England, calls France's first line of battle, consisting of upwards of fifty ships and twenty galleys; with which force France recovered the two islands above mentioned, after vanquishing the Spanish fleet, and taking five large Spanish ships, twenty-two galleys, and eighteen smaller vessels.

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1637.—This was properly the firſt time that France began to ſhew a ſuperiority over Spain at ſea, as ſhe had before done at land: and afterwards Richlieu went on deſtroying the remains of Spain's naval ſtrength, till at length it was reduced to the loweſt ebb.

Count Maurice of Naſſau, the Dutch Weſt-India company's governor-general in Braſil, took another fortreſs from the Spaniards: and ſome of that company's ſhips ſailed from thence to the coaſt of Guinea, and made themſelves maſters of the famous caſtle of St. George del Mina, the principal Portugueſe fort of all that coaſt, which they have kept to this day, as alſo of ſeveral other leſſer forts there. By theſe conqueſts on the Guinea coaſt the Dutch were ſupplied at firſt hand with negroes for carrying on their ſugar plantations, &c. in Braſil.

King Charles iſſued a proclamation, importing, 'that being informed that numbers of his ſubjects are every year tranſporting themſelves and families, with their eſtates, to the Engliſh plantations in America, amongſt whom there are many idle and refractory humours, whoſe only or principal end is to live as much as they can without the reach of authority;' the king thereby commands all the officers of the ſeveral ports that they do not hereafter permit any perſons being ſubſidy-men (i. e. payers of the uſual ſubſidies) to embark themſelves thither, without a licence from the commiſſioners for plantations; nor none under the value of ſubſidy-men, without a certificate of his having taken the oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance, and likewiſe, from the miniſter of the pariſh, of his converſation, and conformity to the orders and diſcipline of the church of England. This was levelled againſt the puritans, then going in great numbers to New-England to avoid perſecution at home: and a better ſample needs not to be deſired of the wiſdom of this king and his miniſters. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 143.]

Some of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's ſhips having in the year 1634 touched at Goa, the capital of the Portugueſe poſſeſſions in India, they were kindly treated by the viceroy there, with whom the Engliſh concluded a truce, and alſo a free trade, not only thither, but to China and all other parts where the Portugueſe were ſettled in India; whereupon, in the following year (1635), King Charles granted a licence to Captain John Weddell, &c. with ſix ſhips, to make a voyage to Goa and the coaſt of Malabar, and alſo to the coaſts of China and Japan, there to trade in ſuch commodities as they could to the beſt advantage for themſelves and all other his ſubjects for the future: 'but the Eaſt-India company having neither planted nor ſettled a trade in thoſe parts as we expected, nor made ſuch fortifications and places of ſurety as might encourage any hereafter to adventure to trade thither; neither have we received any annual benefit from thence as other princes do, by reaſon of the ſaid company's neglect to fortify, they having merely purſued their own preſent profit, without providing any ſafety

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'or ſettledneſs for eſtabliſhing of traffic in the ſaid Indies for the good 'of poſterity; whereas the Portugueſe and Dutch had both planted 'and fortified, and alſo eſtabliſhed a laſting and hopeful trade there, 'for the good of poſterity; by the advantage whereof they had not on-'ly rendered our people there ſubject to their inſolences, but had in a 'manner worked them out of the trade, which we find by the com-'plaint of divers adventurers in that ſociety, and principally by the 'dayly decreaſe of our cuſtoms for imports from India, owing to the 'ſaid company's ſupine neglect of diſcovery, and ſettling trade to divers 'parts, when they had a plentiful ſtock and fair opportunities to ef-'fect it.'

And as all the attempts for a north-weſt paſſage to Eaſt-India have hitherto proved unſucceſsful, which, however, we believe might be performed from Japan, north-eaſt to the north of California, on the back ſide of America, in about forty degrees north latitude, and ſo to coaſt along northwards, eaſtward, and weſtward, as the land will give way, to ſixty-four degrees northward, where it was left undiſcovered by Sir Thomas Button, Captain Luke Fox, and others, to come through the ſtraits of Hudſon in the Weſtern or Atlantic ſea. The king, in the ſaid grant of 1635, directed that the grantees ſhould, from the ſea of China, Japan, or elſewhere, ſend one of their ſhips, well furniſhed and manned, to attempt that diſcovery; allotting them half the cuſtoms and other benefits that ſhould ariſe from all ſuch new diſcoveries as ſhould be made, reſerving to himſelf the other half, with the ſovereignty of the countries. The king next preſcribes the rules and government of thoſe ſhips and people in the voyage to and from India, China, and Japan, and on land there. He grants them the uſe of a new common ſeal, and to all intents makes them a ſeparate company for the Eaſt-India trade; directing the old company, their agents and ſervants, not to moleſt them in their Eaſt-India commerce.

The perſons who ſet on foot this new company were, Sir William Courten, Sir Paul Pindar, &c.; but the king himſelf, as he therein declares, and Endymion Porter, a groom of his bed-chamber, had ſhares therein jointly with them and Weddell, &c. In this year, 1637, therefor, the king confirmed their privileges (the ſhips being already gone on their voyage) as to all places in India where the old company had not ſettled any factories nor trade before the 12th of December 1635, but without prejudice to the old company in other reſpects. This new company's grant of trade and privileges was to laſt for five years, during which time they might annually re-export what India goods they ſhould bring home, and might in that caſe draw back the entire cuſtoms paid on their importation. Moreover, during the ſaid five years, they might export L40,000 to India in gold and ſilver bullion, paying to the king L1: 10 per cent for that privilege: and they might alſo, during the

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ſaid term, admit any others to be partners with them in this adventure *. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 146.]

On this voyage to India Sir William Courten's ſhips made a ſmall ſettlement on the great iſle of Madagaſcar, which was ſoon after ruined by the old Eaſt-India company †.

The king iſſued a freſh proclamation concerning malt and brewing, wherein he expreſsly enjoins, that for the ſake of the poorer ſort of his people, whoſe uſual bread was barley, as well as for the reaſons aſſigned in his proclamation of the preceding year, already recited, the common maltſters in every county be incorporated, and none of them ſhall follow any other calling; alſo, that no maltſter ſhall be a brewer or cooper at the ſame time; and that common maltſters and common brewers ſhall only practiſe their trades in ſuch places as ſhall be aſſigned by the king and council, and none but ſuch to practiſe any where. No innkeeper, alehouſe-keeper, nor victualer, ſhall brew the drink they retail, unleſs there be no common brewer in or near the place where they live; which reſtrictions were not, however, to extend to the city of London, nor within four miles of it. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 157.]

We have ſeen King Charles's proclamation for the reſtraint of hackney and other coaches under the year 1635; we ſhall now ſee him in a contrary ſtrain in his ſpecial commiſſion to the marquis of Hamilton, his maſter of the horſe, viz. 'that we, finding it very requiſite for our 'nobility and gentry, as well as for foreign ambaſſadors, ſtrangers, and 'others, that there ſhould be a competent number of hackney coaches 'allowed for ſuch uſes, have, by the advice of our privy council, thought 'fit to allow fifty hackney coachmen in and about London and Weſtminſter, limiting them not to keep above twelve horſes apiece; alſo 'ſo many others in other places in England as ſhall be neceſſary. We 'therefor grant to you, during your life, the power and authority to 'licence fifty hackney coachmen, who ſhall keep no more than twelve 'good horſes each for their coaches reſpectively. You alſo hereby have 'power to licence ſo many in other cities and towns of England as in 'your wiſdom ſhall be thought neceſſary, with power to reſtrain and

* Sir William Courten, who had the largeſt ſhare in this adventure, died before this firſt voyage was completed, and his ſon William Courten was by the king in this laſt grant ſubſtituted in his father's place: and he has left in print ſundry large accounts of his great loſſes by this adventure, amounting to the ſum of £151,612, occaſioned by the ſeizure of their two rich ſhips, and the deſtruction of their factories in India by the Dutch; which made much clamour both before and after the reſtoration of King Charles II, many pamphlets being publiſhed to ſhew the great damage done to hundreds of families, creditors of Courten and Pindar. In the treaty between King Charles II and the Dutch in 1662, ſatisfaction was ſtipulated to be made by the Dutch Eaſt-India company for the two ſhips; yet, ſo late as the year 1682, we ſtill find complaints in print on this point; ſo that probably no redreſs was ever obtained of the Dutch Eaſt-India company for thoſe damages. To ſay the truth, the ſcheme of this new Engliſh company was an iniquitous one againſt the old company, whoſe charters were doubtleſs entirely excluſive of all others.

† An extract from the manuſcript journal of this voyage, containing the tranſactions in the river of Canton, is publiſhed by Sir George Staunton in his *Account of an embaſſy to China*, c. 1. *M.*

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'prohibit all others from keeping any hackney coach to let to hire either in London or elſewhere; alſo to preſcribe rules and orders concerning the dayly prices of the ſaid licenced hackney coachmen to be by them taken for our own particular ſervice and in their employment for our ſubjects, provided ſuch orders be firſt allowed by us under our royal hand.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 195.] By allowing each of theſe fifty coachmen twelve horſes, it is plain there might be, and moſt probably were, many more than fifty coaches kept by them, poſſibly even as far as three hundred in number.

The king, by proclamation, ordered the pigs and bars of iron made in England to be marked by his ſurveyors of the iron-works, to prevent the ſale of bad iron; and that iron was not to be exported without the king's licence under pain of forfeiture, &c. Thoſe ſurveyors were alſo empowered to enter any woods that were felled, cut, or coarded, to be converted into coal for making of iron, whereby it might appear of what condition thoſe woods were that ſhould be employed that way, and that they be not cut down contrary to law. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 161.] A very proper regulation if rightly executed.

A propoſal being made to the king for the better working of lead mines in Wales, ſo as to extract more ſilver therefrom than hitherto the miners there have had ſkill to do, in order to coin money therefrom: the king therefor erected a mint at the caſtle of Aberiſtwith in Cardiganſhire, and appointed the propoſer, Thomas Buſhell, to be warden thereof; who on his part covenanted with the king to coin five different ſilver coins there, viz. half-crowns, ſhillings, ſixpences, twopences, and pence, at the rate of ſixty-two ſhillings in the pound troy, which ſhould contain eleven ounces and two penny-weight of fine ſilver, and eighteen penny-weight allay, which is the old right ſtandard of the monies of ſilver in England. But two ſhillings out of every pound weight of coined ſilver were to be retained at the mint, viz. fourteenpence for the charges, and tenpence for the king; ſo that there ſhould only be delivered out to the owner three pounds by tale. The money to have the feathers ſtamped on both ſides of it, to ſhew that it was coined in Wales. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 163.]

King Charles again directed ſhip-money to be levied for the ſervice of the year 1638. The number of ſhips, tonnage, and men, the ſame as in the preceding year. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 169.]

On account of hoſtility committed by a ſhip of Rotterdam on ſome Engliſh ſhips in the year 1630, the king now granted the ſufferers letters of repriſal againſt all Dutch ſhips, they being bound to render an account of their prizes to the admiralty. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 171.]

After all the excluſive powers, &c. which King Charles had granted to his ſoap company in Weſtminſter, he found himſelf now obliged to recall them all. But, in their ſtead, he erected another new excluſive

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ſoap company, within the city of London, equally illegal, having the lord mayor, Edward Bromfield, Eſq. at their head; whereby he prohibits all others throughout England, but ſuch as ſhall be free of this new corporation, from making ſoap, or buying pot-aſhes, excepting Sir Richard Weſton, and ſeveral ſoap-makers of Briſtol, Bridgewater, Exeter, Somerſet, Dorſet, Devon, and Cornwall, who had licences to make limited quantities and ſorts of ſoap; for which they probably gave due ſatisfaction. The Weſtminſter company previouſly reſigned their charter into the king's hands. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 181.]

King Charles gave a ſpecial commiſſion to Robert earl of Warwick, his agents and aſſociates, to fit out 'as many armed ſhips as he ſhould 'judge proper, at his and their coſts, for an undertaking tending to the 'advancement of our ſervice and revenue, and the enlargement of our 'territories in the Weſt-Indies, and to the public honour of the na'tion; and to aſſail, take, burn, or otherwiſe deſtroy, any carracks, 'ſhips, galleys, &c. in thoſe ſeas, or any where elſe, where the free na'vigation, trade, or commerce of any of our ſubjects is or ſhall be de'nied, or actually intercepted, or oppoſed in any kind; (ſaving the 'carracks, ſhips, &c. of all princes and ſtates keeping league and amity 'with us, and not denying or actually interrupting, &c. the free navi'gation in the ſeas aforeſaid.) Impowering the ſaid earl and his aſſo'ciates, in hoſtile manner, by force of arms, ſtratagem, or other policy 'of war, to invade, ſurprize, vanquiſh, retain, poſſeſs, and keep to our 'uſe, any lands, iſlands, cities, caſtles, or other parts within the con'tinent or iſlands of America, or elſewhere, which he ſhall any way 'bring under his power; and therein to plant, inhabit, and fortify, or 'elſe to demoliſh and deſtroy the ſame; and to take to his uſe all the 'ammunition, goods, and treaſure, found therein, &c.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 186.]

Every one may ſee that this private expedition was intended againſt the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies. For although there was then peace between England and Spain in Europe, yet there had never been any proper treaty of peace between the two nations, relating to the Weſt-Indies, or other parts of America, wherein the pretenſions of the crown of Spain ran ſtill ſo high as to claim the abſolute ſovereignty. And that very wild and arbitrary claim gave a reaſonable handle to other maritime nations to get poſſeſſion of as much as they could of thoſe undetermined territories: whereas, if Spain had made treaties with England and France, for aſcertaining the diſtinct property of each nation there, ſhe might at this day have preſerved her claim to ſome parts thereof, which the feebleneſs of that monarchy in ſucceeding times obliged her to give up. This intended expedition, however, probably did not ſucceed, or rather, perhaps did not take place, ſince none of our naval hiſtorians nor voyagers make any mention of it at all.

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The king gave a patent to Thomas earl of Berkſhire, for the ſole uſe of his newly invented kiln for drying malt and hops, with ſea-coal, turf, peat, or any other cheap fuel: with power to him to compound for a ſum of money to be paid by ſuch as ſhall deſire to uſe his invention. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 191.]

Private letter carriers between England and France were ſtill in uſe, notwitſtanding King Charles's proclamation in 1636, and alſo King Louis's in the ſame year, both prohibiting the ſame. In conſequence of an agreement between thoſe two princes, the route of the public poſts was from Dover to Calais, and thence to Paris by Bologne, Abbeville, and Amiens; whereas the private poſts ſailed from Rye to Dieppe, and thence to Paris. Wherefor King Charles, by proclamation, prohibited any letters being ſent from Rye to Dieppe, or any other way whatever, but from his poſtmaſter-general, by the way of Calais, as above. He alſo again prohibited all private poſts at home; hereby renewing his former declaration of the ſeveral rates of poſtage, as exhibited under the year 1635. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 192.]

In England, gentlemen, merchants, and traders, not long before this time, were forced to employ leſs certain carriers, or to be at the expenſe of ſpecial meſſengers with their letters. Univerſities and great towns had their own particular poſts; and the ſame horſe or foot poſt went quite through the journey, and returned with other letters, without having different ſtages, as at preſent. It was thus practiſed later in Scotland, as having leſs commerce than in England.

In the liſt of offices, filled up in England for the year 1637, we meet with the following ones, viz.

I) The agency for the ſole making and ſelling of all counterpoiſes, or weights and grains; and the approving and allowing of all balances for his majeſty's coins or money of gold within England and Ireland.

II) The office of meaſurer of all foreign balks and timber.

III) The office of agency, for his majeſty to grant licences to ſell tobacco by retail.

IV) The office of intelligence; and of entering the names of all maſters, miſtreſſes, and ſervants; and of all goods loſt and found, &c. in London, Weſtminſter, and three miles diſtant.

V) The office of ſealer of all playing cards and dice. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 199.]

In the ſame year we find a monopoly granted to Sir Thomas Tempeſt, and others, notwithſtanding the former excluſive and perpetual right, by charter, of the hoaſtmen of Newcaſtle, of the ſole power of ſelling coals exported out of the river Tine, for twenty-one years. [*England's grievance diſcovered in relation to the coal trade*, *ch.* 21, 4*to*, 1655.

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At this time James duke of Courland made a conſiderable figure in naval power and commerce; he built a good number of ſtout ſhips of war, and alſo ſome forts on the coaſt of Guinea, where he ſettled factories; he alſo ſettled a colony on the iſland of Tobago in the Weſt-Indies; ſo that King Charles Guſtavus, of Sweden, is reported ſometime after this to have pleaſantly ſaid, 'my couſin of Courland is too great for a 'duke and too little for a king.' But as that duchy had not a ſufficiency of materials and manufactures for a great commerce, and the ſuperior genius of that prince died with him, Courland after his death ſunk to its former proper and intrinſic value.

By an order of King Charles and his council, in this ſame year, as appears by all the London hiſtoriographers of that age, that king, who delighted too much in copying after any arbitrary order of other nations, commanded all the London ſilverſmiths to live in Goldſmiths-row, being the ſouth ſides of the two famous ſtreets of London named Cheapſide and Lombard-ſtreet. The cruelty and abſurdity of this order is ſo obvious to every one, that it is needleſs to make any further animadverſion on it. Poſſibly ſuch as were to be indulged in this caſe paid ſufficiently for it.

The firſt Europeans who ſettled in that part of America, ſince named New-Jerſey, and in part of Penſylvania, were Swedes; we cannot fix the exact year, although probably about 1637, but it was however in Queen Chriſtina's reign. They are ſaid, through our unaccountable ſupineneſs, to have erected three towns therein very early, whoſe names ſtill remain, viz. Gottenburg, Helſingburg, and Chriſtina. Yet the Swedes, not being ſo induſtrious as their neighbours the Dutch of New-Nidderland, (now New-York) were by them diſpoſſeſſed of the north part, which they named, in Latin, Nova-Belgia. But as neither Swedes nor Dutch had any right to ſettle there, that country being part of our province of Virginia, as then ſo called, the duke of York, as we ſhall ſee, made no ſcruple to diſpoſſeſs them both in the year 1664.

1638.—In the year 1638 King Charles incorporated Thomas Horth, and other maſters of ſhips, who were empowered to buy all coals exported from the ports of Sunderland, Newcaſtle, Blithe, and Berwick, paying to the king 1/ per chaldron cuſtom: and to ſell them again to the city of London, at a price not exceeding 17/ per chaldron in ſummer, and 19/ in winter; provided they had a free market and a juſt meaſure at Newcaſtle, &c. As this is not the ſame grant as that in the preceding year, it is probable the later was revoked. [*England's Grievance, &c.* ch. 22.]

The French fleet, under the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, now beat the Spaniſh fleet of galeons, of which they took ſeveral; and, in the ſame year, the gallies of Marſeilles vanquiſhed thoſe of Spain, near Genoa.

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The Dutch from Batavia worſted the Portugueſe at Ceylon, in this year, both at ſea and on land, and took poſſeſſion of their forts on that iſland, upon which the king of the iſland concluded a treaty with the Dutch, and granted them many privileges, and a reimburſement of the charges of their expeditions againſt the Portugueſe, to be paid in cinnamon, pepper, cardamoms, indigo, wax, &c. with great preſents ſent to Batavia.

In purſuance of two acts of parliament, of the the 39th and 43d of Queen Elizabeth, for the true making of cloth, directing all kinds of woollen cloth, brought for ſale to London, to be firſt carried to Blackwell-hall, the common cloth-market for the city, to be there ſearched and ſealed; and of King James's proclamation, in his 11th year, directing, that all ſorts of vendible cloths, bays, felts, ſays, ſtuffs, as well old as new draperies, made in England and Wales, ſhould be brought to Blackwell-hall for the like purpoſe, King Charles publiſhed a proclamation to the ſame effect; as alſo to prevent thoſe who, to elude the laws, make contracts for thoſe woollen goods in the country, and bring them afterward to London, to inns, warehouſes, &c. to be there ſold; whereby, ſays the king, much deceit and damage redoundeth to our ſubjects, and diſcredit to our cloths in foreign parts; and alſo the poor children of Chriſt hoſpital in London are defrauded of the duties of hallage there, appointed for their relief. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 221.]

King Charles commanded, by his proclamation, all merchants and maſters of ſhips, &c. not to ſet forth any ſhip or ſhips with paſſengers or proviſions for New-England, without his or his privy-council's ſpecial licence, 'for divers weighty and important cauſes well known to us.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 223.] This was for reſtraining the puritans from going to New England, who at this time flocked thither in great numbers, to enjoy that liberty in a wilderneſs which every man has an undoubted right to (demeaning himſelf in a peaceable manner) in his native land. Moſt cruel therefor was the proceedings of this king in regard to thoſe people; on the one hand to perſecute them at home, and on the other to prevent their withdrawing from ſuch perſecution.

The king in the ſixth year of his reign had prohibited raw ſilk from being dyed before the gum be fair boiled off; but 'being now better informed by merchants, mercers, ſilk-men, and ſilk-weavers, that there 'was a ſort called hard ſilk, dyed upon the gum (neceſſarily uſed in 'making tufted taffaties, figured ſatins, fine ſlight ribands, and ferret 'ribands, both black and coloured; and although it be dyed upon the 'gum, yet it will not be increaſed in weight above the limitations following, viz. the pound weight of raw or thrown ſilk not to exceed ſixteen ounces when dyed into any coloured hard ſilk, with half an ounce 'at moſt for remedy; and being dyed into Spaniſh black hard ſilk not

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'to exceed nineteen ounces when dyed, without any addition for re-
'medy. He now directed this later ſcheme to take place; and that no
'hard ſilk be uſed or mixed in making any other manufactures of ſilk
'than the above. Alſo that none ſhould import any ſtuffs or other
'manufactures made or mixed with hard ſilk, other than tufted taffeties
'and figured ſatins; nor any ſtuffs whatſoever made or mixed with ſilk,
'of leſs breadth than a full half yard nail and half nail within the liſts,
'on forfeiture thereof.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 224.]

The king having lately incorporated the makers (in London) of hats and caps of beaver wool; and the wearing of beaver hats having of late come much into uſe among people of rank and quality, he therefor prohibited the importation of any hats or caps of beaver, or of any other ſort whatever: and ordered that none ſhould make any hats for the future but freemen of that corporation. Alſo that no hair, wool, or other ſtuff, be by the ſaid hat-makers mixed with their beaver wool in hat making: nor ſhould any hats called demy-caſtors be henceforth made to be ſold here; but, as they are demanded in foreign parts, they might be exported beyond ſea. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 230.]

King Charles repealed all the reſtraints he had lately laid on malſters, or malt-makers, in the year 1636. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 234.]

The wine-merchants and vintners of England having agreed to pay 40*ſ* per ton to King Charles for all the wines they ſhould import, the king in return prohibited the wine-coopers, who had already crept into the wine-trade, from importing wines. By this record it appears that licences for retailing wines were then under the management of the vintners company, for his majeſty's benefit. The king alſo directed that the cuſtom of retailing wines in bottles and other undue meaſures be laid aſide; and that all wines be retailed by juſt meaſures alone. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 241.]

Bigotry in religon, ever deſtructive of the freedom of commerce, and an unaccountable bias to the old laws made before commerce became conſiderable in England, had ſo blinded King Charles and his miniſtry, that many proclamations and orders were now made, which were very hurtful to the due freedom of commerce; of which weakneſs we have already ſeen ſundry inſtances: and we have another in a tedious proclamation, 'for reforming abuſes in the manufacture and
'breadths of ſilks and ſtuffs of foreign materials, ſuch as velvets, pluſhes,
'tiſſues, gold and ſilver ſtuffs, damaſks, taffaties, garters, ribands, and
'laces; and impowering the weavers company of London to admit a
'competent number of ſuch perſons, as well ſtrangers as natives, into
'the freedom of their company, as had exerciſed the trade of weaving
'at leaſt one whole year before the date of the new charter, (which he
'had in this ſame year granted to that company) who ſhould be con-
'formable to the laws of the realm, and the conſtitutions of the church

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'of England.' [*Fœdera, V.* xx, *p.* 270.] What, in the name of common ſenſe, had the conſtitution of any church to do with the trade of weaving?

One of the king's proclamations of this year was for a very praiſeworthy purpoſe, viz. for deducting ſix pence per month from ſea officers pay, and four pence per month from all ſailors wages, in the merchants ſervice in the port of London, to be applied for the relief of maimed, ſhipwrecked, or otherwiſe diſtreſſed ſailors in the merchants ſervice, and of the poor widows and children of ſuch as ſhould be killed or loſt in merchandizing voyages. This money to be under the management of the corporation of the trinity-houſe, then kept at Ratcliffe: excepting, however, ſailors in the Eaſt-India company's ſervice, who had even ſo early as this time, as they ſtill have, a proviſion of this kind ſettled on them. [*Fœdera, V.* xx, *p.* 278.] In our own days a charitable corporation, for this good purpoſe, has been lately erected in London, ſupported by voluntary contributions of merchants, &c.

King Charles ſomewhat relaxed his claim of ſhip-money for the ſucceeding year: for although it is ſaid to be levied all over England, as in the two preceding years, yet it was now to be only for eighteen ſhips and pinnaces; but, how the aſſeſſment for this levy was made, does not appear. Poſſibly the clamour that the levying of it at all, without the conſent of parliament, and Mr. Hambden's trial for refuſing to pay it, had now begun to make that prince more cautious in the extenſion of his prerogative, and he now directs his lord-admiral, the earl of Northumberland, to ſupply, as uſual, ſhips out of his own navy for ſuch counties whoſe ſituation diſabled them from fitting out any themſelves, and to apply the money they ſhall pay to him as therein directed. [*Fœdera, V.* xx, *p.* 286.]

King Charles iſſued a proclamation againſt ſelling or exporting tin from Devonſhire and Cornwall, until it be duely aſſayed, weighed, and coined, (as the ſtamping of it is termed by the ſtannary laws) by his officers. He alſo prohibited the importation of tin from foreign parts. [*Fœdera, V.* xx, *p.* 289.]

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company having repreſented to King Charles, the great ſcarcity of Spaniſh ſilver, whereby they were diſabled from ſupplying themſelves with a ſufficient quantity for their intended voyage to Perſia and India with three ſhips; he licenced them to export L20,000 in foreign gold; or if that could not be done, in Engliſh gold; any law, ſtatute, act of parliament, proclamation, &c. to the contrary notwithſtanding. [*Fœdera, V.* xx, *p.* 298.]

There was coined at the mint in the tower of London, from March 1619 to March 1638, L6,900,042 : 11 : 1 in gold and ſilver. [*Happy future ſtate of England, p.* 78, *folio*, 1698.]

Cardinal Richlieu ſeems to have underſtood, very early, the great im-

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portance of which the French Weſt-India iſlands would prove, even before they had any ſugar-canes planted in them: and having the glory and intereſt of France very much at heart, he laboured to give his ſovereign, Louis XIII, favourable impreſſions of them, although they produced nothing yet but cotton, ginger, and bad tobacco. Wherefor he, at this time, got his king to appoint the governor of thoſe iſlands to be his own lieutenant-general there. By ſuch means the French iſlands were ſoon much improved, and more particularly Martinico, and their moiety of St. Chriſtophers.

The Engliſh Weſt-India iſlands were alſo encouraged at this time, and had much the ſame productions; yet it is eaſy to conceive how inconſiderable they were before they fell into the ſugar trade. They made ſome indigo, and alſo cotton and ginger; but their tobacco was bad, and that of Barbados was deemed the worſt of all.

1639.—The Spaniſh monarchy, though viſibly declining, in the year 1639, made the greateſt effort at ſea that it had ever done ſince the famous armada in 1588; for it conſiſted of 67 large ſhips from Corunna, carrying 25,000 ſeamen and 12,000 ſoldiers. This great armada, intended to relieve Dunkirk, before which the Dutch fleet lay, and otherwiſe to ſupport their Netherland provinces, was firſt encountered in the Engliſh Channel, and afterward in the Downs, by the Dutch fleet of 100 ſhips under Van Tromp, who in the end gained an entire victory, and deſtroyed moſt of their ſhips, amongſt which was a great Portuguese galleon of 1400 tons, 80 cannon, and 800 men, though King Charles had ſent his admiral, Sir John Pennington, with 34 ſhips of war, to preſerve a neutrality between thoſe two huge fleets, whilſt they lay watching each others motions, for near three weeks, on the coaſt of Kent. This terrible blow, followed by ſeveral ſubſequent defeats at ſea by the French, entirely broke the naval power of Spain, ſo as never to recover it in any degree till our own times. Theſe diſaſters induced Spain to come into terms with the Dutch at the treaty of Munſter.

In this year a treaty of peace and commerce between King Charles I of England and Chriſtian IV of Denmark, was concluded by Sir Thomas Rowe at Gluckſtad: the following are the articles relating to commerce.

III) No warlike ſuccours, either in money, proviſions, arms, ammunition, machines, guns, &c. ſhall be ſupplied to the enemies of either party.

IV) If any power ſhall attack either of the contracting parties without provocation, or ſhall make any pretenſions to a right to, or ſuperiority over, any of his countries or dominions not actually poſſeſſed by the claimer, then the other party, if not at war himſelf, ſhall, in four months at fartheſt, ſupply him with the following ſhips of war, viz. 4 of 150 or 200 tons each, and 150 or 200 men, and 20 pieces of ord-

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nance in each ſhip: and 4 other ſhips of 100 to 120 tons each, carrying 100 or 120 men, and 16 cannon in each ſhip: and ſupplied with all ſuitable ſtores by the ſender, and with three months proviſions; but afterwards, during the war, they ſhall be ſupplied, &c. by the party whom they are ſent to aſſiſt.

XIV) The king of Great Britain's ſubjects ſhall not reſort to the ports of the king of Denmark prohibited by former treaties, without the ſpecial licence of his Daniſh majeſty aſked and granted, unleſs compelled to it by ſtorm: in which laſt caſe they ſhall by no means trade there.

XV) Ships and merchandize wrecked on the coaſts of either contracting party may be freely claimed by the proper owners; and the natives of thoſe coaſts ſhall not injure nor obſtruct them, but ſhall rather be ready to aſſiſt them, being paid for their trouble.

XIX) And becauſe the iſlands of Orkney and of Shetland cannot well be omitted to be mentioned in this treaty, it is now agreed, that, during the lives of both kings, and the life of the longeſt liver of them, nothing ſhall be moved or treated of concerning them; ſaving always, nevertheleſs, the rights or pretenſions of their ſucceſſors.

XX) Nothing in this treaty ſhall derogate from former ones, unleſs where expreſsly repealed by the preſent treaty. [*Fœdera, V.* xx, *p.* 336.]

King Charles being at York, on the 9th of April 1639, going to ſuppreſs the Scottiſh rebellion, he found himſelf obliged, in order to quiet the minds of his people, to publiſh the following proclamation, for revoking many of his illegal grants and monopolies, viz.

Whereas divers grants, licences, privileges, and commiſſions, had been procured from him, on pretences for the common good and profit of his ſubjects, which ſince, upon experience, have been found to be prejudicial and inconvenient to his people, and in their execution have been notoriouſly abuſed: he is now pleaſed, of his mere grace and favour, with the advice of his privy council, to declare theſe following to be utterly void and revoked, viz.

'A commiſſion touching cottages and inmates.' This was granted laſt year, to compound with all ſuch as had built cottages, without four acres of land annexed to each of them; and with ſuch as ſuffered inmates, or more families than one, to reſide in any of the ſaid cottages.

'A commiſſion touching ſcriveners and brokers.

'For compounding with offenders touching tobacco,' i. e. ſuch as ſold it without the king's ſtamp.

'For compounding with offenders for tranſportation of butter beyond ſea,' without his ſtamp and licence.

'For compounding with offenders for importing or uſing logwood.

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'A commiſſion for compounding with ſheriffs, for ſelling their under-ſheriffs places.

'For compounding for the deſtruction of woods, by iron-works.

'For concealments and encroachments within twenty miles of London.

'For a licence to export ſheep-ſkins and lamb-ſkins.

'For compounding with the dreſſers of veniſon, pheaſants, and partridges, in inns, alehouſes, ordinaries, and taverns.

'For licenſing brewers.

'For the ſole tranſporting of lamperns.

'For weighing hay and ſtraw.

'For an office of regiſter to the commiſſion of bankrupts, in divers counties.

'For gauging red herrings.

'For marking iron made in England.

'For ſealing bone-lace.

'For marking and gauging butter caſks.

'For the privilege of uſing kelp and ſea-weed.

'For ſealing linen cloths.

'For gathering rags.

'For a grant of a factory for Scottiſh merchants.

'For ſearching and ſealing foreign hops.

'For ſealing buttons.

'All grants of fines, penalties, and forfeitures, before judgement granted.

'All patents for new inventions, not put in practice within three years from the date of their reſpective grants.

'The ſeveral grants of incorporation to hatband-makers, gutſtring-makers, ſpectacle-makers, comb-makers, tobacco-pipe-makers, butchers, and horners.'

And the king herein declares, that a writ of *quo warranto* or *ſcire facias* ſhall be iſſued to recall the ſaid grants and patents, unleſs they do voluntarily ſurrender them. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 340.]

By theſe and all other projects of ſmall note the king was reckoned to have raiſed about L200,000 yearly; according to the book intitled the Royal treaſury of England, 8vo, London, 1725, *p.* 284.

The king being informed, that ſundry merchants, notwithſtanding his proclamation of laſt year to the contrary, continued to trade in woollen goods to other ports of Germany and the Netherlands, than to the mart towns or ſtaple towns of the merchant-adventurers company, he now renewed that proclamation, and prolonged the time formerly allowed them to keep their freedom in that fellowſhip. He alſo ſtrictly prohi-

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bited the exportation of wool, woolfels, woollen-yarn, fullers-earth, and tobacco-pipe-clay, (now found to be of the ſame nature and uſe with fullers-earth) by the exportation whereof, he is informed, there is a great decay of the woollen manufacture. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 342.]

The king abridged the extravagant authority which he had formerly granted to the clerk of the market of his houſehold, and to the water bailiff. He alſo revoked his charter of incoporation to the makers of bricks and tiles near London and Weſtminſter, as being found hurtful. And ordered that the iſſues of jurors ſhould not be farmed, as being a grievance to many of his ſubjects. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 344.]

The king ordered that an inquiry ſhould be made into the conduct of Peter Richaut merchant, treaſurer of the fiſhery company, concerning oppreſſions and wrongs done by him to ſundry poor tradeſmen dealing with that company: to inquire alſo, whether the ſtock of the company be diminiſhed? and if ſo, how it came to be ſo? alſo to inquire into all other matters relating to the fiſhery company, and into the means of ſettling that buſineſs, for the beſt advantage of the commonwealth of our kingdoms: to the end, that upon return of the ſaid commiſſion, it may appear which way ſo worthy an undertaking, for the honour of us and the common good of our ſubjects, may be advanced, &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 346.]

The king commiſſioned five perſons to repair to the iſland of Barbados, and to remove the pretended governor of it, who preſumed to continue to act as ſuch, after another had been appointed by James earl of Carliſle. The commiſſion recites, that Barbados was eſteemed one of the Caribbee iſles, and a part of the province of Carliſle in America, granted to James Hay the late earl of Carliſle, and to his heirs. It ſeems, that this pretended governor (Captain Henry Hawley) had only had a commiſſion from the king, in the beginning of this year, for treating with the inhabitants of Barbados, and other iſlands, concerning a moderation to be held in the planting of tobacco, (ſugar not being as yet produced in any of them) and for regulating the prices thereof; 'and for none other employment intended by us,' ſays the king; under colour of which he took on himſelf the ſtile of lieutenant-general and governor of Barbados, &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 357.]

This year the Engliſh firſt ſettled on the pleaſant iſland of St. Lucia, within ſeven leagues of Martinico, ſeven alſo from St. Vincents, and twenty-four from Barbados, being twenty-four miles in length and eleven in breadth, abounding with plenty of timber, proper for houſes and mills, with which the neighbouring iſles, both Engliſh and French, are ſtill ſupplied. It has alſo plenty of fuſtic and cocoa, and good harbours and anchoring places. Two years after, the Engliſh governor and moſt of his people were murdered by the Carib natives, and the reſt driven out of the iſland by the inſtigation, as was ſuſpected, of the French at

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Martinico, though diſowned by the French governor. Neither did the French at that time, nor for many years after, form any pretenſions to that iſland. But, during the civil wars of England between King Charles I and his parliament, Mr. Parquot ſent 40 Frenchmen from Martinico to take poſſeſſion of St. Lucia; but the Caribs being as much at enmity with the Engliſh as with the Engliſh, killed two of their governors and many of their people, and maintained their independency, till after the reſtoration of King Charles II.

Amongſt the offices filled up in the year 1639 by King Charles, there is one, 'for ſurveying of gameſters uſing the exerciſe of wreſtling in 'any place or places within the compaſs or diſtance of three miles of 'the city of London,' [*Fœdera, V.* xx, *p.* 381] which we only note for its ſeeming ſingularity. Every age has its peculiar diverſions and cuſtoms; and though this may appear ſtrange in our age, it was probably in great vogue at that time, even, perhaps, as much as cricket lately was by perſons of high rank.

Between the years 1630 and 1640, while there were no parliaments in England, the Dutch carried on a moſt profitable commerce to the Engliſh American plantations, there not being then any legal prohibition of foreign ſhipping reſorting thither.

1640.—The year 1640 was propitious to the commerce of England and other nations, on account of the great revolution in Portugal, when John duke of Braganza drove out the Spaniards, and aſcended the throne of Portugal, by the name of King John IV. For, while Spain was able to ſupply her American provinces with the ſilk, ſpices, calicoes, &c. of the Portugueſe ſettlements in Eaſt-India, ſhe thereby not only had more of her own American treaſure left in her hands, but, moreover, England and other ſtates had not till now ſo great a call for their merchandize, for the ſupply of Spain and her American provinces. But ſince Spain loſt Portugal, and conſequently the Portugueſe ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies, having few or no manufactures, and but little product of her own (wines excepted) for ſupplying her American provinces, the Engliſh, Dutch, and Hamburghers, and, lateſt of all, the French, have, more abſolutely than formerly, ſupplied Spain with the great bulk of their commodities and manufactures, both for her home conſumption and the much greater one of her vaſt American territories. Ceuta, however, having a Spaniſh garriſon, did not revolt to the duke of Braganza, as the reſt of the Portugueſe territories had done; but remains to this day in the poſſeſſion of Spain.

It has not proved ſo favourable to the commerce and other intereſts of the reſt of Europe, that France gained at this time ſo much the aſcendant over Spain, by protecting the revolted Catalans, and by taking from her the city of Arras, the capital of the province of Artois, by the Flemings till then deemed impregnable.

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King Charles being engaged in preparing for a religious war with the Scots, and not as yet ſtooping to call an Engliſh parliament for a ſupply, fell on very extraordinary methods for raiſing money: amongſt others, he this year bought all the pepper belonging to the Eaſt-India company upon credit, which he ſold out again for ready money. In a ſtated account of money diſburſed out of the tonnage and poundage duty for the navy, to the 9th of June 1642, we find the following payment, viz. 'to the Eaſt-India company, in part of a debt owing to them by his 'majeſty for pepper, bought by my Lord Cottington, L9413: 14: 7.'

In King Charles's ſpecial commiſſion for making proviſion for his army going againſt Scotland, we find that bows and arrows were ſtill in uſe; and that ſtone ſhot or cannon bullets of ſtone (as well as of iron) were uſed for their fire-artillery. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 417.]

King Charles being in this ſame year informed, that a tin mine was lately diſcovered in Barbary, and being on that account apprehenſive of the decreaſe of his revenue from the tin mines of Cornwall and Devonſhire, 'by proclamation, prohibited the importation of foreign tin, as 'alſo carrying the tin of Barbary to any other place whatever in Eng-'liſh ſhipping. Alſo for promoting the conſumption of Engliſh tin and 'pewter in his realms, he directs, that all the meaſures for wine, ale, 'beer, &c. uſed in taverns, victualing-houſes, ſhops, &c. ſhall be of 'tin or pewter, and ſhall be ſtamped or ſealed.' [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 423.]

We now meet with the firſt mention of a conſul-general for England at Alicant, in Spain: the preamble of whoſe commiſſion runs as follows.

'Whereas we are given to underſtand, how convenient and neceſſary 'it is for the good of our loving ſubjects trading to Alicant in the king-'dom of Valencia, to have ſome perſon of judgement and experience, 'able to govern and direct them in their juſt and lawful occaſions, to be 'placed and appointed as conſul there. Know ye,' &c.

This conſul's allowances were to be, the antient allowance of two ducats on every Britiſh ſhip trading to that port, and alſo one fourth per cent for all merchandize of ſhips trading thither. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 430.]

King Charles's inability to oppoſe the Scottiſh army, now preparing to march to the borders of England, obliged him at length to call an Engliſh parliament, ſo much againſt his liking, after twelve years intermiſſion. He began with demanding of the houſe of commons a ſufficient ſupply for this war: and he alleged, that all the neighbouring princes were preparing great fleets of ſhips; and that the Algerines had alſo prepared no fewer than ſixty ſail of ſhips, that they had taken divers Engliſh ſhips, and particularly one on the Spaniſh coaſt, called the Rebecca of London, worth at leaſt L260,000. But the commons thought

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the immediate redreſs of their many grievances of greater importance than an immediate ſupply for his war. This incenſed the king ſo much, that he haſtily and very angrily diſſolved the parliament before any one act had been paſſed; which, as Lord Clarendon owns, he immediately after repented of. For ſupplying his preſent wants therefor without a parliament, he took ſundry extraordinary methods of raiſing money; ſuch as coat and conduct money from every county; an exorbitant fine laid on the city of London, for having, as he alleged, occupied more lands in Ireland than was granted by their charter: but the true reaſon was, their refuſing him a loan of L200,000, which L200,000 had been forcibly borrowed of the merchants, who had lodged their money in the king's mint in the tower of London; which place, as elſewhere noted, before banking with goldſmiths came into uſe in London, was till now made a kind of bank or repoſitory for merchants to lodge their money in; but which, after this compulſory loan (for ſo it was) of L200,000, never after was truſted in that way any more, although the king gave the lenders the ſecurity of his cuſtoms. A ſubſcription alſo had been made for his preſent ſupply, by his privy counſellors and favourites, (Lord Stafford alone ſubſcribing L20,000). And, beſide all theſe, the clergy in convocation, which, contrary to all cuſtom, ſat after the diſſolution of this parliament, granted him ſix ſubſidies of L20,000 each, to be paid in ſix years, at the rate of 4/ in the pound, according to the valuation of their livings, &c. in the king's books. Yet, after all theſe aids, and the ſhip-money tax likewiſe, the king finding himſelf unable to maintain his army of 24,000 men, for three months only, for leſs than L200,000, he was neceſſitated to conclude a temporary treaty with commiſſioners from the Scottiſh army, who had defeated part of his troops, and taken poſſeſſion of Newcaſtle upon Tine, by which the Scottiſh army was to be allowed L850 a-day for their maintenance. For defraying ſo great an expenſe, there was now no other effectual means but a parliament, which the king therefor was conſtrained to call, and which met on the 3d of November in this year, in a very different humour from what he had hoped and expected, the debates and ſpeeches in the houſe of commons running extremely high in regard to the nation's grievances, occaſioned by the king's arbitrary proceedings both in eccleſiaſtical and ſecular matters. But as we have nothing to do with ſuch points, any farther than they may relate to commercial matters, we ſhall only here briefly note, that ſo many grievances, both public and private, were laid before the commons by complaints and petitions, that above forty ſeveral committees were appointed by the houſe for examining them: and of thoſe grievances, that of monopolies gave ſuch offence, that the houſe of commons expelled four of their own Members who had been concerned in them: and Whitlock, in his Memoirs, alleges that many other members thereupon

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withdrew themſelves from parliament, and others were elected in their ſtead. In conſequence of all thoſe ſtrict inquiries, the following acts were paſſed, which the king was obliged to conſent to, viz. 1ſt, that a parliament ſhould be held at leaſt once in three years for the future, even though the king ſhould neglect to call it. This was entitled, An act for preventing inconveniencies happening by the long intermiſſion of parliaments; which the kingdom had ſo much ſmarted for in this reign: and it was the firſt act of this parliament, and paſſed before the year 1640 expired, (16° *Caroli*) according to the then ſtile; when the parliament alſo [17 *Car. I, cc.* 2, 3] granted the king four entire ſubſidies for the relief of his majeſty's army, and the northern parts of the kingdom. And in the ſame ſeſſion (but in the year 1641, which, for connection's ſake, we briefly relate here, though we have not done with the year 1640) two more ſubſidies were granted for the ſame purpoſe. 2dly, they paſſed an act, [*c.* 7] whereby this parliament ſhould not be diſſolved, prorogued, nor adjourned, but by an act of parliament! (i. e. not without their own conſent). By which act, and the impeachment of the king's two great and wicked favourites, Laud archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Wentworth earl of Strafford, of high treaſon, (both already impriſoned in the tower, and afterward put to death) they brought that unhappy prince to be entirely in their power, while, at the ſame time, they granted ſufficient ſupplies for the public occaſions of the nation, by the ſeveral acts for tonnage and poundage, and other ſums of money payable upon merchandize exported and imported: and for a proviſion of money for ſpeedily diſbanding the armies, and ſettling the peace of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, by charging ſeveral ſums upon perſons according to their ranks, dignities, offices, callings, eſtates, and qualities. By another act, they aboliſhed for ever the two wicked and oppreſſive tribunals of the ſtar-chamber and high-commiſſion-court. By another, the king's raiſing of ſhip-money without the authority of parliament, was declared illegal, and never to be allowed in future. Another act was for aboliſhing oppreſſions in the ſtannary-courts; and another for aſcertaining the boundaries of foreſts. Another for confirming the treaty of pacification between England and Scotland. Another, for limiting the powers of the king's clerk of the market. Another, for aboliſhing the king's power to iſſue writs, upon pretext of an antient cuſtom, to compel landed men to take the order of knighthood, or to pay a fine to the king. Another, granting liberty for all men to import gunpowder and ſaltpetre; and alſo for the free making of gunpowder in England. Circumſtanced as he was, the king could not avoid giving his conſent to theſe reſtrictive laws, however mortifying they might be to him. His former wicked adviſers and judges were removed from him; and as the parliament was, in effect, rendered perpetual, there was no middle courſe for him to ſteer: he muſt either

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have directly waged war with the parliament, or acquiesce in their measures: but this state of things did not hold long. In the mean time, we must suspend this subject, until we shall have completed the other more immediate affairs of the year 1640.

In the same year, the Dutch from St. Eustatia settled on Saba, one of the Caribbee islands, thirteen miles north-west from the former, being about four leagues in compass. It is but an inconsiderable place, having no harbour for shipping, and an extremely shallow shore. The Dutch here are said to be but a few families, who, however, raise a small quantity of sugar, beside some cotton and indigo. Some write that the Danes once dispossessed them of it. Many of those small islands among the Caribbees were very little regarded, until our island of Barbados became rich by the sugar trade, when the mother-countries of those, till then, insignificant islands found it their interest to lay public claim to them, to fortify them, and to appoint governors over them.

The haven and town of Malacca, possessed by the Portuguese, at the extremity of the famous peninsula of that name, in the farther Indies, was so happily situated for the conveniency of the Dutch East-India company's commerce, that it is no wonder they greedily cast their eyes on so delicious a morsel so early as in the year 1606, Portugal being then subject to Spain, with whom the Dutch were then at war: yet they were at that time unable to reduce it, though they had actually defeated and burnt a Portuguese fleet there, wherein were 3000 men. But in this year the Dutch, after a six months siege, became masters of that very important place, which they have held to this day. They found upward of 20,000 inhabitants in the town and its territory, with many churches and convents, and a good booty. Since then, the Dutch have much improved its fortifications: and as all ships trading from Siam, Cambodia, Tonquin, Cochin-China, China, Japan, and the Philippines, to Bengal, and the coast of Coromandel, must pass through the straits of Malacca, the Dutch are said to have obliged all but English ships to pay an anchorage duty there. Hereby also they overawe the smaller princes in its neighbourhood, and gain great advantages in their commerce, though not like what it formerly was before Batavia became the grand staple of all their Indian commerce. Thus the Dutch company made a very rapid progress, while our English East-India company became extremely languid, partly by the encroachments of the Dutch company, and partly also from King Charles's temporary grants to others, to interfere with them in the East-India trade: so far, as that some of the writers on commerce at this time insinuate, that hitherto the company had been losers by this trade, which, however, we scarcely think was the real fact.

The French now began to plant at a place on the continent of South-America, called Surinam, in nine degrees of north latitude, from the

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mouth of the river Oroonoko, ſouthward to the river Maroni. But that country being low, marſhy, and unhealthy, they ſoon after abandoned it.

Notwithſtanding the popular clamour at this time againſt the arbitrary proceedings of King Charles, and the frequent complaints of the decay of commerce, yet it is very plain that our commerce was conſtantly increaſing throughout all that time. Even about this very time we find the ſuburbs of London expanding very much every way by new foundations, more eſpecially weſtward, ſuch as Clare-market, Long-acre, Bedfordbury, and other parts of what was then in the pariſh of St. Giles in the fields. The very names of the older ſtreets about Covent-garden are taken from the royal family at this time, ſuch as James-ſtreet, King-ſtreet, Charles-ſtreet, Henrietta-ſtreet, &c. all laid out by the great architect Inigo Jones, as was alſo the fine piazza there; though the buildings in that part where the houſe and gardens of the duke of Bedford ſtood are of a much later date, viz. in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne. Bloomſbury and the ſtreets at the ſeven dials were built up ſomewhat later, as alſo Leiceſter-fields, ſince the reſtoration of Charles II; as were alſo almoſt all St. James's and St. Anne's pariſhes, and a great part of St. Martin's and St. Giles's. I have met with ſeveral old perſons in my younger days who remembered that there was but one ſingle houſe (a cake-houſe) between the Meuſe-gate at Charing-croſs and St. James's palace-gate, where now ſtand the ſtately piles of St. James's-ſquare, Pall-mall, and other fine ſtreets. They alſo remembered a quick-ſet hedge on the weſt ſide of St. Martin's lane. Yet High Holborn and Drury-lane were filled with noblemens and gentlemens houſes almoſt 150 years ago. Thoſe fine ſtreets on the ſouth ſide of the Strand running down to the river Thames have all been built ſince the beginning of the 17th century, upon the ſites of noblemens houſes and gardens, who removed farther weſtward, as their names denote. Even ſome parts within the bars of the city of London remained unbuilt within about 150 years paſt, particularly all the grounds between Shoe-lane and Fewters * (now Fetter) lane, which in King Charles I's reign, and even ſome of them ſince, have been built up into ſtreets, lanes, &c. Several other parts of the city, it is well known, have been rendered more populous by the removal of the nobility, &c. to Weſtminſter liberties, on the ſites of whoſe former ſpacious houſes and gardens whole ſtreets, lanes, and courts, have been added to the city ſince the death of Queen Elizabeth.

* 'So called of Fewters (or idle people) lying 'there, as in a way leading to gardens.' [*Stow's Survey of London, p.* 736, *ed.* 1618.] *A.* Stow immediately adds, 'but the ſame is now of later 'yeeres on both ſides builded through with many 'faire houſes.' So Fewters (or Fetter) lane is of greater antiquity than Mr. Anderſon, truſting to Howel, aſſigns to it. *M.*

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1641.—It may not be improper to note, that the ingenious Dr. Heylin, who wrote the firſt, or rather perhaps the ſecond, edition of his Coſmography, about the year 1641, remarks of the famous Hanſeatic city of Lubeck, 'that there were then ſtill belonging to it, though declined from its former grandeur, above 600 ſhips of all ſorts, ſome of which were of 1000 tons and upwards.' And he adds (what could not then be ſaid of London itſelf), 'that to every private houſe a pipe of water was conveyed from the public conduit, and that from the pattern thereof the firſt conduits were made in London, though very long before this century.'

We have a notable inſtance of the induſtry of the town of Mancheſter in Lancaſhire ſo early as the year 1641, from an author of credit, Mr. Lewis Roberts a merchant, author of the noted book intitled the Merchant's map of commerce; it is, in a ſmall treatiſe, intitled the Treaſure of traffic, publiſhed in this year: 'the town of Mancheſter (ſays he) buys the linen-yarn of the Iriſh in great quantity, and, weaving it, returns the ſame again in linen into Ireland to ſell,' (which might poſſibly and naturally give the firſt hint towards the Iriſh linen manufactures). 'Neither doth her induſtry reſt here, for they buy cotton-wool in London, that comes firſt from Cyprus and Smyrna *, and work the ſame into fuſtians, vermillions, dimities, &c. which they return to London, where they are ſold, and from thence, not ſeldom, are ſent into ſuch foreign parts where the firſt materials may be more eaſily had for that manufacture †.'

So early as in this year we find, (in a judicious pamphlet, intitled, England's ſafety in trade's increaſe, by Henry Robinſon) that the French had already begun to make ordinances and laws which proved prejudicial to the commerce of England; and the author expreſſes his fears leſt they ſhould in time be able to beat us out of our trade, more eſpecially, ſays he, when Chriſtendom ſhall be at peace, whereby the trade of Spain will be free for other nations, which at preſent, as it were, we monopolize to ourſelves. (He has proved in too great a degree a true prophet.)

Roberts, in his Treaſure of traffic, ſays, that the cuſtoms of England are eſtimated at L500,000 yearly; a vaſt increaſe ſince the death of Queen Elizabeth!

The piratical ſtate of Algiers ſeems to have been now in its zenith of naval power. Morgan, in the ſecond volume of the hiſtory of that ſtate, quoting D'Aranda, ſays, 'that in the ſummer of this year the

* It may be inferred from this, that no conſiderable quantity of cotton was as yet imported from our Weſt-India iſlands. *A.*

† Mancheſter was a populous town, and noted for its woollen manufactures, called *Mancheſter cottons*, long before the year 1600. [*Camdeni Britannia, p.* 673, *ed.* 1600.] The manufacture of real cotton goods appears not to have been begun there in Camden's time. *M.*

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'Algerines had in their cruize no fewer than 65 ſhips, beſides ſeveral 'gallies or galiots, all at one time.' And although it be well known that their naval force is greatly leſſened ſince that time, yet even in our days they have enough remaining to give conſiderable interruption to the naval commerce of ſuch of the powers of Chriſtendom as they pleaſe to make war upon.

It would be almoſt endleſs to recount all the diſputes that have happened at different times between Denmark and other nations, and more eſpecially with the Hanſe towns, concerning the toll paid by ſhips in paſſing the Sound. This year the cities of Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Bremen, entered into ſtricter engagements together, by reaſon of Denmark's too rigorouſly exacting that toll, for the ſupport of their commercial intereſts and thoſe of ſuch other Hanſe towns as ſhould join with them, by arming both by ſea and land, yet without mentioning this toll expreſsly in the treaty: and this, like former treaties, had good conſequences attending it for ſome time after.

After the Engliſh had been in poſſeſſion of the iſle of Providence in America, and had partly planted it, ever ſince the year 1629, they were now attacked by the Spaniards with a great force; and although they made a ſtout reſiſtance, they were obliged to ſurrender the iſland to them, with conſiderable loſs to the planters. Yet the Spaniards did not after this ſettle thereon at all, their ſole aim in driving out our people being to keep up their idle and unreaſonable pretenſions to the property of all the Bahama iſles: but England again took poſſeſſion of Providence, and we now claim the ſole property of all the Bahamas.

The French having, for the reaſons already aſſigned, abandoned the colony of Surinam, an Engliſh colony was ſettled there in the ſame year at the expenſe of Lord Willoughby, who is ſaid to have waſted his eſtate in the undertaking.

The want of due care and provident foreſight in princes and ſtates for cheriſhing and improving the commerce of their dominions has often proved to their irretrievable detriment, by the loſs of their traffic, the beſt ſource of their wealth and power. Lewis Roberts, in his Treaſure of traffic, (publiſhed in 1641) gives us three pregnant inſtances thereof, which alſo afford us ſome part of the hiſtory of three very eminent mercantile cities, viz. 'the want of good order in the government 'of the trade of Antwerp, and their impoſition of heavy cuſtoms upon 'the merchants, hath, within theſe fifty years, brought that town to the 'lowneſs wherein we ſee it. Lyons in France hath ſuffered wonderfully by the ſame inconveniencies: and Marſeilles, within the days of 'my knowlege, had a wonderful great traffic with many places of 'Turkey, Barbary, Spain, &c. and was able to ſhew many ſhips employed in merchandize, about twenty-five years ago, carrying thirty 'and forty pieces of ordnance; and now the beſt of their veſſels, and

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'thoſe too but very few in number, have not above ten pieces of ord-'nance.' Mr. Roberts had been himſelf an eminent merchant; and although the ruin of Antwerp is well known to have been principally owing to its being ſacked by the Spaniſh army and the ſubſequent blocking up of the river Scheldt by the Dutch forts below that city, yet the cauſe he here aſſigns might have conſiderable influence before the ſiege of it by the Spaniſh army. Lyons and Marſeilles have ſince his time proſpered exceedingly under wiſer management. All which ſhews how delicate a matter commerce is, and how carefully and conſtantly to be attended to by the rulers of ſtates and kingdoms.

It was in this ſame year that the Dutch Eaſt-India company found means to get the Portugueſe and other chriſtians excluded from all trade to Japan; but, whether it was done in ſo deceitful and impious a way as their enemies gave out, we ſhall not take upon us to determine. They enjoy a trade thither from Batavia and other parts of India to this day, though ſubject to difficulties therein from the caprice of that very jealous nation. It was a cunning trick (ſays Puffendorf in his Hiſtory of Europe) in the Dutch at Japan to drive the Portugueſe out of that trade, by laying before the emperor an intercepted letter from the Portugueſe jeſuits there to the pope, promiſing his holineſs in a ſhort time to reduce all Japan to his obedience. But it produced terrible effects, not only to the jeſuits, but to the poor Japaneſe converts, who, to the number of 400,000 and upwards, were all put to death, and the Portugueſe for ever ſhut out from Japan on pain of death. Dr. Gemilli ſays, that the Dutch factory at Nangaſache enjoys not that liberty nor authority which they have in their trade to other parts; for as ſoon as the ſhips come to an anchor, a mandarin comes on board to count the men, and to carry the ſails and rudders on ſhore. They have no communication with the city, but live in their factory, which is on a rock incloſed with a wall; and no trade is allowed but once in a year.

Hitherto, according to Ligon's Hiſtory of Barbados, and other authors of the hiſtory of the Caribbee iſlands, very bad tobacco, together with ſome ginger and cotton, were all the produce they had at Barbados till this year, when ſome of the moſt induſtrious planters procured ſugar-canes from Fernambuc in Braſil; and theſe thriving very well, they planted more and more as they multiplied; and at length found it would anſwer well to ſet up a very ſmall ingenio or ſugar-mill; yet the ſecret of making ſugar was not ſo well underſtood by the Barbadians till two or three years after, when ſome of their people made a voyage to Braſil, from whence they brought better inſtructions and more ſugar plants. Yet even at Mr. Ligon's arrival at Barbados, which was not till the year 1647, although there were then many ſugar-works ſet up, they were nevertheleſs ignorant of the true manner of planting, and the time of cutting the canes, the proper manner of placing the

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coppers, and the true way of covering their rollers with caſes of iron. But they were much improved in the goodneſs of the ſugar and in the method of making it in the year 1650, when he left that iſland, inſomuch that a plantation of Major Hilliard's, of 500 acres, which, before they began to plant ſugar, he knew could have been purchaſed for L400 ſterling, was, at his landing there in the year 1647, worth L14,000. Moreover, Colonel James Drax, whoſe beginning on that iſland was founded on a ſtock of L300 ſterling, raiſed his fortune to ſuch a height, that our author has heard him ſay, he would not return to ſettle in England for the remainder of his life till he ſhould be able to purchaſe a land eſtate of L10,000 a-year, which he hoped in a few years to accompliſh. And Colonel Thomas Modyford had often told him, that he had taken a reſolution not to ſet his face for England until he could make his voyage and employment there worth L100,000 ſterling. Theſe inſtances in ſuch early times are ſufficient clearly to ſhew the vaſt importance of our ſugar plantations to the nation. The firſt planters of ſugar finding ſuch immenſe profit, it encouraged many people to go thither from England, which alſo encouraged the merchants at home to ſend more ſhips with proviſions, tools, clothing, and all other neceſſaries, in exchange for the produce of that iſland. And this being the firſt of our colonies which cultivated ſugar plantations, it greatly haſtened the improvement of our other iſlands, which ſoon after followed it in planting ſugar to very great advantage. And as it was impoſſible to manage the planting of that commodity by white people in ſo hot a climate, ſo neither could ſufficient numbers of ſuch be had at any rate: neceſſity, therefor, and the example of Portugal, gave birth to the negro ſlave-trade from the coaſt of Guinea; and it is almoſt needleſs to add, that ſuch great numbers of ſlaves, and alſo the increaſe of our white people in thoſe iſlands, ſoon created a vaſt demand for all neceſſaries from England, and alſo a new and conſiderable trade to Madeira for wines to ſupply thoſe iſlands; which were ſo far from draining their mother-country of her caſh, that they annually ſupplied her with conſiderable quantities thereof, as the trade thither was then, and many years after, left open to all nations, till after the reſtoration of King Charles II, when the parliament obſerving the great detriment that ſuch an open trade did to the kingdom, it was abſolutely confined to our own people by the ſeveral acts of navigation; in conſequence whereof the ports of London and Briſtol ſoon after became the great magazines for ſugar for ſupplying all the north and middle parts of Europe, and the Portugueſe ſugars of Braſil were reduced from L8 to L2 : 10 per hundred weight.

Barbados and the other Caribbee iſlands continued proprietary colonies till after the reſtoration, when King Charles II purchaſed them, and made them regal governments. Moſt of the rich ſugar planters always

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have fixed at laſt in England with their fortunes, and have thereby laid the foundation of many great families. And it is the peculiar honour of Barbados, that it is to this day the nobleſt and beſt cultivated ſpot of ground in all America, and produces the fineſt, and alſo the greateſt quantity of ſugar of any of our iſlands, the large iſland of Jamaica only excepted.

On Saturday the 23d of October (a day dedicated to St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the ſociety of Jeſus) broke out the dreadful rebellion and general defection of the Iriſh, and even of moſt of the old Engliſh papiſts in Ireland, who by a general maſſacre attempted to extirpate the whole race of proteſtants, and in the firſt three months deſtroyed 154,000 proteſtants with great cruelty, the deſign not being diſcovered till the night before.

The Iriſh papiſts had lived quietly ever ſince Tyrone's rebellion was ſuppreſſed, at the cloſe of Queen Elizabeth's reign; but in the beginning of this year they had formed the execrable plot of cutting the throats of all the Engliſh throughout Ireland, ſeizing on all fortified places, and abſolutely ſhaking off the Engliſh yoke. In all parts at any diſtance from Dublin the plot was executed on the above day, but the project of ſeizing the caſtle of Dublin on that day was diſcovered the night before, otherwiſe their infernal ſcheme would probably have been rendered effectual. We juſt briefly mention this horrid maſſacre, purely as it had a bad influence on commerce; and we ſhall only farther note, that it had alſo a great influence on the Engliſh parliament and people, to the detriment of King Charles and his popiſh bigotted queen. The parliament ſent ſuccour and ſupplies to Ireland in ſuch ſlender quantities, and with ſuch deliberation, as teſtified that they believed the king's aim was to drain England of troops, and to engage the parliament in an Iriſh war, to keep them from meddling with his prerogative, and leſſening his power; ſo the breach between the king and his parliament became every day wider. For the effectual ſuppreſſion of this rebellion an act of parliament paſſed in this year [*c.* 33] for diſpoſing of two millions and an half of acres of lands belonging to the rebels to well-affected lenders of the following ſums, viz. a thouſand acres of good land in the province of Ulſter for L200, the like quantity in Connaught for L300, in Munſter for L450, and in Leinſter for L600, all freehold; paying quit-rents in Ulſter of one penny per acre, in Connaught three halfpence, in Munſter twopence farthing, and in Leinſter threepence per acre. Thoſe lands to be laid out to the ſubſcribers by lot. And thus were a great number of well-affected proteſtants ſettled on the lands of lazy and bigotted papiſts, very much to the improvement of that kingdom.

1642.—A treaty of peace and friendſhip was concluded at London on the 29th of January (foreign ſtile) between King Charles I and

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John IV king of Portugal, and ratified by King Charles at York 22d May 1642.

What relates to commerce is in ſubſtance, viz.

I) There ſhall be a free commerce between the ſubjects of both crowns in all countries, iſlands, &c. where it was permitted in the time of the kings of Caſtile, or ſince.

IV) The Engliſh ſhall enjoy the ſame privileges and immunities in Portugal as the natives themſelves; nor ſhall they pay higher duties, cuſtoms, &c. than the natives; and they ſhall enjoy all the privileges which the Engliſh enjoyed in Portugal before it was united to Spain.

V) The merchants of England, coming into the havens of Portugal, ſhall not be obliged to take any other goods on board than what they ſhall themſelves think fitting; and the Portugueſe ſhall have the like freedom in England.

VIII) England ſhall have conſuls reſiding in Portugal to take care of the intereſts and commerce of their nation.

IX) The effects of the Engliſh dying in Portugal ſhall not be taken poſſeſſion of by the judges or other officers of Portugal, but ſhall be put into the hands of the defunct's executors or truſtees, if on the ſpot, or, if abſent, into the hands of one or two Engliſh merchants, not married, ſworn to do juſtice, in truſt for thoſe who ſhall appear to have the right to the ſaid effects.

X) Engliſh ſhips ſhall not be ſtopped nor detained in Portugal without the king of Great Britain's knowlege and conſent, but ſhall be freely permitted to depart at their pleaſure. Neither ſhall the goods and merchandize of the Engliſh be taken for the king of Portugal's uſe, unleſs for a juſt and uſual price, which ſhall be paid for in two months time, unleſs otherwiſe agreed for.

XII) Things ſhall remain in the Eaſt-Indies, in point of peace and commerce between both nations, for three years to come, as they were ſettled by treaty in India in the year 1635 between the preſident or governor, William Methwold, for the Engliſh there, and the Portugueſe governors; after which a perpetual peace ſhall enſue.

XIII) The ſubjects of England ſettled on the coaſt of Africa under the Portugueſe, viz. at Guinea, Binny, &c. and in the iſle of St. Thome, and other iſles on that coaſt, who had this privilege under the kings of Caſtile, ſhall not be moleſted therein. And the king of Portugal may freely hire the Engliſh ſhips trading to thoſe coaſts, until otherwiſe ſettled between both nations *.

XIV) The ſubjects of the king of Great Britain ſhall have the ſame liberty of importing into and exporting from Portugal all ſorts of goods

* The Portugueſe had long been in the practice of hiring Engliſh ſhips to carry their ſlaves from Africa to Braſil. *A.*

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and merchandize, as has been granted to the ſtates of Holland, &c. by treaty in 1640.

XV) The Engliſh ſhall not be liable to impriſonment, nor to ſeizure of their perſons, goods, books of accounts, &c. in the ſame manner as has been or ſhall be granted to the ſubjects of any other potentate.

XVII) The Engliſh in Portugal ſhall not be diſturbed on account of conſcience or difference of religion, provided they give no ſcandal to the natives, &c. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xx, *p.* 523 *.]

The great Cardinal Richlieu, who had brought the commerce, colonies, and manufactures, of France to a conſiderable height, and had laid a ſolid foundation for much greater improvements to be made by his ſucceſſors, died this year He left France poſſeſſed of 100 warlike ſhips and galleys, with ſuitable naval ſtores in the royal arſenals. He raiſed the crown revenue to 70,000,000 of livres annually, whereas at his acceſſion to the miniſtry it had been reckoned but at 35,000,000. And he alſo erected a company for the trade to the Weſt-India iſles.

The laſt conſtitutional act of parliament enacted by King Charles, together with the lords and commons, was in this year [*c.* 37] which confirmed the grant of 2½ millions of acres of lands in Ireland forfeited by the rebels there, and granted by two former acts [*cc.* 33 and 35] to all perſons and corporations in England who ſhould pay down certain ſums; and is now extended to all perſons, Engliſh, Scottiſh, Iriſh, and Dutch, being proteſtants. And ſuch as ſhould by this laſt act ſubſcribe, ſhould have acres of a larger meaſure than Engliſh ſtatute ones, viz. each to be 160 poles of 21 feet, inſtead of 16½ feet each.

Towards the cloſe of this year, 1642, the war between King Charles and his lords and commons commenced, to the no ſmall interruption of commerce and manufactures, as may eaſily be imagined.

The French author of the Hiſtory of the Caribbee iſles (Paris, 1658) ſays, that about this year a company of traders of the province of Zealand firſt planted on the iſle of Tobago in the Weſt-Indies, by ſending 200 men thither, and gave it the name of New Walcheren; but it ſeems the natives murdered ſome of the Dutch, and forced the reſt to deſert it. Yet in 1650 the Zealanders from Fluſhing replanted that iſle, which, lying the moſt ſoutherly of all the Caribbee iſles, and neareſt to the continent, ſeemed very conveniently ſituated for a contraband trade with the Spaniſh province of New Andaluſia, and alſo for the growth of ſugar-canes, cotton, and ginger. Yet the Dutch made nothing conſiderable of that promiſing ſpot, although it has the conveniencies of

* We now take our leave of the FOEDERA ANGLIÆ, the nobleſt collection of authentic records that any age or country, at leaſt in Europe, can boaſt of. *Thurloe's State papers* (in ſeven volumes folio) the *Treaties of peace and commerce* entered into with foreign powers, and the *Acts of parliament*, follow the *Fœdera*, as authentic documents of our commercial hiſtory in the ſucceeding times: and great aſſiſtance is afforded by a vaſt variety of temporary publications, profeſſedly upon commercial ſubjects. *A.*

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water, ſoil, and climate; and they have long ſince abandoned it. This author takes no notice of the duke of Courland's ſettlement in Tobago.

Sir *Joſiah* Child (in his chapter on plantations, p. 196) endeavours to account for the ſmall ſucceſs the Dutch have had compared with England in planting remote colonies: 'ıſt, they have not had thoſe cauſes 'for peopling colonies which England has had, viz. the perſecution of 'the puritans in the reigns of King James and Charles I: 2dly, King 'Charles's party after the battle of Worceſter, and the Scots being routed there, helped to plant Barbados and Virginia: 3dly, at the reſtoration the royaliſts getting into all employments and offices, and the 'army being diſbanded, &c. many of the commonwealth party withdrew to New England, &c.: 4thly, the lowneſs of the intereſt of money in Holland, as well as of the cuſtoms on merchandize, together 'with their toleration of all religions, and their other encouragements given to trade, occaſions employment for all their own people at 'home, as alſo for multitudes of foreigners who come to ſettle there.' And indeed we may add, that, for the moſt part, none that can live comfortably, and that have full employment at home, will care to go into either violently hot, or extremely cold, or unuſual climates, to work at the painful employments of new plantations. Moreover, the Dutch have ſcarcely had one other great means which we had for the firſt peopling of Virginia and Barbados, viz. picking up many looſe and vagrant people, chiefly in the ſtreets of London and Weſtminſter, and other idle and diſſolute perſons, who, by merchants and maſters of ſhips, were for many years ſpirited away (as they then termed it) to thoſe colonies. As to what the Dutch have done in the Eaſt-Indies in the way of colonies, it was either by war or for traffic, by erecting ſtrong forts on the ſea-coaſts, where, as at the Cape of Good Hope, and in the iſles of Ceylon, Java, &c. they have moſtly made uſe of the natives for plantation and cultivation. And this has alſo been partly the caſe with the Spaniſh and Portugueſe greater colonies in America; but not in any great degree in thoſe of France, from which laſt populous kingdom immenſe numbers of people have been ſent to their colonies in America.

The following extract from an account printed in 1642 of ſeveral naval charges and equipments of the years 1640, 41, and 42, by order of parliament, will in part ſhow the immenſe difference both in reſpect to ſtrength and expenſe between our Engliſh navy then and now, viz.

1. *Imprimis*, the charge of 10 of the king's ſhips and 10 merchant ſhips employed on the narrow ſeas, *anno* 1641, - L57,592 4 6
2. ——— Ordinary of the navy for the year 1640, 27,610 3 9
3. ——————————— for the year 1641, 27,122 3 4
4. ——————————— for the year 1642, 21,056 11 6
5. Charge for the victualler of the navy for the ordinary expenſe of the year 1642, - - 7,655 17 9

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6. The emptions of the office of ordnance for the years 1641 and 1642 together, - -	5,443	12	0
7. Charge of ſetting forth 15 of his majeſty's ſhips for the narrow ſeas, *anno* 1642, for eight months, to the treaſurer of the navy, - -	48,368	10	0
8. Ditto for 24 merchant ſhips for the ſame year and time, - - - -	81,758	8	0
9. For victualling the ſaid 15 king's ſhips for that time, - - - - -	27,359	16	6

The Dutch Weſt-India company, obſerving that the native Indians of Chili were inveterately incenſed againſt their conquerors the Spaniards, had flattered themſelves that they ſhould be able to make an eaſy conqueſt of that fine country. For this end they fitted out a ſquadron of ſhips, hoping thereby to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome of their gold mines. At firſt indeed they defeated a party of Spaniards in that country, and gained over ſome of the chiefs of the native Indians to enter into an alliance with them againſt the Spaniards, which encouraged the Dutch to erect a fort at Baldivia, and to propoſe a commercial correſpondence with the natives; yet the later, through ſome miſchance or other, becoming jealous of their proceedings, the Dutch were in the end obliged to retire from Chili to that part of Braſil which was at this time in their poſſeſſion.

A freſh company of merchants of France had been eſtabliſhed by Richlieu for the trade to the Eaſt-Indies; but though they ſent out a ſhip every year for India, yet moſt of their ſhips were either entirely loſt, or elſe loſt moſt of their ſailors by diſtempers. And though they made great attempts to ſettle a permanent colony at Madagaſcar, yet it did not ſucceed, and ſo this third company came to nothing. Yet ſome private merchants from St. Maloes ſent ſhips to India, which trade, it was ſaid, turned out well for ſome time, but was afterwards dropped.

This year two Dutch ſhips ſailed from Batavia in the Eaſt-Indies on diſcovery ſouthward. They found a new paſſage by ſea to the ſouth of New Holland, Van Dieman's land, &c. Coming to New Zealand, in 42 degrees 10 minutes ſouth latitude, they there found a cruel barbarous people, who murdered four of their men. Thence they ſailed north-weſt amongſt many iſlands, to ſome of which they gave the names of Amſterdam, Rotterdam, &c. Thence they ſailed weſt about to New Guinea, and home to Batavia, after being out about ten months. [*Harris's Collection of voyages, p.* 608.]

1643.—In March 1642-3 the Engliſh lords and commons in parliament made an ordinance, without the king, for raiſing L34,108 : 10 per week, which amounts to L1,773,649 : 16 per annum. [*Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical collections, V.* v, *p.* 150.]

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By an ordinance of the lords and commons in parliament in the year 1643, the fines for the freedom of the company of the merchant-adventurers of England were doubled, viz. L100 for a Londoner, and L50 for one in any of the outports; with power alſo for this ſociety to impriſon ſuch as refuſed to pay the ſaid fines. The words of the ordinance of the lords and commons (being one of the firſt acts or ordinances iſſued by their authority without the royal aſſent) are as follow, viz. 'that this 'company having been found very ſerviceable and profitable to this 'ſtate, and eſpecially to the antient and great trade of clothing; this 'fellowſhip ſhall therefor continue and be a corporation, with power 'to levy monies on its members and their goods, for the neceſſary 'charge and maintenance of their government. And that no perſon 'ſhall trade within their limits but freemen of the corporation, upon 'forfeiture of their goods; provided, that this company ſhall not ex-'clude any perſon from his freedom therein who ſhall deſire it by way 'of redemption, if ſuch perſon by their cuſtom be capable thereof, 'hath been a bred merchant, and ſhall pay L100 for the ſame, if a 'freeman of London, and trading from that port; or L50 if not free 'of London, and not trading from that port. They ſhall have power 'to impriſon members in matters of government, and to adminiſter 'ſuch oaths to them as ſhall be approved by parliament; provided alſo, 'that all rights confirmed by act of parliament or antient charters ſhall 'be hereby ſaved. And it was ordered, that a bill be prepared for paſſ-'ing an act in this preſent parliament for farther ſettling and confirm-'ing the privileges of this fellowſhip, and this ordinance in the mean 'time to remain in force.'

But this was in conſideration of no leſs a ſum than L30,000 advanced to the parliament by the merchant-adventurers.

In the ſame year there came out a like ordinance of parliament in favour of the Levant (or Turkey) company, declaring, 'that, for the 'encouragement of that fellowſhip, which, beſide the building and 'maintaining of divers great ſhips, and the venting of kerſies, ſayes, 'perpetuanos, and ſeveral other commodities, hath been found very 'ſerviceable to this ſtate, by advancing navigation, and tranſporting 'into foreign parts, for ſeveral years together, above 20,000 broad 'cloths yearly, beſides other commodities, dyed and dreſſed in their 'full manufacture, and for the better government and regulating of 'trade, the ſaid fellowſhip ſhall continue to be a corporation, and ſhall 'have the free choice and removal of all officers, &c. who are to be 'maintained by them either at home or abroad, whether ambaſſadors, 'governors, deputies, conſuls, &c. And ſhall have power to levy mo-'nies on their members and on ſtrangers upon all goods ſhipped in 'Engliſh bottoms, or on ſtrangers bottoms, going to, or coming from, 'the Levant, for the ſupply of their own neceſſary expenſe, as well as

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'for ſuch ſums of money as ſhall be advanced for the uſe and benefit 'of the ſtate by the approbation of parliament *. And no perſon ſhall 'bring from, or ſend goods or ſhips into, the limits of their charter but 'ſuch as are free brothers, or otherwiſe licenced by the corporation, on 'pain of forfeiture of the whole, or other leſſer penalty to be impoſed 'by this corporation on their goods or ſhips. None ſhall be excluded 'from the freedom of this corporation who ſhall deſire it by way of re-'demption, if ſuch perſon be a mere merchant and otherwiſe capable 'thereof, and ſhall pay L50 for the ſame, if above 27 years of age, 'or L25 if under that age, or ſo much leſs as their fellowſhip ſhall 'think fitting. They may alſo impoſe fines on perſons wittingly con-'temning or diſobeying their orders, but not to exceed L20 for any 'one offence: and, in default, to diſtrain the goods of perſons ſo fined; 'and if no ſufficient diſtreſs can be found, to impriſon their perſons 'till they pay their fines, or otherwiſe give ſatisfaction. They ſhall have 'power alſo to give ſuch oaths as ſhall be approved by parliament, pro-'vided that all rights or charters granted under the broad ſeal of Eng-'land or otherwiſe ſhall be hereby ſaved. It is alſo ordained, that with 'all convenient expedition a bill ſhall be prepared to paſs into an act of 'this preſent parliament, for the farther ſettling and full confirmation 'of this fellowſhip's privileges, &c.; and this ordinance to remain in 'full force till then.'

Brower (or Brewer), a Dutchman, ſailed into the great South ſea through a paſſage, ſince called by his name, eaſt of the ſtrait of Le Maire (mentioned under the year 1616), and ſo round by Cape Horne, as uſual.

In this ſame year, the excluſive privileges of the Dutch Eaſt-India company expiring, they were renewed for 27 years longer, in conſideration of 1,600,000 gilders paid to the public. It is needleſs here to add, that thoſe privileges have ſince been renewed from time to time to our days, and that on every ſuch renewal that company advanced conſiderable ſums of money for the ſame.

The French now firſt planted the Caribbee iſland of St. Bartholomew, in the latitude of 16 degrees, about five miles north of St. Chriſtophers. It has but little ground fit for cultivation, yet it is ſaid to have plenty of lignum-vitæ and iron-wood. It is unſafe for ſhipping, by reaſon of the many rocks which ſurround it. It has been ſeveral times in French and Engliſh hands by turns.

By an ordinance of the lords and commons the duty on our plantation-tobacco was now made 4*d* per pound weight: yet in the following year, by another ordinance, they reduced it to 3*d* per pound, cuſtom

* It may be preſumed that they, as well as the merchant-adventurers, paid for the renewal of their privileges. *A.*

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and exciſe together; 'they finding,' as that ordinance expreſſes it, 'that 'the duty of 4*d* had ſomewhat intermitted the trade in that commodi- 'ty;' which ſhews that tobacco was by this time become a trade worth the attention of parliament.

The parliament now laid a tax for the enſuing year on beer and ale in all counties within the limits of their power, calling it by a new word, *exciſe*. In which ordinance they alſo laid a duty of 4*ſ* per pound on foreign tobacco, and 2*ſ* on Engliſh tobacco; L6 on every ton of wine retailed, and L3 per ton for private conſumption. A duty alſo on raiſins, ſugar, currants, cloth of gold and ſilver, tiſſue, damaſk table-linen; which ſhews they were in great want of money. And the king's parliament, then ſitting at Oxford, impoſed the like taxes on all within their power, and never met more at all. The city of London (according to *Ruſhworth*, *V.* iii, *p.* 2) agreed to make a weekly payment of L10,000, excluſive of Weſtminſter and the other ſuburbs; which ſhews the great wealth as well as zeal of the citizens. Yet it is ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed, that the city could have conſtantly paid ſo great an aſſeſſment.

At this time one Kephler a Dutchman brought into England the knowlege of the fine ſcarlet dye called the Bow-dye, as being firſt practiſed at the village of Bow near London.

1644.—According to Ware's *Geſta Hibernorum* [*p.* 181] on the 8th of Auguſt 1644 the citizens of Dublin were numbered, and found to be of

Proteſtants	2565 men.	Papiſts	1202 men.
	2986 women.		1406 women.
Total proteſtants	5551	Total papiſts	2608
Total papiſts	2608		
Total of both	8159		

As the city of Dublin is the capital of Ireland, the reſidence of the king's lieutenant and of all the courts of law, as well as the uſual place for holding the parliament, &c. I think it impoſſible that this cenſus can be of any other than adult perſons alone, to approach near to any probability of truth. If therefor there be, as uſually computed, at leaſt two children to each adult perſon, then - 8159

Multiplied by 2, gives - - 16,318

Total men, women, and children, 24,477

This was but a ſmall number compared to the number in that city at this time, which ſince then has greatly increaſed, more eſpecially ſince the acceſſion of the preſent royal family, inſomuch that they are now computed by many to amount to above 100,000 ſouls.

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The toll exacted by the crown of Denmark from all foreign ſhips, paſſing to and from the Baltic ſea through the Sound of Elſinore, was in conſideration of the protection thoſe ſhips received from the caſtle of Kronenburg, for a ſafeguard from pirates, who were numerous in that ſea in the 13th and 14th centuries, and alſo for light-houſes erected by Denmark for the direction of ſhipping in dark nights. About the time the Dutch ſhook off the yoke of Spain, Denmark made unreaſonable demands on them. But this year the Dutch aſſiſted the Swedes in an invaſion of Denmark, whereby the later loſt part of their dominions to Sweden. This brought on a treaty in the following year 1645, whereby, after numberleſs diſputes between Denmark and Sweden, Denmark was obliged to give up all right to demand any toll whatever on Swediſh ſhips, having only their own merchandize paſſing the Sound, yet they were ſtill bound to pay toll for the merchandize of other nations in their bottoms.

Moreover, the ſtates-general of the United provinces at the ſame time renewed former treaties with Denmark, and ſettled the moderate toll they were thenceforward to pay at paſſing the Sound, being about L25 ſterling for a ſhip of 200 tons; to which England and France alſo agreed. By the third article of this treaty, it is expreſsly ſtipulated, that Dutch ſhips and goods paſſing the Sound ſhall not be ſearched; but entire credit ſhall be given to the mariners producing their cockets. And the tolls now agreed on ſhall continue the ſame for forty years to come.

1645.—We have ſeen (under the year 1640) that the royal mint in the tower of London had for ſome years before that period been made uſe of as a bank or depoſit for merchants to lodge their caſh in. But King Charles having, in that year, made free with their money therein, the mint loſt its credit in that reſpect. After which, the merchants and traders of London generally truſted their caſh with their ſervants till the breaking out of the civil war, when their apprentices and clerks frequently left their maſters to go into the army. Thereupon, in ſuch unſettled times, merchants not daring to confide in their apprentices, began firſt, about this year, 1645, to lodge their caſh in goldſmiths hands, both to receive and pay for them. Until which time, the whole and proper buſineſs of London goldſmiths was to buy and ſell plate, and foreign coins of gold and ſilver, to melt and cull them, to coin ſome at the mint, and with the reſt to ſupply the refiners, plate-makers, and merchants, as they found the price to vary. This account of the matter we have from a ſcarce and moſt curious ſmall pamphlet publiſhed in 1676, entitled, the Myſtery of the new-faſhioned goldſmiths or bankers diſcovered, in only eight 4to pages *. The author obſerves, that this new banking buſineſs ſoon grew very conſiderable. It happened, ſays

* No bookſeller's or printer's names are affixed to the title page. *A.*

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he, in thoſe times of civil commotion, that the parliament, out of the plate and old coin brought into the mint, coined ſeven millions into half-crowns; and there being no mills then in uſe at the mint, this new money was of a very unequal weight, ſometimes 2*d* and 3*d* difference in an ounce, and moſt of it was, it ſeems, heavier than it ought to have been, in proportion to the value in foreign parts. Of this the goldſmiths made naturally the advantages uſual in ſuch caſes, by picking out the heavieſt and melting them down or exporting them. It happened alſo that our old gold coins were too weighty, and of theſe alſo they took the like advantage.

Moreover, ſuch merchants' ſervants as ſtill kept their maſters' running-caſh, had fallen into a way of clandeſtinely lending the ſame to the goldſmiths, at 4*d* per cent per diem, who, by theſe and ſuch-like means, were enabled to lend out great quantities of caſh to neceſſitous merchants and others, weekly or monthly, at high intereſt; and alſo began to diſcount the merchants' bills, at the like or an higher rate of intereſt. Much about the ſame time, they (the goldſmiths or bankers) began to receive the rents of gentlemens eſtates, remitted to town, and to allow them, and others who put caſh into their hands, ſome intereſt for it, if it remained but for a ſingle month in their hands, or even a leſſer time. This was a great allurement for people to put their money in their hands; which would bear intereſt till the day they wanted it, (ſomewhat like our modern Eaſt-India company's bonds.) And they could alſo draw it out by L100 or L50, &c. at a time, as they wanted it, with infinitely leſs trouble than if they had lent it out on either real or perſonal ſecurity. The conſequence was, that it quickly brought a great caſh into their hands; ſo that the chief or greateſt of them were now enabled to ſupply Cromwell with money in advance on the revenues, as his occaſions required, upon great advantages to themſelves.

After the reſtoration, King Charles being in want of money, the bankers took 10 per cent of him, barefacedly; and, by private contracts on many bills, orders, tallies, and debts, of that king's, they got 20, ſometimes 30, per cent, to the great diſhonour of the government. This great gain induced the goldſmiths more and more to become lenders to the king; to anticipate all the revenue; to take every grant of parliament into pawn as ſoon as it was given; alſo to outvie each other in buying and taking to pawn bills, orders, and tallies; ſo that, in effect, all the revenue paſſed through their hands. And ſo they went on till the fatal ſhutting of the exchequer in the year 1672; of which in its place. Since the happy revolution in 1688, our legiſlators have put it out of the power of the crown alone to make anticipations on parliamentary grants, which can only be done by a clauſe or clauſes in ſuch reſpective ſtatutes.

By a treaty of commerce now concluded between the queen regent

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of France, in the minority of Louis XIV, and the king and kingdom of Denmark, it was ſtipulated, 'that French ſhips, or ſhips hired or 'laden by Frenchmen *, paſſing the famous Sound of Denmark, whither-'ſoever they may be bound or may come from, or what goods ſoever 'they may have on board, ſhall not be obliged to pay any more toll 'than that agreed this ſame year in a table of this toll with the Dutch.' And the French ſhall pay the ſame for ſea-beacons and fires as the Dutch pay. And that both kingdoms ſhall in general enjoy freedom of commerce in each other's reſpective kingdom.

In the Collection of orders, ordinances, and declarations of parliament, (printed for E. Huſband, printer to the houſe of commons, in folio, 1646) we have a liſt [*p.* 665] of the public navy, and alſo of the merchant ſhips, ſet forth in the ſummer 1645, by order of parliament, viz.

	Tons.	*Men.*	*Guns.*
One ſhip (Vice-admiral Blyth) of -	875	280	50
One of - - - -	600	170	40
One (Rear-admiral Owen) of - -	575	170	40
One of - - - - -	557	170	38
One of - - - -	520	170	38
One of - - - -	559	160	38
One (under Vice-admiral Batten) of -	650	260	36
One of - - - -	512	160	36
One of - - - -	500	150	36

The reſt conſiſted of 17 ſmaller ſhips, from 400 tons, 110 men, and 28 guns, down to 80 tons, 45 men, and 8 guns; ſo that here is only one ſhip which could at all be admitted, in our days, into a line of battle.

The Royal ſovereign, built ten years before, and perhaps ſeveral other large ſhips of war were either ſtill under the king's command, or elſe were not as yet judged neceſſary. There were alſo ſix pinks and frigates, of each 50 tons burden; and eighteen merchant ſhips, from 405 tons, 121 men, and 29 guns, down to 106 tons, 59 men, and 12 guns. Probably this was the greateſt part of the parliament's naval force. Yet, at this time, there aroſe a great coolneſs and jealouſy between this parliament and the Dutch republic; the Dutch, through the prince of Orange's influence, having ſhewn a manifeſt partiality to the king's ſide, which the parliament at this time cloſely argued with the ſtates-general, in a long and ſharp declaration or remonſtrance, printed in the book of ordinances. The parliament therefor ſoon found it needful to increaſe their marine, as foreſeeing a ſtorm from that quarter.

1646.—By an ordinance of the lords and commons in parliament, in

*. The French had at this time ſo few ſhips of their own that this diſtinction was very neceſſary. *A.*

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the year 1646, it was enacted, that from the 24th February 1645, old ſtile, the court of wards and liveries, and all wardſhips, liveries, premier-ſeiſins, and ouſtre-les-mains, be taken away; and that all tenures by homage, and all fines, licences, ſeizures, and pardons for alienation, be likewiſe taken away: as alſo, that all tenures by knights-ſervice either of his majeſty or of others, or by knights-ſervice or ſoccage in capité of his majeſty, be turned into free and common ſoccage. Which ordinance was amply confirmed by an act of the protector and his parliament in the year 1656.

The removal of theſe antient Norman badges of ſervitude, or ſomething too near akin to ſlavery, was thought ſo reaſonable, though now enacted by the lords and commons without the king, with whom they were at war, that, upon the reſtoration of Charles II, it was confirmed by an act of the legiſlature, as will be ſeen in its place. Servitude or vaſſalage is in its conſequences ever obſtructive of commerce and induſtry, and therefor ought to be aboliſhed in all free and wiſe governments. In a fawning letter from Sir Robert Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's ſecretary, to King James of Scotland in the year 1601, amongſt other points he exhorts him in the words following, 'to diſſolve the 'court of wards,' (in England) on the ſuppoſition of his undoubtedly ſucceeding the queen, 'being the ruin of all the noble and antient 'families of this realm, by baſe matches and evil education of children, by which no revenue of the crown will be defrayed.' [*Appendix to Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of Scotland, V.* ii, *p.* 117, *ed.* 1759.]

By another printed ordinance of the lords and commons, we ſee ſomewhat of the ſtate of the commerce of the Engliſh American plantations, reciting, 'that whereas the ſeveral plantations of Virginia, Bermudas, Barbados, and other places of America, have been much beneficial to this kingdom, by the increaſe of navigation, and of the 'cuſtoms ariſing from the commodities of the growth of thoſe plantations imported into this kingdom; and as goods and neceſſaries carried thither from hence have not hitherto paid any cuſtom, for the 'better carrying on of the ſaid plantations, it is now ordained by the 'lords and commons in parliament, that all merchandize, goods, and 'neceſſaries, for the ſupportation, uſe, and expenſe of the ſaid plantations, ſhall pay no cuſtom nor duty for the ſame, the duty of exciſe 'only excepted for three years to come, except to the plantations in 'Newfoundland: ſecurity being given here, and certificates from thence, 'that the ſaid goods be really exported thither, and for the only uſe of 'the ſaid plantations: provided always, that none in any of the ports 'of the ſaid plantations do ſuffer any ſhip or veſſel to lade any goods of 'the growth of the plantations, and carry them to foreign parts, except in Engliſh bottoms, under forfeiture of the before-named exemption from cuſtoms.' Hereby the foundation was laid for the naviga-

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tion acts afterwards, which may be juſtly termed the commercial palladium of Britain. We ſhall alſo ſee this wiſe proviſo farther legally enacted after the reſtoration of King Charles II, by the famous acts of navigation.

It is but too true, that both the Engliſh and Dutch continued too long to depreſs Spain, and too long to encourage the preponderation of the power and ſtrength of France, whereby, even ſo early as this time, the balance of power, with reſpect to thoſe two nations, was much endangered. Thus the Orange party in Holland, jealous of the oppoſite democratical party, made Admiral Van Trump, in the years 1644, 45, and 46, block up the ports of Graveling, Mardyk, and Dunkirk, until they at length fell finally into the hands of France: and, in recompenſe, France made many ſeizures of Dutch ſhips in the Mediterranean, &c. whereby, it is ſaid, the democratical merchants of Amſterdam alone loſt ten millions of gilders.

According to Savary's *Dictionaire univerſelle du commerce*, the manufacture of fine woollen cloth was now firſt ſet on foot at Sedan by three Frenchmen, who had a patent for twenty years, to be the ſole directors of the manufacture of black as well as coloured cloths: and for their encouragement, they had each a penſion of 500 livres for life, and their children were thereby nobilitated in France, and their foreign workmen declared to be denizens of France, free from being quartered on by ſoldiers, and from all taxes and exciſes. The directors were alſo allowed 8000 livres yearly for carrying on that manufacture during the ſaid term. And the ſucceſs has even exceeded expectation, the Sedan cloths having been brought to great perfection.

Thus we ſee, that Cardinal Mazarine trode in the ſteps of his predeceſſor Richlieu, and we cannot wonder at the improvements made by France in almoſt every ſpecies of manufacture, when we ſee ſuch great and early encouragements given to the promoters of them.

1647.—At this time the feebleneſs and decline of Spain were very apparent. Her want of manufactures, product, and other neceſſaries, within herſelf, for ſupplying her vaſt American colonies, occaſioning all the gold and ſilver brought thence to be paid away as faſt as they received it, to the Engliſh, Dutch, French, Germans, and Italians, for all kinds of neceſſaries for the colonies. Moreover, the ſcarcity of people in Spain, compared to the great extent of that country, was now ſadly felt, partly occaſioned by the expulſion of ſo vaſt a number of Moors and Jews, and partly by permitting ſuch numbers of people to go over from time to time entirely to ſettle in America; ſo that Spain was become more than half deſolate, and even thoſe ſtill remaining in it were become the moſt idle, lazy, and indolent, people of any civilized nation. It was certain, they could not find people enough of their own for cultivating their lands, and were obliged to employ poor French people,

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as indeed they have to this time done, to come every year over the Pyrenean mountains into Spain, for getting in their harveſts. This melancholy ſituation is by ſome authors ſaid to have put the Spaniſh court upon conſultation, about the middle of this century, whether it might not be adviſeable for the king and his court, &c. to remove to and ſettle entirely in America, in conſideration of their not having a ſufficiency of people for the joint preſervation of the Spaniſh dominions both in Europe and America. In the next ſucceeding reign of King Charles II, Spain grew ſtill more feeble: yet, after all, ſhe has ſince, through wiſer counſels, been able to weather moſt of her misfortunes, and is, in our days, in a more proſperous condition than ſhe had been for above 130 years backward.

The lords and commons of the Engliſh parliament now wiſely and abſolutely prohibited the exportation of Engliſh wool. They alſo iſſued a proclamation for ſupporting the privileges and charters of the ſociety of the merchant-adventurers of England, who, in this year, had removed their foreign reſidence or comptoir from Delft to Dort. And our woollen trade at this time was in a very proſperous condition.

Yet, through many various misfortunes, and eſpecially the many encroachments and cruelties of the Dutch company, the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's trade ſeems to have been at this time almoſt quite ſunk, or at leaſt much decayed.

It was about this year that the Caribbee iſland of Marygalante was begun to be planted by the French. Such parts of it as are plain and not quite barren they cultivated very well, chiefly for the growth of tobacco: but it is ſaid to be in general very mountainous. Columbus, in the year 1493, named it after his own ſhip.

England's wealth and commerce at this time muſt have been very conſiderable, ſince, notwithſtanding the interruptions which a ſix years civil war muſt have occaſioned, the lords and commons had raiſed upwards of forty millions ſterling for the war againſt the king, between the years 1641 and 1647, or about L6,666,666 : 13 : 4 per annum, [*Royal treaſury of England*, *p.* 297, 8*vo*, 1725] beſide what the king had raiſed in the counties where his intereſt was predominant.

1648.—The pitch and tar manufacture of Sweden was in early times a very conſiderable part of their commerce. The principal ports from whence thoſe articles were of old exported to the reſt of Europe, were Stockholm and Wyburg. But Queen Chriſtiana having, in the year 1648, erected a joint-ſtock tar company, excluſive of all others, whereby they were ſaid to have doubled their capital every three years, thoſe monopoliſts laid ſuch exorbitant prices on pitch and tar, they obliging themſelves by that charter to take off all that was made in the kingdom, that even ſuch parts of Sweden as before made no tar were then obliged to fall into the making of it, whereby the quantity was greatly

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increaſed in ſuch parts of Sweden as were not within the limits of that company's patent, which almoſt ruined them. However, by freſh aids they recovered again, and ſo lately as the beginning of the eighteenth century, their monopoly brought ſome diſtreſs upon this kingdom, which in the end was productive of much good, as will appear under the year 1703.

The long and bloody wars between the houſe of Auſtria on one ſide, and France and Sweden on the other ſide, at length brought on the famous treaty of Weſtphalia. England had indeed no concern therein, being too deeply engaged at home; yet as this memorable pacification conſiderably affected all the other great potentates of Chriſtendom, it well deſerves a due animadverſion in this work, as far as more immediately relates to our ſubject.

I) In the German empire France obtained a conſiderable acceſſion of dominion. Sweden got a great part of Pomerania, with the archbiſhopric of Bremen, now ſecularized and converted into a dukedom, and alſo the biſhopric ſince called the principality of Verden: the duke of Bavaria gained all the upper palatinate, and was made an elector of the empire.

II) Spain, growing continually more feeble, by this treaty found herſelf obliged to conclude a ſolid and perpetual peace with the ſtates-general of the ſeven United provinces of the Netherlands, by renouncing all former claims and pretenſions, and acknowleging them to be free and independent ſovereigns. And indeed if the Spaniards had good reaſons for agreeing to this peace with the Dutch, as it was commonly believed that their war with them had coſt no leſs than 1,500,000,000 of ducats, the Dutch on the other hand had ground to be equally pleaſed therewith, not only for the immediate advantage and honour thereby redounding to them, but likewiſe becauſe they now began too plainly to perceive the ſcale of France to preponderate; and that, if Spain ſhould be reduced too low, France might become (as has ſince been often experienced) a very dangerous neighbour to them, by robbing Spain of many of the nobleſt and ſtrongeſt towns of her Netherlands.

III) This treaty adjuſted the ſecurity of the trade and navigation to both the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. The rule of *uti poſſidetis* being now to take place between Spain and Holland, not only in both the Indies, but alſo (with reſpect to Holland and Portugal) in Braſil, and on the weſt coaſt of Africa, as far as Spain had any claims. Spain was moreover hereby to keep her navigation to the Eaſt-Indies in the ſame manner they then held it, without being at liberty to extend it farther *. Nei-

* Spain's only communication with the Eaſt-Indies, then and ever ſince, was from New Spain. This condition was therefor prudently ſtipulated by the Dutch. *A.*

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ther were the inhabitants of the Spaniſh Low countries to frequent the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies *.

IV) With regard to the Weſt-Indies or America, the ſubjects of Spain and Holland were mutually to abſtain from ſailing to, or trading in, any of the harbours, places, &c. poſſeſſed by the one or the other party there.

V) The river Scheldt, as alſo the canals of Sas and Swyn, and other mouths of rivers diſemboguing themſelves there, were ſtipulated to be kept ſhut on the ſide of the lords the ſtates-general †.

VI) It was ſtipulated that the Hanſe towns ſhould enjoy all the ſame rights, privileges, &c. in the dominions of Spain, which by this treaty were, or ſhould in future be, granted to the ſubjects of the ſtates-general; and reciprocally, the ſubjects of the ſtates-general were to enjoy the ſame privileges, &c. in Spain as the Hanſeatics; whether for eſtabliſhing conſuls in the capital ports of Spain, or elſewhere, as ſhould be needful, or for the freedom of their merchants, factors, &c. and in like ſort as the Hanſe towns have formerly enjoyed, or ſhall hereafter obtain, for the ſecurity of their navigation and commerce. The Dutch were alſo to enjoy the ſame privileges, &c. in Spain as the king of Great Britain's ſubjects did; and honourable places were to be appointed for the interment of ſuch of the ſubjects of the ſtates-general as ſhould happen to die in the Spaniſh dominions. The king of Spain, moreover, obliged himſelf effectually to procure the continuation and obſervation of the neutrality and amity of the emperor and empire with the ſtates-general of the United Netherlands. [*General Collection of treaties, V.* ii, *p.* 335, *ed.* 1732.]

There was alſo a ſeparate article relating to the freedom of commerce on both ſides; againſt the carrying of contraband goods to the enemy's countries; and reſpecting the ſearching of ſhips, paſſports, &c. needleſs here to be particularized. It is ſufficient upon the whole to obſerve, that the ſtates-general of the United Netherlands by this honourable treaty gained the ſolid and laſting means of greatly enriching their people, by improving and extending their commerce, already grown to an amazing height in Eaſt-India, as well as in Africa and Europe. And here we cannot omit a circumſtance which, though in itſelf it may appear inconſiderable, demonſtrates the ſuperiority of the Dutch in this treaty. The count of Oldenburg earneſtly requeſted the ſtates-general to be included in the treaty: but by decrees of the 23d of May and the 6th of Auguſt it was denied him; 'becauſe he had for many years de-

* This was urged to good purpoſe by Great Britain and Holland againſt the emperor Charles VI, when he ſet up the Oſtend company to trade from Flanders to the Eaſt-Indies. *A.*

† This was for preventing the revival of the trade of Antwerp, which ſtill languiſhes under the deprivation of its maritime commerce. *A.*

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'manded toll on the Weſer, in order to diſcourage and obſtruct com-
'merce, eſpecially that of this ſtate.'

Spain at this time was become ſo feeble in point of naval affairs as to be obliged to hire Dutch veſſels for carrying on her American commerce.

On the other hand (as fortune is ſeldom favourable every where) the Dutch Weſt-India company was this year driven out of Angola in Africa by the Portugueſe.

1649.—It is ſaid that the Engliſh Ruſſia company remained ſole maſters of the commerce to Archangel till the death of King Charles I, when it ſeems the Dutch, having by that time gained a powerful influence at the Ruſſian court, the miniſters thereof laid hold of that opportunity, on pretence of revenge againſt a nation who had murdered their king, to introduce the Dutch into the Archangel trade, upon condition of paying 15 per cent on all imports and exports. Whereby they reaped ſuch advantage that the Poliſh envoy, in 1689, affirmed they had in that year 200 factors at Archangel. [*Harris's Coll. of voyages, V.* ii, *p.* 223.] This ſeems to be a more probable ſtate of the Ruſſian trade than that of the author of the Relation of the earl of Carliſle's embaſſy to Ruſſia in the year 1663, who, in his introduction, inſinuates that the czar Alexis Michaelowitz had aboliſhed the company's privileges purely out of reſentment of the diſloyalty of ſome of the members of our company to their late ſovereign: for in fact their privileges were aboliſhed the year preceding King Charles's death. It is true indeed that this czar had expreſſed great indignation againſt thoſe concerned in King Charles's death, and that he had lent his ſon King Charles II, while in exile, 40,000 crowns, (King Charles I having lent this czar's father 40,000 dollars, beſide forces) which was punctually repaid. But this reſentment of the czar was no other than a political pretext, as appears by the earl of Carliſle's embaſſy: for although his lordſhip remonſtrated, that, as the foundation of the good correſpondence between the two nations was laid in the excluſive privileges granted to the Engliſh company, who firſt eſtabliſhed the traffic to Archangel, ſo the king his maſter earneſtly deſired their re-eſtabliſhment: yet the czar perſiſted in his refuſal, even alleging that one Luke Nightingale had been ſecretly ſent to him by King Charles I, to deſire the abolition of thoſe privileges; (a moſt improbable thing) to which other frivolous reaſons were ſuperadded. But it ſeems the true reaſon was the Dutch contract, as above: although it was alleged that the company had carried foreign merchandize through Ruſſia without paying any cuſtom, which had occaſioned a general complaint of the Ruſſia merchants, factors, and tradeſmen, that the Engliſh engroſſed all their trade, and grew vaſtly rich, whilſt the czar's own ſubjects were thereby impoveriſhed. It was farther ſhamefully alleged, that all the Engliſh merchants, to whom the privileges were firſt granted, were dead, and that their privileges expired

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with them. To all which the earl of Carliſle replied, that it was well known that many of the Engliſh in Ruſſia were loyal, and teſtified an abhorrence of their king's murder; that Nightingale was an impoſtor, and was never employed by the king; and that our company had never neglected to furniſh the czar's treaſury with cloth, tin, lead, pewter, and all other Engliſh commodities, at a cheaper rate than either the Dutch or the Hamburghers could do, although they hardly could ever be paid without bribing the czar's officers. He alſo utterly denied the company's being guilty of importing tobacco, of trading in prohibited goods, of carrying foreign goods through the country cuſtom-free. And with reſpect to the allegation, that as the firſt merchants were dead, their privileges died with them, thoſe privileges were ever underſtood to have been granted to the Engliſh nation, and not to any particular perſons, and were therefor perpetual. The czar's commiſſioners trifled moſt egregiouſly in their conferences with Lord Carliſle: ſo that being tired with delays, he got a private audience with the czar, in which he repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms the reaſonable grounds of King Charles's deſiring the reſtoration of the company's privileges, confirmed by this vēry czar at his acceſſion in the year 1645; that the Engliſh firſt opened a profitable trade for Ruſſia as well as for England, at the expenſe of many lives, and the loſs of ſhips and money; that the Engliſh had fought the enemies of Ruſſia in the Eaſt (or Baltic) ſea, when the neighbouring princes had leagued together to ſhut up Narva; that they had lent ſums of money for the wars, furniſhed ſoldiers and commanders to fight the enemies of Ruſſia, and had made peace for them with the neighbouring princes. Yet after a great deal of pains taken by that lord, the czar and his miniſters perſiſted in their refuſal of reſtoring our company's excluſive privileges. So he returned unſucceſsfully home in 1669: and all that could be obtained was only, that the company might trade to Ruſſia on the ſame footing as the Dutch. And thus from thenceforth they have remained a regulated company, much reſembling the other regulated ones of the Hamburgh and Turkey companies; each member trading on his own private bottom, paying a ſmall ſum on admiſſion, and certain annual dues, for defraying the general expenſe of the company.

The Caribbee iſland of St. Croix had, it ſeems, in early times been ſubject to many maſters in a ſhort ſpace. The French hiſtorian of the Caribbees obſerves that the Engliſh and Dutch had long conteſted the property of it; and that at length they divided it between them: yet in the year 1649 the Engliſh obliged the Dutch inhabitants to quit the iſland. Soon after, the Spaniards of Porto Rico invaded it, burnt their houſes, killed all the Engliſh who reſiſted, and obliged the reſt to tranſport themſelves to Barbuda. But whilſt thoſe Spaniards were about to return back to Porto Rico, two armed French ſhips arrived there

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in 1650 and overpowered the Spaniards, obliging them to return forthwith to Porto Rico. Here the French ſettled themſelves, and have held it ever ſince.

The Danes have held the Caribbee iſland of St. Thomas for many years paſt, (though the exact year of its firſt ſettlement be uncertain.) It is one of the cluſter of numerous ſmall iſlands ſituated to the eaſt of Porto Rico, called the Virgin iſlands, moſt of which are uninhabited and barren: is about ſeven leagues in compaſs; a free port; and by its ſituation very capable of commerce, eſpecially of a contraband ſort, with the neighbouring iſlands and territories of other European nations, in which it has often been very ſucceſsful.

We have before related, that in the year 1636 King Charles granted a monopoly patent for the ſole coining of copper or braſs farthings, though they were not then to be forced upon poor people. Yet it appears from Mr. Drake's Hiſtory and antiquities of York that in this year, 1649, there ſtill were private tradeſmen's copper halfpence in that city, of many of which (and particularly one of this year from the collection of James Weſt, Eſq.) he has exhibited the prints. He alleges, that theſe began firſt to be in uſe in the time of the uſurpation: and indeed the practice of ſuch private copper coins was not effectually reſtrained until the 24th year of King Charles II, (1672) when the king's public ones took place in their ſtead by his proclamation: whereby farthings and halfpence, made and uſed till then by private perſons in trade and commerce, were expreſsly prohibited to be either paid or received in trade any more. This was a very needful and much-wanted regulation, more eſpecially in retail trades.

An ordinance of the Engliſh lords and commons made in this year directs the new gold coins of their commonwealth to be of 20*ſ*, 10*ſ*, and 5*ſ* value; and their ſilver ones of 5*ſ*, 2*ſ*6, 1*ſ*, 6*d*, 2*d*, 1*d*, and $\frac{1}{2}d$*.

In Thurloe's Collection of ſtate-papers [*V.* i, *pp.* 127, 226] under this year we learn, that Mr. Strickland, the Engliſh commonwealth's reſident in Holland, acquainted the Engliſh council of ſtate, that the ſtates-general of the United Netherlands had juſt concluded a treaty with the king of Denmark, whereby they farmed of him the toll of the Sound for about L35000 ſterling yearly. So that all nations as well as the Dutch themſelves were now to pay this toll at Amſterdam, which was always before collected at Elſinore. And even the Swedes, who before claimed an exemption from this toll, were now compelled to pay it at Amſterdam likewiſe.

* Such ſmall pieces as ſilver halfpence muſt have been very troubleſome; and there could have been no uſe for them, if regular legal copper money was then in circulation. We have ſeen in our own days the quarter-guineas of gold coin, and all the ſilver coins under ſixpence, laid by as curioſities, rather than uſeful circulating money. How much more minute and trifling muſt ſilver halfpence have been, which were then worth no more than the twenty-fourth part of our preſent ſhilling. *A.*

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In the ſame collection, [*V.* i, *p.* 227] we ſee a paper of this year, entitled, Some conſiderations offered relating to the embaſſy for Sweden, whereby we learn, that wiſe men, even ſo long ago, foreſaw of how much conſequence our continental plantations in America might prove to us in reſpect of naval ſtores. The words are theſe, viz. 'the Swedes cannot be ignorant how that in time our plantations may furniſh us with thoſe commodities we have from them, and the utility of the ſending their commodities to us, and the danger of the loſs of ſuch a branch of trade may oblige them to an union with us: whereas they cannot run that hazard in a breach with Holland.'

How much to our ſhame is this judicious remark; ſince, after ſo long a ſpace, we have done ſo little for bringing that to perfection, which probably might well have been done in half the time, to our ineſtimable benefit, had we ſet about it more effectually? Yet ſo far have we there advanced already in raiſing ſundry kinds of naval ſtores, that in half a century more we have reaſon to hope to be quite independent of a nation, which has ſometimes taken no ſmall advantage of our neceſſity.

The magiſtrates of the city of Bruges invited the Engliſh company of merchant-adventurers to return to that city, which was their antient reſidence; to which the company replied in ſubſtance, that their city muſt firſt take off the lycent and other town-rights; that our company muſt be ſure of the free exerciſe of their religion there; and they muſt alſo be freed from all tolls whatſoever in ſailingup from the port of Sluyce to Bruges. The laſt point, I apprehend, was not in the power of Bruges to grant, ſince the town, port, and territory, of Sluyce were poſſeſſed by the ſtates of the United Netherlands; which probably was the main reaſon for our company's not complying with that invitation: for as the reſidence or comptoir of this company was at this time at Dort in Holland, it is not likely, that the Dutch (with whom too the Engliſh commonwealth was not at this time in very good terms) would ever agree to loſe ſo great a benefit by its removal to Bruges in the dominions of another potentate. [*Thurloe*, *V.* i, *p.* 129.]

Of how great benefit it would prove to the Britiſh commerce and dominions on the continent of North America, to civilize and chriſtianize the native Indians (even abſtracting from a reaſonable hope of a bleſſing from heaven on ſuch endeavours) needs not to be told to wiſe and experienced perſons, who know how much the French in Canada were benefited thereby, to our great detriment; they having had great numbers of prieſts amongſt their Indians for that end: they alſo brought the poorer French of both ſexes to intermarry with the Indians; whereby they in ſome meaſure became one common nation together. This has been far from being the practice in our Engliſh plantations: yet we ought to do juſtice to the New-England clergy and people, by acknowleging that they have done much more than all our other colonies to-

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ward chriſtianizing their pagan Indians. To ſecond ſuch endeavours the rump parliament this year erected a corporation for propagating the goſpel amongſt thoſe Indians, conſiſting of a preſident, treaſurer, and fourteen aſſiſtants: and by an act of that ſame ſeſſion of parliament, collections were made all over England for that end, whereby that corporation was enabled to purchaſe an eſtate of about L600 per annum. This corporation was legally eſtabliſhed and incorporated at the reſtoration of King Charles II, the famous philoſopher Mr. Boyle being then appointed their firſt preſident. And it remains a corporation to this day, continuing to ſend over miſſionaries to the frontiers of New England, &c. with treatiſes of inſtruction and devotion for the uſe of the Indians. They have alſo erected ſundry ſchools for inſtructing the children of the Indians. There is alſo continued to this day an annual collection all over New-England for the ſame purpoſe.

The ſalt-ponds of the iſland of St. Martins in the Weſt-Indies induced the Spaniards to build a fort on it: yet about this year they diſmantled it and quitted the iſland; whereupon the Dutch from St. Euſtatia took poſſeſſion of it. The French, however, pretending to have been poſſeſſed of it before the Spaniards, ſent alſo a colony thither. And their countryman, whom we have already had frequent occaſion to quote, ſays, (in 1658) that the French and Dutch then lived there friendly together.

1650.—The Engliſh colonies of Virginia, Barbados, Antigua, and Bermudas, being in diſorder on account of their zealous attachment to the royal family, the rump parliament, in the year 1650, by an ordinance prohibited all correſpondence with them, unleſs by ſpecial leave from the council of ſtate. That ordinance alſo granted permiſſion to all merchant-ſhips, as well as national ſhips of war, to ſeize on the ſhips and merchandize of thoſe, then ſtiled rebellious inhabitants. And whereas many diſaffected royaliſts reſorted thither in foreign ſhips, a clauſe was inſerted for prohibiting (under forfeiture of ſhips and goods) any foreigners from reſorting to, or trading thither, without a licence, on any pretext whatever. This prohibition was probably on a temporary and political conſideration; yet we ſhall ſoon ſee this Engliſh republic endeavour abſolutely to confine the commerce with our colonies to the people of England alone.

By this time the commerce of the ſeven United provinces of the Netherlands was arrived at its zenith; for teſtimony whereof we have the authoritative opinion of Sir William Temple, in the 6th chapter of his Obſervations on the United provinces, written in the year 1673. 'I am of opinion (ſays that great author) that trade has for ſome years 'ago paſt its meridian, and begun ſenſibly to decay among them: 'whereof there ſeem to be ſeveral cauſes; as firſt, the general applica- 'tion that ſo many other nations have made to it within theſe two or

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'three and twenty years. For ſince the peace of Munſter, which re-
'ſtored the quiet of Chriſtendom, in 1648, not only Sweden and Den-
'mark, but France and England, have more particularly than ever be-
'fore buſied the thoughts and counſels of their ſeveral governments, as
'well as the humours of their people, about the matters of trade. Nor
'has this happened without good degrees of ſucceſs, though kingdoms
'of ſuch extent, that have other and nobler foundations of greatneſs,
'cannot raiſe trade to ſuch a pitch as this little ſtate, which had no
'other to build upon; no more than a man, who has a fair and plenti-
'ful eſtate, can fall to labour and induſtry like one that has nothing
'elſe to truſt to for the ſupport of his life. But, however, all theſe na-
'tions have come of late to ſhare largely with them; and there ſeem to
'be grown too many traders for trade in the world, ſo as they can
'hardly live one by another. As in a great populous village the firſt
'grocer, or mercer, that ſets up among them, grows preſently rich,
'having all the cuſtom; till another, encouraged by his ſucceſs, comes
'to ſet up by him, and ſhare in his gains: at length ſo many fall to the
'trade that nothing is got by it, and ſome muſt give over, or all muſt
'break.'

We ſhall not preſume dogmatically to combat ſo great a man's opi-nion concerning this pretty compariſon: yet we may here obſerve that poſſibly every one may not admit the parallel exactly to hold with regard to the commerce of the world in general, which, doubtleſs, has ſundry new reſources; new countries ſtill to be diſcovered and traded to; and the trade to other countries before known may be ſtill greatly increaſed: moreover the vaſt improvement of the American plantations ſince Sir William Temple's time, as well as of the Eaſt-India trade, ſeems to evince, that although the Dutch trade be long ſince paſt its meridian, yet the general commerce of Europe is viſibly increaſed ſince the year 1673, when he wrote.

Nothing can more effectually demonſtrate the benefit of commerce in general, and the prodigious increaſe of it in Holland at this time, than the great penſionary De Witt's account (in his Intereſt of Holland) of the ſingle province of Holland being able, in the year 1650, to ſuſtain the weight of, and pay the annual intereſt on, ſo great a debt as 140,000,000 of gilders, contracted by their war with Spain, beſides other debts not at intereſt, amounting to 13,000,000 more. 'A capital
'debt (ſays our author) upon intereſt, which will not be believed by
'other nations, nor poſſibly by our ſucceſſors in Holland, to have been
'born by ſo ſmall a province, and at the ſame time many other heavy
'taxes, for the defence of themſelves and their allies.'

The worſted manufactures of Norwich and its neighbourhood, known by the name of Norwich ſtuffs, being now arrived at a great pitch of reputation by their great vent in foreign parts as well as at home, the

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rump parliament in the year 1650, by their act [*c.* 36] eſtabliſhed a corporation of the worſted weavers of the city of Norwich, in the county of Norfolk, for rectifying abuſes therein, and keeping up the goodneſs of that valuable manufacture: which corporation was again farther confirmed in the years 1653 and 1656, ſince which, the reputation of thoſe ſtuffs, both for beauty and goodneſs, has greatly increaſed; and very great profit has accrued to the nation by their large exportation to foreign parts.

De Witt in his Intereſt of Holland [*part* iii, *c.* 2] relates that Amſterdam was now increaſed to 600 morgens (or acres) of ground, and contained 300,000 ſouls. In the year 1571 it contained only 200 morgens; ſo that in 79 years it had increaſed to three times its former magnitude.

That great author, who being the firſt miniſter of ſtate of Holland, was undoubtedly perfectly well acquainted with this ſubject, farther obſerves, that the whole province of Holland contains ſcarcely 400,060 profitable morgens of land (downs and heath being excluded). And that therefor the eighth part of its inhabitants cannot be ſuſtained by what is raiſed in it; and they are therefor indebted for their bread to the prodigious granaries of Amſterdam. On this ſubject the anonymous author of the Happy future ſtate of England, [*p.* 105, *folio*, 1689] obſerves 'how 'meanly the achievements of Venice, and the efforts to aggrandize 'their republic appear in hiſtory, notwithſtanding the longevity of that 'ſtate, when compared with thoſe of Holland; ſeeing from the ſame 'great author (De Witt) it appears, that in the year 1664 the province 'of Holland alone paid near one million and an half ſterling to the 'public charge of the whole ſeven United provinces, over and above 'the cuſtoms and other domains:' and 'that the very religion of 'popery occaſions the Venetians to be more circumſcribed with regard 'even to their regulations of traffic than the Hollanders are.' Yet this author, in making ſuch a parallel, might have more minutely conſidered the very different circumſtances and ſituation, &c. of thoſe two famous republics. Venice ſhut up in a deep gulf, remote from the main ocean, bordering for above three centuries paſt on the Turkiſh empire, during which it has thereby been kept in perpetual alarm, as well as by the Barbary corſairs in the Mediterranean. Holland, on the other hand, placed as it were in the very midſt of Europe, and therefor much better ſituated for correſponding, both by ſea and land, with moſt countries of the world, as well as happily ſituated alſo for its immenſe fiſheries; whereas Venice has no ſuch advantages.

The Caribbee iſland of Anguilla was now firſt ſettled on by ſome Engliſh people, whoſe poſterity ſtill hold it. It is reckoned of much the ſame nature with Barbuda, viz. chiefly for breeding cattle and raiſing corn. The people are reckoned few in number, poor and lazy, with-

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out government, laws, or clergy. Yet in the year 1745 they, with only about 100 men, repulſed 600 French invaders with great bravery, and killed 150 of them.

About this time the French made a great ſettlement on the great iſland of Madagaſcar, (to which they gave the name of l'iſle Dauphin) and erected a fort near the ſouth-weſt point of the iſland. Yet, after keeping poſſeſſion of it for many years, they at length abandoned it; its commerce not anſwering the charge of keeping up the forts, garriſons, &c.

The favourers of the new Engliſh commonwealth, obſerving the great conveniency of the banks and lumber offices of the free ſtates of Italy, and of thoſe of Amſterdam, firſt began, about this time, to publiſh ſeveral projects for thoſe purpoſes in London; and one Samuel Lamb, a merchant, in the year 1657, addreſſed a large folio pamphlet to Cromwell the protector on this ſubject, though nothing was done in conſequence thereof.

1651.—In the year 1651 the rump parliament, taking into their conſideration, that the intereſt of money in ſundry parts beyond ſea was lower than the legal intereſt of it in England, whereby thoſe Engliſh merchants, who carried on their commerce on credit with other men's money, undoubtedly traded to diſadvantage in reſpect to the merchants of other countries; and that high intereſt keeps down the price of land, prudently reduced the legal intereſt of money from eight to ſix per cent; [*Thurloe, V.* i, *p.* 472] which rate of intereſt was confirmed after the reſtoration.

Sir Thomas Culpepper ſenior, in the preface to his ſecond tract againſt the high rate of uſury, publiſhed in 1641, remarks that 'within half 'an age we have ſeen many improvements of land, and a vaſt increaſe 'of the bulk of trade, by the abatement of intereſt.' He farther remarks, 'that it will ſeem incredible to ſuch as have not conſidered it, 'but to any that will caſt it up, it is plainly manifeſt that L100, at 10 'in the hundred, in 70 years multiplies itſelf to L100,000. So if there 'ſhould be L100,000 of foreigners money now managed here at 10 per 'cent intereſt, (and that doth ſeem no great matter) that L100,000 in '70 years ſpace would carry out ten millions of money!' As in our preſent times Britain is obliged to pay to foreign nations the annual intereſt of many millions of our national debt, the above remark is an uſeful argument in favour of the preſent low intereſt thereon.

The rump parliament of England now made another moſt excellent and memorable law for the advancement of our ſhipping, navigation, and plantations. It had been obſerved with concern that the merchants of England, for ſeveral years paſt, had uſually freighted Dutch ſhipping for fetching home their own merchandize, becauſe their freight was at a lower rate than that of Engliſh ſhips. The Dutch ſhipping were thereby made uſe of even for importing our own American products; whilſt

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our own ſhipping lay rotting in our harbours: our mariners alſo, for want of employment at home, went into the ſervice of the Dutch. To theſe conſiderations were ſuperadded the haughty carriage of the ſtates of Holland upon the parliament's demand of ſatisfaction for the murder of their envoy, Dr. Doriſlaus, at the Hague; and for the inſult put upon the ambaſſador they ſent afterwards, whoſe propoſals the ſtates alſo had received very coldly: all which jointly conſidered determined the parliament to enact, that no merchandize, either of Aſia, Africa, or America, including alſo our own plantations there, ſhould be imported into England in any but Engliſh-built ſhips, and belonging either to Engliſh or to Engliſh-plantation ſubjects, navigated alſo by Engliſh commanders, and three-fourths of the ſailors Engliſhmen: excepting, however, ſuch merchandize as ſhould be imported directly from the original place of its growth or manufacture in Europe ſolely. Moreover, no fiſh ſhould thenceforward be imported into England or Ireland, nor exported from thence to foreign parts, nor even from one of our own home ports to another, but what is caught by our own fiſhers only. This was the firſt famous general act, commonly called *the act of navigation*: and as it was nine years after confirmed (like the preceding one for the reduction of intereſt of money) we ſhall then be more particular in relation to the benefits ariſing therefrom. Yet it is highly proper here to obſerve that this law grievouſly affected the Dutch, who till now had been almoſt the ſole carriers of merchandize from one country of Europe to another; the greateſt part of their imports into England being thereby cut off: for till this law was enacted, all nations in amity with England were at liberty to import what commodities they pleaſed, and in what ſhipping they pleaſed. By authority therefor of this law, the Engliſh frequently ſearched the Dutch ſhips, and often made prize of them: whereupon the ſtates ſent over four ambaſſadors to expoſtulate with the rump and Cromwell; who in their turn made five ſeveral demands on the ſtates, viz. 'firſt, the arrears of 'the tribute due for fiſhing on the Britiſh coaſts; ſecondly, the re'ſtoration of the ſpice-iſlands to England; thirdly, juſtice on ſuch 'as were ſtill alive of thoſe who committed the cruelties at Am'boyna and Banda; fourthly, ſatisfaction for the murder of their 'envoy Doriſlaus; and fifthly, reparation for the Engliſh damages ſuſ'tained from the Dutch in Ruſſia, Greenland, &c. amounting to ſo 'great a ſum as L1,700,000.' Thus it is plain that the navigation-act proved the occaſion of the cruel naval war, which broke out in the year following: for theſe five demands were made with ſo much peremptorineſs as convinced the ſtates, that it was time to prepare for a war with England.

In the mean time the novelty of this navigation-act, and the ignorance of ſome traders, occaſioned at firſt loud complaints, that though

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our own people had not ſhipping enough to import from all parts whatever they wanted, they were nevertheleſs by this law debarred from receiving new ſupplies of merchandize from other nations, who only could, and till then did, import them. Thoſe complaints were however over-ruled by the government, who foreſaw that this act would in the end prove the great means of preſerving our plantation trade intirely to ourſelves, would increaſe our ſhipping and ſailors, and would draw the profit of freights to ourſelves *.

In this ſame year a project was laid before the Engliſh commonwealth for obtaining of the court of Spain the pre-emption of all Spaniſh wool. The projector obſerved, that this propoſed pre-emption would totally diſſolve the woollen manufacture of Holland, which, by means of that wool, hath of late years mightily increaſed, to the deſtruction of the vent of all fine cloths of Engliſh manufacture in Holland, France, and the Eaſt country; and hath drawn from us conſiderable numbers of weavers, dyers, and clothworkers, now ſettled at Leyden and other towns in Holland; by whoſe help they have very much improved their ſkill in cloth, and have made in that one province, one year with another, 24,000 to 26,000 cloths yearly. That the Dutch have of late years bought and exported from Biſcay four fifth parts, at leaſt, of all their wools, and have ſold there proportionably of their own country ſtuffs and ſayes. That the French have alſo conſiderable quantities of wool from Biſcay, which they work up into cloth at Rouen and other parts. The projector propoſed a joint ſtock to be raiſed for engroſſing all the Spaniſh wool, whereby to compel the French alſo, who had already prohibited our cloths, and alſo the Dutch and all other nations, to take of us all the cloths they had need of. But this project did not take place; and was indeed a piece of fine-ſpun theory ſcarcely reducible to practice. [*Thurloe, V.* i, *p.* 201.]

Although the Portugueſe firſt, and after them the Engliſh, had, in their voyages to Eaſt-India, viſited the harbours and country about the Cape of Good Hope, with an intent to make a ſettlement there; yet neither of thoſe two nations had hitherto had courage enough effectually to ſettle amongſt ſo barbarous a people as the Hottentots were, who had formerly killed a number of Portugueſe on ſome ſuch attempt. Neither indeed were there found any good harbours for the ſecurity of ſhipping in thoſe tempeſtuous ſeas. But the Dutch having more perſeverance, and obſerving the country to be fruitful, and that its ſituation

* The advantages of increaſing the number of home-built veſſels and native ſeamen were underſtood ſo long ago as the year 1381, as appears by an act of parliament, 5 *Ric. II, c.* 3. The ſame meaſure of policy has been frequently reſumed, (though, indeed, not perſevered in) particularly in the year 1440, when it was propoſed by the commons, but rejected by King Henry VI; in the years 1485 and 1489 [*Acts* 1 *Hen. VII, c.* 8; 4 *Hen. VII, c.* 10]; in 1541 [32 *Hen. VIII, c.* 14]; and in 1593, when Queen Elizabeth reſtricted certain privileges to goods carried in Engliſh veſſels. King James I, in his commiſſion of inquiry in 1622, directed the attention of the commiſſioners to the ſame object. [*Fœdera, V.* xvii, *p.* 414.] And Charles I alſo confirmed and revived the laws in favour of Engliſh ſhipping. [*Fœdera, V.* xix, *p.* 129.] *M.*

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would prove very commodious for the ſupply of water and proviſions for their Indian voyages, they are ſaid, in this year 1651, to have firſt ſettled at the Cape, where they built a good and ſpacious fort, and contracted friendſhip with the Hottentots, or rather rendered themſelves formidable and alſo neceſſary to them; whereby the Dutch have eſtabliſhed a noble colony there for many miles north and north-eaſt of the cape, where they have planted the Madeira grape, producing there a much nobler and richer wine than the original grape. Yet ſome will have it, that their vines came from Perſia, and others ſay from the Rhine. Thither alſo have the Dutch tranſplanted cinnamon trees from the iſle of Cylon. They are alſo ſaid to raiſe there conſiderable quantities of hemp, &c. So that the duties and the revenues which their Eaſt-India company raiſes there (for they all belong to them) are ſaid to be more than equals their expenſe for this colony. There the company have warehouſes and houſes for their officers within the fort, and employ a great number of officers, ſervants, and negro ſlaves. They have alſo an hoſpital for their ſick ſailors, &c. with an excellent garden, wherein all the curious and uſeful herbs, plants, &c. of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, are ſucceſsfully cultivated. It is, in ſhort, a very hopeful proſpect for the Dutch republic and their Eaſt-India company, who have greatly augmented the number of its plantations, by means of the French proteſtants, who emigrated to it upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes. So that it will be no wonder if, in another age, this Dutch colony vies with the fineſt countries, and proves the envy of the reſt of the nations, of Europe. The Dutch company having hereupon abandoned St. Helena, our Engliſh company took poſſeſſion of that iſland.

The Engliſh commonwealth teſtifying a great inclination for the advancement of commerce, we find in this and ſome following years, abundance of printed projects for promoting particular branches thereof; ſome of which have been adopted, and ſucceſsfully put in practice, in our own times: others, indeed, though well enough ſuited to certain free cities in the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Poland, &c. wherein ſuch projectors had reſided, did not, however, ſo well ſuit with a great nation. Such, of the former kind, were the propoſed projects of charity banks, and lombards, or lumber houſes; of the later the making transferable all promiſſory notes between man and man, ſo as to circulate as our modern bank notes do; ſuch was alſo the plauſible projects of one William Potter, in his Key of wealth, and of Henry Robinſon, &c. long ſince forgotten, who urged the erection of a land bank, wherein all payments above L10 or L20 ſhould by law be directed to be made in bank credit; and that, beſides the principal bank in London, there ſhould be, perhaps, 100 ſubordinate banks in different parts of England, all centering in the capital bank of London: wherein, for the ſupport of the credit thereof, a general mortgage of lands was pro-

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poſed, for which each mortgager ſhould have credit in bank to the value of his land. The condition of ſuch mortgage to be, either to pay ſo much money, with intereſt at 6 per cent, within a year from the day that bank-credit ſhould any way fail to be current; or, in default of ſuch payment, the ſaid mortgaged lands to be forfeited, without redemption, and to be divided amongſt the proprietors of the credit in bank. Other projectors propoſed banks on the plan of that at Amſterdam. Others propoſed a general regiſter of houſes and ſhips, as well as of lands. A court-merchant, for the ſummary recovery of all debts, &c. Alſo ſome very ill-judged projects for uniting into corporations all merchants trading into any one country, for the ſake of what they called uniformity in trade. Moſt of thoſe projects, after the reſtoration of Charles II, and ſome after the acceſſion of William III, were again propoſed to the public, with ſome variation in their form, merely for concealing their being only old projects palmed upon men for new ones. Such, for inſtance, was Dr. Chamberlain's land-bank project, which was carried ſo far as to have an act of parliament in its favour in the year 1696.

The magiſtrates of Bruges again wrote to the Engliſh merchant-adventurers company, to remind them, that in the days of Philip the Good, and Charles the Bold, dukes of Burgundy, and alſo of the archduke Maximilian, their city greatly flouriſhed in commerce and in the greateſt plenty of all kinds of merchandize, ſo as to obtain the reputation of the greateſt emporium in all Europe! but as nothing ſublunary is permanent, all theſe advantages are withdrawn, and adverſe fortune is come in their place: ſo that this city, once the ſeat of wealth, riches, and honour, has ſince been the ſeat of war, which obliged the foreign merchants to abandon it, as did alſo the ſaid ſociety with their commerce in woollen cloths, &c. But now a ſettled peace being eſtabliſhed between the Belgic provinces and foreign ſtates, ſome foreign merchants are preparing to reſettle at Bruges: and as they are informed of the willingneſs alſo of this ſociety to reſettle there, they are hereby invited to come to the port of Oſtend, and thence by water-carriage to Bruges, with their cloths, &c. to be afterwards diſperſed throughout Flanders, Brabant, Liege, Lorrain, &c. by moſt commodious navigations, by rivers and canals. To this the company courteouſly anſwered, that, as their letters were intirely ſilent in the two moſt material articles, viz. the free exerciſe of their religion, and the duties to be paid, they deſired a peremptory anſwer thereto; ſince the Engliſh parliament, out of their zeal for the worſhip of God, and for the honour of their nation, could never admit of a treaty for reſidence, till thoſe two articles be firſt agreed to. [*Thurloe*, *V.* i, *p.* 198.] So we heard no more of this reſidence: and we apprehend that it was now, or ſoon after this time, that

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this ſociety began to make Hamburgh their principal, and ſoon after their ſole, reſidence and ſtaple for the woollen manufacture.

1652.—We now come to the commencement of the firſt very bloody naval war between the two moſt potent republics which the world had ever ſeen ſince thoſe of Rome and Carthage. We have obſerved, that the new Engliſh act of navigation of laſt year had curtailed the bulk of the commerce between England and Holland, conſiſting principally in foreign merchandize imported into, and Engliſh merchandize exported from, England in Dutch veſſels. In vain, as we have alſo ſeen, did the Dutch remonſtrate againſt the act, the Engliſh commonwealth being bent on a war with the Dutch: for beſides the five former demands of the Engliſh commonwealth, ſatisfaction was now inſiſted on for the Dutch ambaſſador's having held a private correſpondence with King Charles II, and alſo for not giving the honour of the flag to all Engliſh ſhips of war. The ſtates-general therefor prepared for war by fitting out a vaſt fleet of 150 warlike ſhips, great and ſmall, though certainly not equal to ſhips of war in our days. De Witt, in his Intereſt of Holland, [*part* iii, *c.* 6] ſpeaks of it as a thing incredible, 'that the ſtates 'of Holland, during the chargeable war againſt England, from 1652 'to 1654, ſhould be able, in the ſpace of two years, to build 60 new 'capital ſhips of war, of ſuch dimenſions and force as were never be-'fore uſed in the ſervice of the ſtate.' All our hiſtories are full of the particulars of this war, which is therefor ſuperfluous for us to enlarge on. On the ſide of the Dutch were the great admirals, Van Tromp, De Ruyter, and De Witt; the firſt of whom, upon his gaining ſome advantage by the accidentally great ſuperiority in the Channel over Blake, in contempt of England's pretenſions to the ſovereignty of the ſea, ſailed down the Channel with a broom at his main-top-gallant-maſt head, to ſhew he would ſweep the ſeas; for which he paid dearly next year: and on the Engliſh ſide were the great Blake, with Monk and Deane. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that in this and the following year almoſt incredible deſtruction and captures were made of merchant ſhips, as well as of ſhips of war and ſailors, on both ſides; there having been, in only nine months of the year 1652, four general naval engagements, beſides leſſer ones. Whilſt all the great popiſh potentates, and particularly France, were pleaſed to ſee the two moſt powerful proteſtant ones deſtroying each other.

This year Mr Edwards, an Engliſh Turkey merchant, brought home with him a Greek ſervant who underſtood the roaſting and making of coffee, till then unknown in England. This man was the firſt who ſold coffee, and kept a houſe for that purpoſe in London. Proſper Alpinus, a learned phyſician of Venice, who flouriſhed about the year 1591, was the firſt who wrote of the nature of the coffee plant and berry: our great Lord Bacon, in his Natural hiſtory, was the next; and the inge-

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nious Mr. John Ray afterwards. Some relate, that coffee has not been generally uſed in Arabia, where it grows, and in Turkey, much above 200 or at moſt 250 years. It was firſt brought to Holland from Mocha in the year 1616, though it did not come into general uſe there for many years after. About the year 1690 the Dutch began to plant it at Batavia in the iſland of Java: and in 1719 it was firſt imported thence into Holland. Since then the Dutch have planted a great deal of coffee in Ceylon as well as in Java; inſomuch that in 1743 they imported into Holland 3,555,877 pounds of it from Java, and at the ſame time but 12,368 pounds from Mocha: ſo greatly had they improved their Java coffee. The Engliſh and French have of late years ſucceſsfully planted coffee in their Weſt-India iſlands, as the Dutch have alſo at Surinam, &c. although ſtill inferior to that of Mocha in Arabia, from whence all coffee originally came. If the European nations ſhould continue, as of late years, to naturalize in their own weſtern plantations the fine productions of China, Perſia, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Turkey, it will in time bring the direct commerce to the Levant to a very narrow compaſs. The coffee plant is ſaid nearly to reſemble the jeſſamine tree; bearing a fruit reſembling a cherry, within which is incloſed a ſort of kernel which, when ripe, opens and divides into what are uſually called coffee berries. All the coffee brought home by our Turkey ſhips comes only from Arabia, there being no coffee growing in Turkey properly ſo called, and is the very ſame which is brought home by our Eaſt-India ſhips who trade up into the Red ſea. But as the former is brought over land from Arabia into Syria or Egypt, it is therefor ſaid not to be eſteemed quite ſo good as what is brought directly by ſea from Mocha in our Eaſt-India ſhips. Coffee was unknown to the antients, although, doubtleſs, it grew always wild in Arabia. Mr. Wotton, in his Reflections on antient and modern learning, conjectures that the prohibition of wine, by the law of Mahomet, made the Arabs find out its virtues for ſupplying the place of wine.

Tobacco being about the middle of this century grown into much greater eſteem than formerly in England, conſiderable quantities thereof were planted in ſeveral counties, which throve exceeding well, and proved very good in its kind: but as this not only leſſened the duty on the importation of tobacco, but likewiſe greatly obſtructed the ſale of that commodity from our own colonies in Virginia, &c. which had coſt ſo much expenſe in planting them, the loud complaints of the planters occaſioned an act of parliament abſolutely prohibiting the planting of any in England. Cromwell and his council in 1654 appointed commiſſioners for ſtrictly putting this act in execution: and (that we may not have recourſe again to this ſuject) it was again legally enacted, [12 *Car. II. c.* 34] that from the 1ſt of January 1660-1, no perſon whatever

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ſhould ſow or plant any tobacco in England, under certain penalties. So that an end was effectually put to that practice.

We may clearly obſerve the late great increaſe of England's wealth by commerce, when in this year, as well as in the ſucceeding year, the nation was able to bear an aſſeſſment of L120,000 per month, beſide other great fixed taxes.

In this year the iſland of Granada was firſt planted on by the French from Martinico, after ſome ſtruggle with the natives. It is ſaid, by the French hiſtorian of the Caribbee iſlands, to produce ſugar-canes, ginger, indigo, and excellent tobacco.

Hackney-coaches were limited to 200 in number, dayly plying in London ſtreets.

We find that the Swedes at this time had a ſettlement on the gold coaſt of Africa, managed by an African company: for Queen Chriſtina of Sweden made a complaint to the parliament of the Engliſh commonwealth, that their ſhips of war had taken two of that company's ſhips homeward bound, and ſeized all the gold, &c. in them. [*Thurloe, V.* i, *p.* 219.]

A virulent pamphlet was now written againſt the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, intitled Strange news from India, calculated for favouring the ſolicitations of Sir William Courten's heirs, acting under a ſeparate patent of King Charles I, for trading to India. It is therein alleged, that whereas our people, in the beginning of the Eaſt-India trade, had made particular running voyages thither, only to enrich a few; they were afterward united in a joint-ſtock company; and ſince then they (being a deſtructive monoply) have miſemployed or miſſpent in one joint ſtock, L1,600,000, and in ſeveral joint ſtocks L3,600,000, impoveriſhing our nation by exporting much bullion. Yet, which is wonderful, not yet provided with one port or place of their own in India for a rendezvous *, whereas the Dutch company had 30 impregnable cities in India, and employed 250 ſail of ſhips: that by the old Engliſh company's neglect of Ormus and the Portugueſe prizes † their trade continued decaying from 1617 to 1634; inſomuch, that their actions or ſhares were frequently ſold from party to party, at 30, 35, to 40 per cent loſs, and and ſome much more. That the loſs of the ſpice iſlands, ſeized by the Dutch, is valued at L100,000 per annum conſequence to the nation. That about the year 1632, and ſince, a treaty was on foot between King Charles I and our company on the one part, and the Dutch company on the other part, touching our claim to thoſe ſpice iſlands: but that although L80,000 was agreed to be paid by the Dutch company, yet King Charles and our company could not agree or ſettle their reſpective ſhares thereof; and ſo the matter was dropped, and the Dutch

* The author elſewhere owns that the company poſſeſſed Madras, which indeed is not a good port. *A.*

† He ſhould have added,—by their difference with the Dutch Eaſt-India company. *A.*

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have kept poſſeſſion of thoſe iſles. That this languiſhing condition of our company inclined the king and council in 1635 to grant a patent to Sir William Courten to trade to, and plant in, ſuch places only where the old company did not trade. That Courten's enterpriſe greatly alarmed the Dutch company, who ſeized one of his ſhips bound from Goa for China. &c.

In this and other writings, in behalf of Courten's repreſentatives, our company is accuſed of having combined with the Dutch company to ruin Courten's project. Mr. Courten, ſon and executor of Sir William, continued the trade till 1646, when, as he alleges, by the cruel uſage of the Engliſh and Dutch companies, he was forced to abandon it, to the damage of ſeveral hundred thouſand pounds. His complaint was revived after the reſtoration of King Charles II; yet we do not find that any redreſs was ever obtained: and indeed it was not much to be wondered at, when it is conſidered that Courten's original grant was made in prejudice of our Eaſt-India company's excluſive charter.

1653.—In the year 1653, the treaty concluded between Denmark and the United provinces in 1649 for farming the toll in the Sound was reſcinded, and a new one was concluded at Copenhagen, whereupon the Dutch advanced the ſum of 525,000 gilders to the crown of Denmark, by way of anticipation: the Daniſh court agreeing to repay that ſum in annual payments, with 5 per cent intereſt. [*Thurloe, V.* i, *p.* 482.]

The poſtage of a great trading nation's letters is undoubtedly, in ſome degree, a kind of political pulſe whereby to judge of the increaſe or decreaſe of the public wealth and commerce: yet it would be more eſpecially ſo, where franking of letters by members of parliament did not take place, which, it is apprehended, was not the caſe as yet in England, whoſe council of ſtate this year farmed the poſtage of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to John Manley, Eſq. for L10,000 yearly, which was confirmed by the protector in 1654. By this ſettlement ſingle letters carried as far as 80 miles paid 2*d*, and double ones 4*d*; beyond 80 miles 3*d*, and double ones 6*d*. We ſhall hereafter ſee this revenue greatly increaſed, in conſequence of the increaſe of our general commerce, and alſo by additional poſtage.

The naval war between the two firſt republics of the univerſe ſtill continued very fierce. In June this year happened off Dover the fifth general engagement: Monk and Deane commanded the Engliſh fleet of 100 ſail; and Van Tromp, De Witt, De Ruyter, and the two Evertſens, commanded the Dutch one of above 100 ſhips of war. After continually fighting for two days, the Dutch were diſcomfited, eleven of their ſhips being taken, ſix ſunk, and two blown up, with but little loſs on the ſide of the Engliſh. From this diſaſter Van Tromp, in a memorial to his maſters the ſtates-general, ſet forth, that the ſhips and

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guns of the Dutch fleet were too ſlender in compariſon with thoſe of the Engliſh; and Admiral De Ruyter expreſsly declared, that he would not return to ſea, if his fleet were not reinforced with greater and better ſhips. For (as appears by intercepted letters for Holland), the Engliſh commonwealth had then actually 204 ſhips of war, great and ſmall, and 35,000 ſeamen; and in October this year, the principal terror of the Dutch was from our great ſhips. The Engliſh fleet lying on the Dutch coaſts during moſt part of this year, was very grievous to their merchants, their homeward-bound fleets and convoys being in continual danger of falling into our hands. Their fiſhing ſhips alſo were kept from going out, which brought immediate calamity on their people. [*Thurloe, V.* i, *pp.* 290, 514.]

The Dutch fleets, however, when joined, made 130 ſhips, ſome of which indeed were Eaſt-India ſhips fitted up for war. Yet ſuch was then the naval ſtrength of Holland, that in little more than a month they fitted out 125 ſhips of war under Van Tromp, who, in July this ſame year, had another great engagement with Monk on their own coaſt, when there were 27 Dutch ſhips either ſunk or burnt, but none taken, occaſioned by Monk's orders, neither to give nor take quarter. Here alſo they loſt their great Admiral Van Tromp. Ker of Kerſland's ſecond volume of memoirs ſays, that great admiral's ſhip, the largeſt in the Dutch navy, carried no more than 66 cannon; but the ſtates quickly diſcovered their want of great ſhips, and therefor, in this ſame year, built twenty ſhips of from 50 to 80 guns: yet we ſhall ſee, by a much better authority, that three years after their largeſt ſhip carried but 76 guns. On the Engliſh ſide there were many men ſlain, though only one ſhip loſt.

So great was the naval power of England at this time, that it appears by Thurloe, [*ibidem*] that the Venetian ambaſſador in England came to ſolicit the continuance of ſome Engliſh ſhips of war in that republic's ſervice ſome time longer: a ſure mark, however, of the feebleneſs of Venice's naval power.

This year an attempt for a north-eaſt paſſage was made by order of King Frederic III of Denmark, who ſent out three veſſels, who it ſeems actually paſſed through Waygatz ſtraits, which neither Engliſh nor Dutch had been able in former attempts fully to accompliſh. Yet in the bay beyond thoſe ſtraits they found inſurmountable obſtacles from the ice and intenſeneſs of the cold, ſo that they were obliged to return unſucceſsfully: and ſo, probably, will every one, who may hereafter attempt what, from repeated trials, has been found ſo impracticable. Yet, even ſubſequent to this date, the Dutch in their northern voyages, are ſaid to have again tried for this paſſage, but without being able to proceed ſo far eaſtward as was done in this Daniſh attempt.

Notwithſtanding what we have related concerning the Dutch ſettle-

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ment on the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1651, others relate, that it was not till this year that the Dutch Eaſt-India company, who had before been more accuſtomed than other European nations to ſtop at the Cape of Good Hope in their India voyages for refreſhments, which they purchaſed of the Hottentots for mere trifles, determined to make a ſettlement there. Voltaire, in his General hiſtory of Europe, will have it, that they, in this year, ſeized on a Portugueſe fort there, although it does not clearly appear from other accounts, that the Portugueſe ever had any fort or ſettlement on that cape. Yet, as it is frequently convenient, and not ſeldom abſolutely needful, to ſtop at that place, it was a very wiſe meaſure in the Dutch company to ſecure a good refreſhing ſtation there. Others make their firſt ſettlement here to be ſtill five years later, viz. 1658.

1654.—In the year 1654 a fleet of Engliſh merchant ſhips ſailed to Archangel, and with them William Prideaux, who, in his letter to the governor of Archangel, ſtiled himſelf only meſſenger of his highneſs the lord protector to his imperial majeſty, the czar: wherein he wrote, that whereas there hath been a diſtance from commerce for ſome time by the Engliſh merchants to the ſaid port of Archangel, they are now come thither with their ſhips laden with goods. So it is required of the governor, in the name of the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to know if trade ſhall be permitted with freedom, and if granted, on what terms. To which the governor anſwered, that the Engliſh company is licenced, by his imperial majeſty of all Ruſſia, to trade in Archangel in all unprohibited goods, they paying the ſame cuſtom as other ſtrangers do. And that as ſoon as the Engliſh have done trading at that port, they muſt go beyond ſea, i. e. home, and not be permitted, as antiently, to go up to Moſcow, nor to any other part of Ruſſia: but what goods ſhall be left unſold may either remain at Archangel, or be carried back to England. Mr. Prideaux, however, is permitted to go to Moſcow to acquaint his imperial majeſty with his commiſſion from the protector. [*Thurloe, V.* ii, *p.* 558.] We need here only to remark, that the protector, doubtleſs, knew beforehand, on what terms his meſſage and ſhips would be received; and in order to ſoften the czar, he now gives him the title of emperor, which title, however, has not been generally recognized till our own times.

A letter of intelligence in this ſame year, from the Hague, relates, that the czar had baniſhed the Engliſh from Archangel, at the requeſt of the Lord Culpepper, agent for King Charles: and that the king of Poland, in this ſame year, had ſent a miniſter to the protector to inſtigate him againſt Muſcovy, inſinuating that it would be no hard matter for our fleet to take Archangel. [*Thurloe, V.* iii, *p.* 50.]

Mr. Prideaux, in his letter this year to the council, complains of the

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badneſs of trade at Archangel, partly occaſioned by the Ruſſians not permitting any foreigners to trade up into the country from Archangel, and partly becauſe of the Dutch ſhips coming thither, which kept up the prices of Ruſſia goods, and partly alſo by the czar's war with Poland.

Whitelocke, the Engliſh ambaſſador in Sweden, complained to that court, that the Swedes had ſeized an Engliſh Guinea company's fort on that coaſt. The Swedes, in excuſe, alleged, that it was only a little lodge with two chambers: and they inſiſted on a prior grant thereof from the prince of that part of the country. [*Thurloe*, *V.* ii, *pp.* 266, 280.] Whatever might be the iſſue of this trifling matter, it is plain that Sweden at this time had ſome trade to the coaſt of Guinea, although they at preſent have no ſettlement any where without the Baltic ſea.

The war between the two republics of England and Holland was carried on in ſuch a manner as rendered it abſolutely impoſſible for either nation to hold it out much longer, without reducing one of the parties to abſolute ſubjection. It was ſo extremely viſible that England had the ſuperiority, that De Witt himſelf, though a foe to the Engliſh name, in his Intereſt of Holland, [*p.* 314] declares the great ſuperiority of the Engliſh in ſtrength of ſhipping, (for it was merely a naval war) and that they were now become maſters of the ſea. Not only men and money muſt ſoon have been wanting, but one would think that even ſhip-timber itſelf ſhould ſoon have failed for ſupplying the loſs of ſo many large ſhips: ſince, beſide the many ſhips of war deſtroyed, the Dutch had loſt 700 merchant ſhips in the years 1652 and 1653. Neceſſity therefor compelled them to ſend ambaſſadors to the protector to ſue for peace, and to accept ſuch terms as he thought fit to grant. It was concluded on the 5th of April 1654, whereby mutual friendſhip and commerce were re-eſtabliſhed between them. The moſt remarkable commercial articles were in ſubſtance as follows, viz.

Article XIII) That the ſhips of the Dutch, as well ſhips of war as others, meeting any of the ſhips of war of the Engliſh commonwealth in the Britiſh ſeas ſhall ſtrike their flag and lower their topſail, in ſuch manner as hath ever been at any time heretofore practiſed under any former government *.

XXVII) The ſtates-general ſhall ſee juſtice done on the authors and abettors of the barbarous murders committed on the Engliſh at Amboyna, anno 1622-3, if any of them be yet alive.

XXVIII) Certain Engliſh ſhips and goods having, by the influence of the Dutch, been ſeized and detained within the dominions of Denmark ſince May 1652, the ſtates-general oblige themſelves to make reſtitution

* This was the firſt formal eſtabliſhment of the right of the flag. Perhaps the Engliſh republic, ſuſpecting that the Dutch might ſcruple paying the honours to the flag of a commonwealth, which had been paid to that of a king, were the more determined upon making an expreſs article for it. *A.*

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to the proprietors, with damages, &c. for detention. And two arbitrators from each commonwealth are to meet in Goldſmiths-hall at London, and to take an oath, to proceed without reſpect or relation had to either ſtate, or to any particular intereſt whatever, for the adjuſtment of this matter: and, unleſs they agree upon ſentence before the 1ſt of Auguſt 1654, the aforeſaid arbitrators ſhall from that day be ſhut up in a chamber by themſelves, without fire, candle, meat, drink, or any other refreſhment, till ſuch time as they ſhall come to an agreement concerning the matters referred to them.

XXX) In caſe the commiſſioners to be appointed by both republics, to meet at London, for adjuſting all damages and injuries which either nation may allege to have ſuſtained from the other from the year 1611 to the 18th of May 1652, as well in the Eaſt-Indies as in Greenland, Muſcovy, Braſil, &c. do not, within three months after their firſt meeting together, come to an agreement, then their differences are hereby ſubmitted to the arbitration of the proteſtant cantons of Switzerland, who ſhall appoint like commiſſioners to give final judgment within ſix months following: which judgement ſhall bind both parties.

Beſide theſe there was a ſecret article, whereby the ſtates promiſed Cromwell, the protector, not to chooſe the prince of Orange for their ſtadtholder or captain-general.

At the ſame time, the Engliſh Eaſt-India company exhibited at large all their claims for damages ſuſtained in India by the Dutch company from the year 1611 to 1652, amounting to the vaſt ſum of L2,695,990:15 principal, ſterling money: and the intereſt, ſay they, if computed to this time, will amount to a far greater ſum: even excluſive of the iſlands of Poleroon and Lantore.

This vaſt ſum is made up of ſeventeen articles of damages and loſſes, which, the Engliſh company alleged, they had ſuſtained from the frauds and violences of the Dutch company in the Molucco iſles, at Jacatra, Bantam, Poleroon, Lantore, Perſia, Surat, Sumatra, and the Cape of Good Hope; where our company, ſay they, in the reign of King James I, (but they name not the year) took poſſeſſion of thoſe lands at that cape, and cauſed a rampart to be caſt up, called James's-mount, on which they planted the Engliſh colours. And they therefor now demanded, that the inheritance of thoſe territories might always remain in the power of the Engliſh, and that they might be free to colonize and fortify there, and to trade thence at pleaſure. Theſe ſeventeen articles of claim may be ſeen at large in the Collection of treaties of peace and commerce in four volumes 8vo, printed in 1732, on which therefor we ſhall not here be more particular.

On the other ſide, the Dutch Eaſt-India company exhibited, by way of counter-demand, eleven articles, for expenſes by them contributed beyond their quota, by reaſon of a deficiency on our company's part

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during ſeventeen years; the Engliſh company's half of the expenſe of defending Fort Geldres in Palecat, and at the ſiege of Bantam; their one third of the ſums laid out in the Moluccos, Amboyna, and Banda, after February 1622, when the Engliſh left off paying their quota in thoſe parts *; for the Dutch company's loſs by the ſeizure and detention of three of their ſhips at Portſmouth, bound to Surat; for their half ſhare of the loſs of the pepper trade to Bantam for ſix years, computed to be as great as that of the Engliſh demanded in their beforenamed articles, viz. L600,000 ſterling; for the extra charges of the Dutch company for convoys for the merchant ſhips returning from India by the north ſeas for twenty years, and for wages extraordinary for the ſailors; for proviſions lent to the Engliſh company; for wages of the company's ſundry ſhips and pinnaces, and the coſt of others employed in the ſervice of the joint trade, &c.

And, in fine, the Dutch company determining to outdo the demands of the Engliſh company firſt exhibited, they made the whole amount to no leſs than L2,918,611 : 3 : 6 ſterling.

Thus the two companies made demands on each other, more like mighty potentates than ſocieties of merchants: yet we are not to be ſurprized thereat, when we conſider their immenſe trade to and from India and Perſia, and that the ſeveral ſpices of thoſe days were in much greater requeſt than they are in our time. It is, however, more than probable that the pretenſions of both were exaggerated, although, by the iſſue, the Dutch much more than the Engliſh. So their vouchers and documents were referred to four commiſſioners appointed by each company, who doubtleſs found it difficult enough to adjuſt ſuch intricate accounts and demands to the mutual ſatisfaction of their conſtituents. Their award is dated 30th Auguſt 1654, as in the third volume of the Collection of treaties, not only by virtue of powers from their reſpective companies, but likewiſe by the authority of the protector and of the ſtates-general: being in ſubſtance,

That, being deſirous to reconcile and re-eſtabliſh a perpetual agreement between the two companies, they have decided and determined as follows, viz.

I) We hereby make void, extinguiſh, obliterate, and altogether wipe out, and commit to oblivion, ſo as never to be revived at any time, and upon any pretence, by any perſon whatever, all the complaints, pretenſions, and controverſies, above mentioned, and all others whatſoever which either company may have made on each other, of what kind ſoever they may be.

II) We decree, that the Dutch Eaſt-India company ſhall reſtore to

* This was a moſt impudent demand, it being known that in the year 1622 the Dutch company had completely expelled the Engliſh from thoſe iſlands. The demand was for no leſs than L510,000 ſterling. *A.*

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the Engliſh Eaſt-India company the iſle of Poleroon in the ſtate it is now in.

III) We decree and ordain, that the Dutch company ſhall pay to the Engliſh company here in London L85,000 ſterling.

IV) As to the complaints and demands made in the name of ſome private Engliſhmen, who complain of having received injury and damage at Amboyna in the years 1622-3, after having heard and conſidered the matters which have been alleged and exhibited by the above mentioned deputies of the Dutch company in their own defence; and we being deſirous that no relicts of complaint ſhould remain, do, by virtue of the full powers and authority aforeſaid, appoint and ordain, that all complaint, action, and damage of the Engliſh whomſoever, whether public or private, on the ſcore of any injury or damage which they pretend to have ſuffered at Amboyna in the year 1622 of the Engliſh ſtile, and 1623 new ſtile, may be made void, terminated, and committed to oblivion. And that no perſon ſhall enter any action on that account, nor moleſt, diſturb, or vex, the ſaid Dutch company, nor any Dutchmen on that pretext. And, on the other hand, we alſo declare and ordain, that the ſaid Dutch company ſhall pay here at London, before the firſt of January next, the ſum of L3625 ſterling, viz. to the nephew and adminiſtrator of the effects of Gabriel Towerſon, late of Amboyna, deceaſed, L700. And in like ſort to the repreſentatives of the other ſufferers in the cruel maſſacre and tortures at Amboyna, ſundry different ſums to make up the ſum total of L3625. And on this conſideration we inſiſt that their actions or ſuits be altogether ſet aſide and cancelled, ſo as never to be revived hereafter by any perſon whomſoever.

In witneſs whereof we have ſubſcribed theſe preſents, and ſealed them with our ſeals, the 30th of Auguſt, Engliſh ſtile, 1654.

John Exton, &c. (L. S.)

Andrian Van Aelmonde, &c. (L. S.)

Upon this famous award, very little remark is neceſſary. Certainly Cromwell had the Dutch at this time very much in his power: yet, on the other hand, it is certain, that the Dutch Eaſt-India company had committed many outrages on the Engliſh company, to their very great damage, whereby they had brought our company into very low circumſtances. It is moreover but too evident, that even ſuppoſing the facts alleged againſt the Engliſh at Amboyna had been all clearly made out, yet the barbarities and cruelties committed there againſt them by the Dutch were abſolutely unjuſtifiable in the higheſt degree. But as the buſineſs of Amboyna has been ſo frequently and unreaſonably brought on the ſtage againſt the whole Dutch nation, it is but reaſonable it ſhould be hereafter buried in oblivion.

This year an act of the protector's parliament limited the number of

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hackney coaches within the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and ſix miles round the late lines of communication, to 300, and the hackney coach horſes to 600; the government and regulation of them with reſpect to their ſtands, rates, &c. to be in the court of aldermen of London. Every ſuch coach to pay 20*s* yearly, for defraying the expenſe of regulating them.

The ſame year Cromwell and his parliament, conſidering how incongruous it was, that vaſſalage and ſervile ſuperiorities ſhould remain in one part of the republic, whilſt freedom, wealth, and commerce were ſo much boaſted of in the other part of it, enacted the total abolition thereof in Scotland. Had this been confirmed after the reſtoration, and a law made for obliging landlords to grant, and for enabling tenants to take, by certain encouragements, long leaſes of their farms, that country would long before now have worn a more favourable aſpect. But, at the reſtoration of King Charles II, ſome evil-minded perſons about the king poſſeſſed him with a notion that the ſuperiorities, &c. were far from being a grievance to the crown, which might, by means of a few penſions, ſucceſsfully make uſe of the vaſſal clans for keeping the reſt of Scotland in ſubjection: in which they were not greatly miſtaken.

Cromwell now concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with King John IV of Portugal, wherein were ſundry advantageous articles with reſpect to England's freely trading to Braſil, &c. much more than ſince, viz. the manner and times of unloading their cargoes, and of diſpoſing thereof, as well as of purchaſing and loading their homeward-bound cargoes, as alſo for their freedom from troubles and loſſes upon account of the inquiſition there; the freedom alſo for the Engliſh to trade to the Portugueſe colonies in India: and the ſecurity of the goods of the Engliſh dying in Portugal: which, being in part confirmed by ſubſequent treaties, we need not now enlarge upon. [*General collection of treaties*, *V.* iii, *p.* 97.]

Cromwell alſo this year concluded a treaty of peace and commerce with Denmark: whereby England was to be favoured as much in the cuſtoms, tolls, &c. as the Dutch, or any other nation, the Swedes only excepted, who at this time paid no toll in paſſing the Sound. Neither were the Engliſh ſhips ſailing up the Elbe to Hamburgh to pay any toll or cuſtom, nor to be ſearched or ſtopped at Gluckſtadt, nor at any other fort or place on the Elbe belonging to Denmark. [*General collection of treaties*, *V.* iii, *p.* 136, *ed.* 1732.]

Although England long before this time had been in poſſeſſion of the greateſt woollen manufacture of any nation whatever, and actually made the very fineſt cloth as well as ſtuffs, &c. yet ſuch was the induſtry and application of the Dutch, that they had ſtill the credit of dying and dreſſing our fine cloths better than our people could as yet do. Our fine white cloths were therefor for the moſt part ſtill ſent over to Holland

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for that purpoſe, and returned back to England dyed and dreſſed. This accounts for an aſſertion in an ingenious and judicious pamphlet, entitled, the Intereſt of England conſidered, [*p.* 5, *ed.* 1694] viz. 'that not above '40 years before, our nobility and gentry were furniſhed from Holland 'with the fineſt cloth.' Yet, ſoon after, our dyers and cloth-dreſſers got the better of this defect, although the Dutch ſcarlets and blacks are ſaid by ſome ſtill to retain a ſuperior credit even to this day.

In this ſame year ſome of Cromwell's ſhips reduced the forts in Nova-Scotia in the bay of Fundy, &c. which, in his treaty with France in the following year, he could not be brought to reſtore. Yet upon a remonſtrance to him from Monſieur de la Tour, ſetting forth, that he had before made a purchaſe of Nova-Scotia from the earl of Stirling, Cromwell conſented to its being given up to him. In our times, ſuch bargains of a ſubject to alienate to one of another nation any ſuch conſiderable part of the crown's territory would not be deemed legal: but that country's great importance was not well underſtood till long after this time. Monſieur de la Tour, however, ſoon after ſold Nova-Scotia to Sir Thomas Temple, who was both proprietor and governor of it till the reſtoration of King Charles II.

In the ſame year Cromwell concluded a treaty of peace with Chriſtina queen of Sweden at Upſal; which, relating ſolely to the general freedom of commerce and navigation on both ſides, requires no particular recital. [*General collection of treaties*, *V.* iii, *p.* 89.]

This year Cromwell, for the ſupport of his own peculiar intereſt, though much againſt the true intereſt of England, joined with France in a war againſt Spain, which by this time had been already too much depreſſed. This ill-adviſed war occaſioned large ſeizures of our effects in Spain, with great loſſes at ſea, and interrupted our profitable commerce with that country, thereby alſo enabling the wiſer Dutch to get ſurer footing in the Spaniſh trade; and moreover, introducing into England a reliſh for French frippery, and, which was worſt of all, deſtroying ſtill more, in favour of France, the juſt equilibrium of power in Europe.

In this remarkable year, after the Dutch Weſt-India company had gradually loſt all their other ſtrong holds in Braſil, their capital fort and port of the Receif was taken from them by the Portugueſe, whereby, after 30 years poſſeſſion of a great part of that country, they were now quite expelled from it. Yet this ſame loſs bringing on a war between thoſe two nations till the year 1661, the Dutch Eaſt-India company's ſucceſſes againſt the Portugueſe in India more than countervailed the other company's loſſes: they having deſpoiled the Portugueſe of almoſt all their valuable poſſeſſions in India. By thoſe conqueſts in Braſil, Angola, St. Thome, &c. which the ſtates and the prince of Orange perſuaded the Weſt-India company to undertake, the greateſt part of

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their capital was exhauſted, they having ſpent thereon in all 168 millions of gilders, or about 16 millions ſterling. Yet their remaining conqueſts on the Guinea coaſt have proved of infinite benefit to the Dutch commerce, and would be ſtill more ſo, had they more colonies in America.

By the erection of this excluſive Weſt-India company, ſays De Witt in his Intereſt of Holland, we have quite loſt our open trade to Guinea, and that of ſalt in the Weſt Indies. In another place he obſerves, that whilſt the Dutch were at war with Spain, the erection of their Eaſt-India and Weſt-India companies was a neceſſary evil, becauſe our people, ſays he, [*part* i, *c.* xix] would be trading to ſuch countries where our enemies were too ſtrong for particular adventurers, in order to lay the foundation of thoſe trades by powerful armed ſocieties. But thoſe trades being now well ſettled, it may be juſtly doubted whether the excluſive companies ought any longer to be continued. In Niewhoff's ſecond volume of voyages it is aſſerted, that, when the Dutch in the year 1660 yielded up all Braſil to Portugal, the Dutch were to receive eight millions of gilders, and alſo to be allowed a free trade to Portugal, Guinea, and Braſil, paying only the ſame cuſtom as the native Portugueſe: but this treaty is not now in force, and perhaps never exiſted with all theſe advantages.

In the ſame year a number of perſons of diſtinction in London ſeemed earneſtly to ſet about the herring-fiſhery: and for their encouragement the Engliſh commonwealth granted them an exemption from the duties on ſalt and on naval ſtores to be uſed in their fiſhery. Collections were likewiſe made at London and other parts for erecting wharfs, docks, and ſtorehouſes, and for purchaſing ground for making and tanning their nets. Yet this attempt proved unſucceſsful.

The expenſe of the Engliſh navy for the winter and the enſuing ſummer was eſtimated by the commiſſioners of the admiralty to amount

to - -	L850,610	0	0
More for the ſea ordnance - -	63,208	13	8
And if Admiral Blake's and Admiral Penn's ſhips, &c. are to be kept up till the 1ſt of October, it will farther coſt - - - -	108,919	0	0
More for the additional proviſions of 1000 men more - - -	26,000	0	0
Total -	L1,048,737	13	8

[*Thurloe, V.* iii, *p.* 64.]

1655.—The merchants of Amſterdam having heard that the lord protector would diſſolve the Eaſt-India company at London, and declare the navigation and commerce to the Indies to be free and open, were

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greatly alarmed, conſidering ſuch a meaſure as ruinous to their own Eaſt-India company. [*Letter 15th January*, 1654-5, *in Thurloe*, *V.* iii, *p.* 80.]

This it ſeems was actually done about this time, but the damage thereby done to that trade obliged the protector to reinſtate the company, as we ſhall ſee, three years after this time.

The Dutch, who had ſo great a ſhare of the commerce of the countries bordering on the Baltic ſhores, frequently interpoſed in the quarrels between the northern crowns, the conſtant policy of the republic being to preſerve an equilibrium between thoſe northern potentates, as the beſt means to ſupport the freedom of their great commerce to thoſe countries. Particularly in the year 1655 the Dutch, jealous of the great ſucceſs of the Swedes againſt Poland, ſtirred up the king of Denmark againſt them. But the Danes being worſted in this war, the Dutch ſent a fleet, firſt to the aſſiſtance of the city of Dantzick, inſulted by the Swediſh fleet, and next to relieve Copenhagen, beſieged by the Swediſh fleet, with which the Dutch had a ſea-fight, wherein they loſt two admirals, but gained their main point of raiſing the ſiege of Copenhagen. The Dutch alſo were aſſiſting to the Danes in the following year, in a ſea-fight againſt Sweden near the Sound, which, in the end, brought about a peace between thoſe two kingdoms. [*Puffendorf's Introduction*, *c.* vi, § 16.]

It is undoubtedly the intereſt of all Europe, but more eſpecially of the free commercial ſtates of it, that a juſt balance be preſerved between the northern potentates, ſo as no one of them be permitted to ſwallow up, or even to be greatly ſuperior to, the reſt.

We find by a book entitled, England's grievance diſcovered in relation to the coal-trade, publiſhed this year, that coals from Newcaſtle were uſually ſold at above 20*s* the chaldron. The ſcope of this author was, that the coal-owners of Northumberland and of the biſhopric of Durham might have liberty to ſell their coals directly to the maſters of ſhips, and have a free market at Shields, with leave to lay ballaſt there, whereby, ſays he, coals would be brought down to 20*s* the chaldron all the year round: whereas now the owners of coaleries muſt firſt ſell their coals to the magiſtrates of Newcaſtle, the magiſtrates to the maſters of ſhips, the maſters of ſhips to the London wharfingers, and theſe laſt to the conſumers; every change of the property enhancing the price of the coals. By having a free market at Shields, our author alleges, that proviſions would be had cheaper for the multitude of ſhipping, being above 900 ſail, and alſo for the inhabitants there: and that coals being bought directly from the firſt hand, there might be as many more voyages to London in a year as now they make. That there are accounted at Newcaſtle 320 keels, or lighters, each of which carries yearly 800 chaldrons of coals, Newcaſtle meaſure, on board the ſhips; and that

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136 chaldrons of Newcaſtle meaſure are equal to 217 chaldrons of London meaſure.

To what this author ſo plauſibly alleges we need only to add, that the enhanced price of coals ſince his time is really become a great burden to our commercial and manufacturing people, and to all the induſtrious poor in and near London, and that it would be doing very great ſervice to trade, if a method could be found out for reducing it, and even for fixing them to a ſtandard price if poſſible; which, with certain neceſſary regulations therein, ſome have been of opinion might be effected in peaceable times at leaſt. It ſeems indeed worthy of our legiſlature's conſideration, that two millions at leaſt, of people ſhould no longer have ſo grievous a monopoly lying upon them, and on commerce, merely for aggrandizing a few families: and this of late years a ſhamefully-increaſing monopoly too.

While Cromwell was deliberating on the different propoſals of France and Spain to gain him to their ſide (ſays the author of his life, publiſhed in 1741), one Gage, who had been a Romiſh prieſt, but now was become a proteſtant, returned from the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, where he had reſided many years, and gave the protector ſo particular an account of the wealth, as well as feebleneſs, of the Spaniards in thoſe parts, as induced him to determine on an attempt to conquer both the iſlands of Hiſpaniola and Cuba; as his ſucceſs therein, according to Gage, would make the reſt of Spaniſh America an eaſy conqueſt: and as, moreover Simon de Caſſeres, a Spaniard, had alſo been conſulted in it. Vice-admiral Penn was thereupon ſent out with 30 ſhips of war and about 4000 land forces: but neither France nor Spain could penetrate into its deſtination. The troops landed on Hiſpaniola, near St. Domingo, but in an improper part of the iſland; and marching without proper guides through thick woods, &c. 600 of our men were ſlain by the Spaniards, with Major-general Holmes; whereupon they embarked with the remainder, and ſailed for Jamaica; 'a place, as Colonel Modyford writes from Barbados, [*Thurloe*, '*V.* iii, *p.* 565] far more proper for our purpoſes by ſituation than either 'Hiſpaniola or Porto-Rico; far more convenient for attempts on the 'Spaniſh fleets, and more eſpecially for the Carthagena fleet.' Cromwell's intention was not abſolutely fixed to any particular place in the Weſt-Indies: his inſtructions to General Venables being diſcretionary. It was even left to his judgment, whether to attempt Carthagena, the Havannah, or Porto-Rico, or to ſettle on ſome part of the Terra Firma to the windward of Carthagena. They arrived at Jamaica on the 3d of May 1656, and marched directly to its capital St. Jago, from whence the Spaniards fled to the mountains and other inacceſſible places with their beſt effects, and after ſome time retired to the iſland of Cuba, leaving their ſlaves in the woods to haraſs the Engliſh, till they ſhould return and relieve them. But the Engliſh at Jamaica being recruited

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with ſhips and troops from England, the Spaniards, after ſundry conflicts, were obliged to abandon the iſland entirely. When this conqueſt was firſt undertaken, the Spaniards at Jamaica did not exceed 1500 perſons in number, with about as many negros. Columbus in the year 1494 found it a pleaſant and populous iſland; but the Spaniards are ſaid (even by their own authors) to have put to death no fewer than 60,000 of the natives of that iſland, and rooted out the remainder before the Engliſh conquered it.

Simon de Caſſeres alſo laid before the protector the following ſcheme, viz.

'With four men of war only, and four ſhips with proviſions, ammu-
'nition, and 1000 ſoldiers, to ſail into the South ſea, round Cape
'Horn, and ſo paſſing by Baldivia in Chili. (from which port the Spa-
'niards had long before been driven) the kingdom of Chili might be
'conquered from Spain. Our people to rendezvous at the iſle of La
'Mocha, where they might victual and water, as there were none but
'Indians there; and as Chili abounds more with gold and proviſions
'than any other part of America, and has a wholeſome climate; as
'moreover the Chilians are the moſt warlike of any American people,
'and are mortal foes to the Spaniards, by reaſon of their former cruel-
'ties, they probably would gladly ſide with any people inclinable to
'drive the Spaniards quite out of their country. That if this project
'ſhould ſucceed, it would diſtreſs Spain in the moſt ſenſible and leaſt-
'guarded part. That the ſhips of war above mentioned would ſerve to
'ſeize on the Spaniſh treaſure going annually from Chili to Arica, and
'thence by Lima and Guyaquil, to Panama, and ſo over land to
'Porto-Bello in the Weſt-Indies, as well as to ſeize on the two yearly
'rich Acapulco ſhips. Caſſeres for theſe purpoſes undertook to engage
'in Holland ſome of thoſe who went in Brouwer's expedition againſt
'Baldivia.' [*Thurloe, V.* iv, *p.* 62.] Nevertheleſs this, like all our former propoſed expeditions into the South ſea, was not found likely to anſwer: partly on account of the great dangers in a moſt tempeſtuous ocean; the inconſtancy of the climate when there; and the almoſt inſuperable difficulties which would be occaſioned by being quite out of the reach of friendly ports.

Cromwell appointed his ſon Richard, with many lords of his council, judges, and gentlemen, and about twenty merchants of London, York, Newcaſtle, Yarmouth, Dover, &c. to meet and conſider by what means the traffic and navigation of the republic might be beſt promoted and regulated, and to report, &c. * [*Thurloe, V.* iv, *p.* 177.]

* A letter from the Hague in the year 1653 has the following remark upon a former committee: 'A committee for trade was ſome time ſince erected in England, which, we then feared, would have proved very prejudicial to our ſtate; but we are glad to ſee, that it was only nominal. So that we hope, *in time thoſe of London will forget that ever they were merchants.*' [*Thurloe, V.* i, *p.* 498.] On ſome occaſions this ſevere remark has been rather too much verified. *A.*

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The Swediſh reſident in Holland this year repreſented, that the commiſſioners of the Dutch Weſt-India company in New-Netherland (now New-York) did in this ſummer aſſault the Swediſh colony there by force of arms; took their forts, drove away the inhabitants, and wholely diſpoſſeſſed the Swediſh company of their diſtrict; although it be true and without diſpute, that the Swedes did acquire that fort which they poſſeſſed by the juſteſt title *(optimo titulo juris)*, and did buy it of the natives; and in conſequence have had poſſeſſion of it for ſeveral years, without the Dutch Weſt-India company ever before pretending any right thereto. Therefor the reſident, in his maſter's name, demanded that the Swediſh company might have it reſtored to them, &c. [*Thurloe, V.* iv, *p.* 599.]

Among Cromwell's inſtructions in this year for the council of Scotland, we find the following very good one, viz. 'that in regard there be 'a great many hoſpitals and other mortifications (mortmains) in Scot-'land, you are therefor to take ſpecial notice and conſideration of the 'ſame; and ſee them particularly employed for the benefit of the poor, 'and other pious uſes for which they were firſt appointed; and to obey 'every other thing for the relief of the poor in the ſeveral pariſhes, that 'ſo none go a-begging, to the ſcandal of the chriſtian profeſſion: but 'each pariſh to maintain its own poor.' [*Thurloe, V.* iii, *p.* 497.]

The ſtates of Holland this year reduced the intereſt of money due by them, from 5 to 4 per cent, whereby they ſaved 1,400,000 gilders per annum. And De Witt on this very point obſerves, that by the zeal of their good rulers an expedient was found to diſcharge the province of Holland of 140 millions of gilders, (or nearly about 14 millions ſterling) by reducing the yearly intereſt thereof from 5 to 4 per cent, and employing the yearly advance of it toward diſcharging the principal, which hereby will all be paid off in twenty-one years. [*Intereſt of Holland, p.* 466.]

This was probably the firſt national ſinking fund ever ſet on foot in Europe. De Witt adds on this ſubject, 'that what is moſt to be gloried 'in is, that though the greateſt part of the regents of Holland had lent 'a conſiderable part of their property to that province, nevertheleſs, 'the conſideration of their own profit did not hinder them from cut-'ting off a fifth part of their revenue for the neceſſary ſervice of the 'public.' Here that able author was perhaps ſomewhat miſtaken in his great glorying; ſince poſſibly thoſe ſelf-denying regents could not well tell where to get an higher intereſt for their money elſewhere, had they been inſtantly paid off, as was afterwards the parallel caſe of the pope's ſinking fund, in the year 1686, (of which in its place) and of the ſeveral branches of our own national ſinking-fund from 1717 downward.

Mr. Prideaux, the Engliſh Ruſſia company's agent at Archangel, ſent to Cromwell an account of the exports from Archangel in that ſame

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year, 1655, ſo far as the date of his letter, Auguſt 15, amounting to 660,000 rubles, valuing two rubles, (then) equal to L1 ſterling, though at this day of a much ſmaller value. The principal articles then exported were potaſhes, caviare, tallow, hides, ſables, and cable-yarn. The reſt were coarſe linen, bed-feathers, tar, linen-yarn, beef, rhubarb, Perſian-ſilk, cork, bacon, cordage, ſkins of ſquirrels and cats, bees-wax, hogs briſtles, mice and goats ſkins, ſwan and geeſe down, gooſe and duck feathers, candles, &c. [*Thurloe, V.* iii, *p.* 713.] It is probable that the riſe of the new city of Peterſburg, and the ſubjection of the ports of Livonia to Ruſſia, have contributed to diminiſh the trade of Archangel.

This ſame year Cromwell concluded a treaty of peace and commerce with the miniſters of King Lewis XIV of France, a minor. What relates to our main ſubject follows, viz.

Article V) The people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, may import into France all their manufactures of wool and ſilk, and may ſell them there without forfeiture or penalty. Provided, cloths ill-made or unfaſhionable be carried back into England, without paying any duty for the ſame. Provided alſo, that the ſubjects of France may as freely import into England, and ſell their wines and manufactures of wool and ſilk: and that the ſubjects of both contracting parties ſhall be kindly treated, and enjoy like privileges with other foreigners.

XXIV) Relates to prizes taken at ſea, on both ſides, ſince the year 1640, the determination whereof, if not finiſhed by commiſſioners within ſix months and a fortnight, ſhall be referred to the arbitration of the republic of Hamburgh.

XXV) And whereas the three forts of Pentacoet, St. John, and Port-Royal, lately taken by England in America (i. e. in Nova-Scotia) would be reclaimed by the French ambaſſador, and the commiſſioners of his highneſs, the protector, would argue, from certain reaſons, that they ought to be detained, it is agreed to refer this point likewiſe to the commiſſioners and arbitrators in the preceding article. [*General collection of treaties, V.* iii, *p.* 149.]

Againſt the concluſion of this treaty, King Philip IV of Spain had ſtrongly remonſtrated by two ambaſſadors to the protector, ſhewing that France had ſecretly fomented all the conſpiracies againſt his life and government; while on the contrary, Spain had been the firſt potentate which recognized the Engliſh republic: and his catholic majeſty perceiving that the treaties with Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal, were concluded, that with France ſo forward, and the treaty with him the only one deferred, at which all mankind were ſurpriſed, the ſaid ambaſſadors had orders to preſs the concluſion of it. And that in caſe his highneſs inclines to recover Calais, Spain will join her forces to thoſe of England, both by ſea and land, for that end. Provided England will

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aſſiſt the prince of Condé with ſhips and troops to land him at Bordeaux or elſewhere, ſo as he may have footing in France, &c. [*General coll. of treaties, V.* iii, *p.* 146.] But Cromwell's particular intereſt, as before noted, outweighed his concern for the true intereſt of England: for the ſecret article in the above treaty with France overbalanced all other conſiderations, viz. France's engaging that King Charles II and his brothers the dukes of York and Glouceſter, the marquis of Ormond, Sir Edward Hyde, and fifteen more lords and gentlemen therein named, ſhould be obliged to leave France within forty days after the ratification of the treaty. Thus did Cardinal Mazarine meanly abandon the Engliſh royal family and their friends, purely to enable France farther to weaken Spain, already too much enfeebled, and the balance of power in Europe thereby farther endangered. Upon this treaty the king of Spain ſeized upon all the effects of the Engliſh merchants in his dominions, to a conſiderable value; and by this war with Spain the Dutch obtained a valuable commerce with that country, formerly enjoyed by the Engliſh.

In proportion as the Spaniſh monarchy declined, the French increaſed in power, riches, commerce, and territory. France hitherto found it her intereſt to keep fair with the Dutch, as well on account of their ſhipping, which was undoubtedly very great at this time, as for the incredible quantity of French manufactures and product which the Dutch took off, and diſperſed all over Europe. But when Cromwell had now entered into cloſe meaſures with the cardinal-miniſter Mazarine, France then began to treat the Dutch with leſs ceremony, and to eſtabliſh companies of merchants at home for the herring, cod, and whale fiſheries; and to prevent the importation of whale-fins and train-oil by foreigners. France alſo laid a duty of fifty ſols per ton on all foreign ſhips, both coming into and going out of her ſea-ports.

This year the Jews found means to perſuade Cromwell to re-admit them to ſettle in England (although the long parliament had before refuſed it) being juſt 365 years ſince their expulſion by King Edward I. The protector it is ſaid had been perſuaded by them and their friends, that commerce, by their re-admiſſion, would be ſo far improved as to increaſe his revenue L100,000 per annum. On the other hand, the famous William Prynn, and ſeveral others, at this time publiſhed treaties againſt re-admitting the Jews, ſhewing the miſchiefs which that unhappy people have occaſioned in all the countries wherein they have been tolerated. In their favour Menaſſeh Ben Iſrael, an eminent Jew, who ſtiled himſelf a divine and a doctor of phyſic, addreſſed the protector and commonwealth in this ſame year, in the following artful ſtrain: 'Our people did in their own minds preſage that the kingly government, 'being now changed into that of a commonwealth, the antient hatred 'towards them would alſo be changed into good-will; and that thoſe

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'rigorous laws made under the kings againſt ſo innocent a people would happily be repealed: ſo that we hope now for better treatment from your gentleneſs and goodneſs; ſince, from the beginning of your government of this commonwealth, your highneſs hath profeſſed much reſpect and favour towards us. Wherefor, I humbly intreat your highneſs that you would, with a gracious eye, have a regard to us and our petition, and grant unto us, as you have done unto others, the free exerciſe of our religion; that we may have our ſynagogues, and keep our own public worſhip, as our brethren do in Italy, Germany, Poland, and many other places; and we ſhall pray for the happineſs and peace of this your much renowned and puiſſant commonwealth.' He proceeds to ſhew, that other ſtates have thought it their intereſt to encourage the Jews in their dominions; as, for inſtance, the king of Denmark invited them to ſettle at Gluckſtadt in Holſtein; the duke of Savoy, at Nice; the duke of Modena, at Reggio; and in India there are four ſynagogues at Cochin for the uſe of the Jews, a fourth part of whom are of a white complexion, and the other three quarters are tawny. That in Perſia there are great numbers of Jews, and many of them in great favour at court. That in Turkey they are moſt numerous, many of them living in great ſtate, and in favour with the ſultan and his baſhaws; there being in Conſtantinople alone 48 ſynagogues; in Salonichi 36; and above 80,000 Jews in thoſe two cities. That in all the Turkiſh dominions their number amounts to many millions of people. Next, he refutes all the accuſations againſt the Jews, and ſhews the damage which accrued to Spain and Portugal by baniſhing the Jews out of their dominions; and the great benefit, in point of revenue, to the public, and in reſpect to the increaſe of commerce and manufactures, which would accrue by re-admitting them: ſo that in concluſion, they were re-admitted, and have remained in England ever ſince, though not in ſuch great numbers as in ſome other parts.

The republic of Tunis not only refuſed to comply with Admiral Blake's juſt demands in behalf of the Engliſh commerce, (who was then with a ſquadron in the Mediterranean for watching the motions of the French fleet) but even treated his propoſals with much inſolence and contumely: and we learn by that great admiral's letter to Secretary Thurloe, that he ſailed with his ſquadron into the harbour of Porto-Farino, and burnt all their ſhips, being nine in number, with the loſs of only twenty-five men killed; and then, having reduced them to reaſon, he returned to Cagliari in Sardinia, whence he dates that letter. [*Thurloe, V.* iii, *p.* 390.] He afterwards brought Algiers and Tripoli alſo to terms of peace.

In India the Dutch this year took the city of Calecut from the Portugueſe; and in the following year (1656) they alſo deprived them of Columbo, their capital ſettlement in Ceylon, and thereby became maſ-

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ters of the coasts of that fruitful island, and of the whole cinnamon trade; as they before were of the nutmegs, mace, and cloves. Pepper was now the only spice that remained uningrossed by them, because it grows in too many distant parts of India to be ingrossed by any one potentate. In 1658 the Dutch took Manaar and Jasnapatnam from the Portuguese, by which, and other conquests needless to be enlarged on, the Portuguese were soon confined to their settlements on this side of cape Comorin. And thus the Dutch made themselves ample amends for their West-India company's losses at Brasil.

The old stadthouse at Amsterdam being thought too mean for the grandeur of that most opulent city, the two great commercial companies of the East and West Indies undertook to erect a new one: it was begun in 1648, and completed in this year 1655; and may truely be termed the pride and glory of that city and province, being by far the most noble and superb structure in all Europe of that kind; serving for a senate-house and bank. Whole volumes have been employed in the description of its architecture and beauty.

1656.—Charles Gustavus king of Sweden, being now at war with John Casimir king of Poland; the states-general of the United provinces, apprehensive of the disadvantage of that war to the commerce of their subjects in the Baltic, sent thither Admiral Opdam with a fleet, which, over-awing both those kings, brought on the treaty of peace at Elbing in Prussia. This conduct of the Dutch was agreeable, as we have before noted, to the general tenor of their politics, with regard to preserving an equilibrium between the potentates bordering on the Baltic shores.

The commerce of Amsterdam was by this time so much increased that, for the enlargement of that city, a great space of ground was now inclosed and built on. And the whole city, thus enlarged, was now surrounded with new walls of brick with stone gates. This, it is apprehended, is the last great enlargement of Amsterdam, in respect of private buildings; but it received a great addition to the strength of its fortifications when the French invaded Holland in the year 1672.

No marvel then if the Grand-pensionary De Witt, in his book of the Interest of Holland, in the year 1669, observes 'that Amsterdam is a 'city of greater traffic, and Holland a richer merchandizing country 'than ever was in the world. Their situation for an easy and quick 'communication with all the coasts of Friesland, Overyssel, Guelder-'land, and North-Holland; their situation also for receiving the 'fishery, and for a repository for all sorts of merchandize to be after-'wards re-shipped to all parts of the world, as demands may offer, and 'for setting out ships to freight, are great advantages. Then their ac-'quiring the whole spice trade of India, and a great West-India trade; 'the whale fishery; the trade in Italian wrought silks, which the Ger-

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'mans were wont to bring by land-carriage from Italy, until the Ger-
'man wars loſt them that trade; and afterwards their manufacturing
'the raw ſilk themſelves; their woollen manufacture: and in ſhort, he
'obſerves, the Hollanders had at this time well nigh beaten all nations,
'by traffic, out of the ſeas, and become the only carriers of goods
'throughout the world.' [*Part* i, *c.* 13.] How exultingly was all this ſaid, even by the great, and otherwiſe cool and moderate, De Witt! And, indeed, it is a moſt ſhining picture of their mercantile grandeur, long ſince in its wane, as we have elſewhere noted.

We have alſo, in this ſame year, an authentic ſtatement of the public navy of the Dutch, in a letter from Sluyce in Dutch Flanders, in April 1656, importing, that they had 101 ſhips of war in their ſeveral ports, including 8 ſhips with Admiral de Ruyter at Cadiz. That their firſt-rate ſhips had 72, 74, 76 port-holes; the ſecond-rates 60; and the third-rates 52 port-holes or guns. [*Thurloe, V.* iv, *p.* 732.] This is an undeniable proof that ſhips of war in thoſe days were conſiderably inferior to our modern floating caſtles. We are here alſo to note, that, ſince the Dutch admiral's remonſtrances to their maſters, that in their laſt war with England their ſhips were too ſmall, they were built conſiderably larger.

We find alſo a ſtatement of the naval ſtrength of Spain, in a letter of intelligence dated in January. It ſays, 'that they are now preparing
'at Cadiz for a war againſt England; that they have there from 50 to
'60 ſhips of war, 30 gallies, and 30 fire-ſhips; but the want of money
'doth much hinder and trouble them, which they endeavour to bor-
'row of merchants, &c. to pay when the galleons arrive; but if theſe
'do not ſoon arrive, the kingdom will be in a miſerable condition.' [*Thurloe, V.* iv, *p.* 419.] This is a true, but melancholy, picture of the ſtate of Spain ſo early as at that time; yet its miſery gradually increaſed till the death of King Charles II in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Although Jamaica had been ſo eaſily won by the Engliſh, yet, on the return of the fleet, the protector, provoked at the diſaſter at Hiſpaniola, ſent both Penn and Venables to the tower. On the other hand, Spain, reſenting this attack, declared war againſt England. Hereupon the brave Engliſh admiral, Blake, attacked the Spaniſh plate fleet near the port of Cadiz; and burnt or ſunk all of them, excepting only one which eſcaped, and two which were taken and brought to Portſmouth, in which were found upwards of two millions of dollars.

In a Brief narrative of England's rights to the northern parts of America, written this year, it is obſerved, 'that the Dutch, under co-
'lour of a clauſe in their Weſt-India company's charter, enabling them
'to conquer what they could in America from their enemies, (i. e.
'Spain) had ſettled in the north part of Virginia; that at firſt they

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'called their ſettlement New Virginia; but becauſe they would make 'it as much Dutch as they could, they had but very lately called it New 'Nedderlandt, and ſo named it in all their new maps *. It is com- 'monly reported, that, by the permiſſion of King James I, they had 'granted from him, to their ſtates only, a certain iſland; called there- 'for by them Staten (or States) iſland, on that coaſt, as a watering 'place for their Weſt-India fleets.' [*Thurloe*, *V.* v, *p.* 81.]

From hence, it is natural to conclude that this ſuppoſed allowance of that king (of which, however, we can no where find a proper evidence) to water at Staten iſland, encouraged ſo adventurous a people to take the liberty of ſettling on the neighbouring continent, from whence they were not quite expelled till the year 1667, when it was exchanged for the colony of Surinam.

The protector and his parliament now erected a new general poſt-office for the commonwealth of the three kingdoms, on much the ſame plan as three years before, and in the main, as till lately in our days. Single letters as far as 80 miles for twopence; farther threepence; to Scotland fourpence; and double letters twice as much. Theſe regulations were confirmed at the reſtoration of King Charles II.

The humour of reſtraining the increaſe of buildings in and near London on new foundations, begun by Queen Elizabeth in the early times of commerce, and continued in the two next reigns, was now revived by the protector and his parliament, by their act [*c.* 24] the preamble of which runs thus: 'Whereas, the great and exceſſive number of houſes, 'edifices, out-houſes, and cottages, erected and new-built in and about 'the ſuburbs of the city of London, is found to be very miſchievous 'and inconvenient, and a great annoyance and nuiſance to the com- 'monwealth, &c. they now lay a duty of one year's rent on all houſes 'and edifices erected on new foundations in the ſuburbs, or within ten 'miles of the walls of London, ſince the year 1620, not having four 'acres of freehold land laid to the ſame. And a fine of L100 is alſo 'hereby laid on all new edifices which ſhall, from 1657, be erected 'within the ſaid limits, on new foundations, not having four acres laid 'thereto, as aforeſaid. Moreover, all houſes, within the ſaid limits, 'ſhall hereafter be built of brick or ſtone upright, and without butting 'or jetting out into the ſtreet.' Out of this act were excepted, the buildings belonging to the ſeveral city hoſpitals; the earl of Clare's new market (now called Clare-market) in Clement's-inn-fields, juſt then built; the ſtreets about Lincoln's-inn-fields, then alſo in hand; Horſley-down buildings, for the benefit of the poor of St. Olave's pariſh in Southwark; Bangor-court, in Shoe-lane, then about to be built upon the ſite of the biſhop of Bangor's houſe and garden, &c.; and all buildings be-

* It is now called New-York. *A.*

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low London bridge, and within two furlongs of the river Thames, belonging to mariners, ſhip-builders, their wives and widows; and ſome few other places. By this act we find that Clare-market in the fields, then called Clement's-inn-fields, was but juſt finiſhed; and it is hereby declared to be a common and free market on every Tueſday, Thurſday, and Saturday: but part of Stanhope-ſtreet adjoining was not yet quite built on, nor were all the buildings adjoining to Lincoln's-inn-fields as yet finiſhed.

By Scobel's Collection of acts and ordinances of parliament, (from 1640 to 1656) we learn, that the whole charge of the public in this year, 1656, in England [*c.* 6] was fixed at L1,300,000, viz. L1,000,000 for the navy and army, and L300,000 for the ſupport of the civil government. No part of this ſum was raiſed by a land-tax.

And the parliament [*c.* 4] aboliſhed all tenures *in capite* by knights-ſervice, and by ſoccage in chief, and laid aſide the courts of wards and liveries. They alſo enacted [*c.* 5] that none ſhould dig within the houſes or lands of any perſon for ſaltpetre, without leave firſt obtained. This act relating to digging for ſaltpetre removed a grievance which King Charles I impoſed on his ſubjects, throughout his reign, of entering and digging for it everywhere, without aſking leave.

There had been a general treaty of alliance concluded between Cromwell and Queen Chriſtina of Sweden, in the year 1654. But matters relating to commerce and navigation were then deferred to a more convenient time: ſo Cromwell's commiſſioners in this year ſigned a treaty with the miniſters of King Charles Guſtavus of Sweden, wherein what relates to commerce is as follows.

Article IX) 'As to commerce to be carried on in America, it is expreſsly provided by law, that the ſubjects of no other ſtate or republic beſides ſhall be impowered to trade there in common, without a ſpecial licence; but if any of the king of Sweden's ſubjects, furniſhed with his recommendations, ſhall privately ſolicit ſuch licence of the lord protector to trade to any of thoſe (Engliſh) colonies, he will, in this reſpect, comply with the deſire of his Swediſh majeſty, as far as the ſtate of his affairs will permit.

X) 'It ſhall be free for the ſubjects of Sweden to fiſh and catch herrings, &c. in the ſeas and on the coaſts which are in the dominion of this republic; provided the ſhips ſo employed do not exceed 1000 in number: and no charges ſhall be demanded, of thoſe Swediſh fiſhers, by the ſhips of war of this republic; but all ſhall be treated courteouſly and amicably, and ſhall be even allowed to dry their nets on the ſhore, and to purchaſe neceſſaries there at a fair price.'

The reſt of this treaty relates chiefly to a mutual liberty of hiring ſhips of war and troops in each others country, and againſt Sweden ſupplying Spain with naval ſtores during England's war with that crown. [*General coll. of treaties, V*, iii, *p.* 163.]

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Upon this treaty and ſome prior ones we may here briefly remark, that Cromwell and the parliament affected to be as punctilious and peremptory, in reſpect to their dominion in the four ſeas ſurrounding Great Britain and Ireland, as even the moſt poſitive and determined of the Engliſh monarchs.

1657.—All that part of Pruſſia lying eaſt of the Viſtula, which till lately was called ducal (in contradiſtinction from the other part called royal, as being immediately under ſubjection to the crown of Poland) had, ever ſince the year 1525, been veſted in the houſe of Brandenburg, with the title of a dukedom, though ſtill owning ſome kind of vaſſalage to the king and republic of Poland, till the year 1657, when the later gave up all kind of claim on it; and the elector of Brandenburg was now veſted with ſovereign and independent dominion over that duchy, ſince erected into a kingdom in the perſon of Frederic I.

In this laſt year of the renowned Admiral Blake's life, he deſtroyed a ſecond Spaniſh plate fleet, (ſaid to be much richer than that of the preceding year) at Tenerif, one of the Canary iſles, burning, ſinking, &c. every ſhip of that fleet. This great admiral's death was reckoned an irreparable loſs to the protector and to his country. Amongſt ſeveral other great things ſaid of him, even by the earl of Clarendon, his following encomium on him is well worth our notice, viz. 'that he was the firſt 'man who brought ſhips to contemn caſtles on ſhore, which had been 'ever thought very formidable, and were diſcovered by him to make a 'noiſe only, and to frighten thoſe who could rarely be hurt by them. 'He was the firſt that infuſed that proportion of courage into the ſea-'men, by making them ſee by experience what mighty things they 'could do if they they were reſolved, and taught them to fight in fire 'as well as upon water. And although he had been very well imitated 'and followed, he was the firſt that gave the example of that kind of 'naval courage, and bold and reſolute achievements.'

From March 1638 to May 1657, (according to the author of the Happy future ſtate of England) there was coined in the tower of London, in gold and ſilver, the ſum of L7,733,521 : 13 : 4; 'England alone '(ſays that author) having, till the peace of Munſter, in 1648, enjoyed 'almoſt the whole manufacture, and the beſt part of the trade, of Eu-'rope.'

In a letter written by General Monk from Scotland, to Secretary Thurloe, in September 1657, there is the following memorable paragraph: 'I underſtand the Portugal ambaſſador is come to London; and 'I make no queſtion but he will be deſiring ſome favour from my lord 'protector. There is a caſtle in the ſtraits mouth which the Portugals 'have, called Tanger, on Barbary ſide, and which if they would part 'withal, it would be very uſeful to us; and they make little uſe of it, 'unleſs it be for getting of blackamoors; for which his highneſs may

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'give them leave to trade for. An hundred men will keep the caſtle, 'and half a dozen frigates there would ſtop the whole trade in the Straits 'to ſuch as ſhall be enemies to us.' [*Thurloe, V.* vi, *p.* 505.] So it appears that a fortified poſt at the entry of the Mediterranean was then thought a deſirable object for England: and this propoſal of General Monk's very probably occaſioned the ſtipulation for this port and caſtle five years afterwards, to be a part of Queen Catharine's marriage portion, as it accordingly was. Yet this ſame General Monk afterwards found a conſiderable garriſon little enough to defend it againſt the continual attacks of the Moors.

De Witt, in his Intereſt of Holland, juſtly remarks, 'that although 'their ſhips trading into the Mediterranean ſhould be well guarded by 'convoys againſt the Barbary pirates, yet it would by no means be pro-'per to free that ſea of thoſe pirates; becauſe (ſays he) we ſhould here-'by be put upon the ſame footing with the Eaſtlanders, Engliſh, Spa-'niards, and Italians: wherefor it is beſt to leave that thorn in the ſides 'of thoſe nations, whereby they will be diſtreſſed in that trade; while 'we by our convoys ingroſs all the European traffic and navigation to 'Holland.'

By the experience of the ill effects of former negligence, and the help of the port of Gibraltar, we have in our own times greatly gained ground upon Holland in this particular reſpect. *Fas eſt, et ab hoſte doceri**.

Secretary Thurloe received a letter from Leghorn, acquainting him that the Hollanders were making a plantation between Surinam and Carthagena in the Weſt-Indies, aiming chiefly to trade with the Spaniards; for which purpoſe they were ſending thither twenty-five families of Jews. 'If (ſays this letter-writer) our planters at Surinam took 'the ſame courſe, it would be much to their advantage; for the Span-'iards there are in moſt extreme want of all European commodities.' [*Thurloe, V.* vi, *p.* 825.] This was probably a project for ſettling on the Terra firma, from which they were ſaid to be afterwards driven. Unleſs, perhaps, Curaçoa be hereby meant, which is a ſmall iſle near that coaſt, poſſeſſed by the Dutch, and very commodiouſly ſituated for that ſmuggling trade, the Jews there being ſaid to be both rich and numerous; and the Dutch colonies extremely populous and well fortified. It was probably ſettled before this time, as were alſo, above 25 years before, a ſomewhat ſmaller iſle near it, named Aruba; and Bonaire, another iſle on that coaſt, which produces plenty of cotton; and the other two produce ſome ſugar; and though Curaçoa be but about 13 leagues in circuit, and barren, yet its merchants are ſaid to be very rich by their trade with the neighbouring Spaniards for European goods and negroes; ſo that it is deemed one of their beſt colonies in America.

* It is right to learn even from an enemy.

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The following is the eſtimate of the public expenditure and revenue of England, Ireland, and Scotland, for the year ending 1ſt November 1657.

The charge of the ſea - - -	L994,500	0	0
Ditto of the army in the three kingdoms	1,132,489	0	0
Ditto of the civil government - -	200,000	0	0
Total	2,326,989	0	0
The preſent revenue, viz.			
The aſſeſſment in England, Scotland, and Ireland	1,464,000	4	0
The exciſe and cuſtoms, eſtimated at -	700,000	0	0
The other revenue, payable on the receipt of the exchequer, eſtimated at - - -	198,000	0	0
Total	2,362,000	4	0
The revenue of Ireland for two years, ending 1ſt November, 1657. - - -	137,558	13	3
Expenſe of ditto for ſaid two years -	142,509	11	0
Expenſe more than the revenue - -	4,959	17	9
Scotland's revenue for one year - -	37,690	19	0

But Scotland's expenſe is not mentioned. [*Thurloe, V.* vi, *p.* 825, *and p.* 444.]

What De Witt has ſaid of his nation's wiſdom in ſecuring their mercantile ſhipping trading into the Mediterranean by proper convoys, and the neglect of England in that reſpect, is in part confirmed, and partly, alſo, contradicted, by a pamphlet addreſſed to the protector this year, by Samuel Lamb, a merchant, entitled Seaſonable obſervations for the encouraging of foreign commerce: wherein he ſpeaks 'of our mer-'chants' ſhipping as having been of late the beſt in the world; witneſs 'the many ſingle fights at ſea againſt the Turks, to whom, it is be-'lieved, the Dutch loſe ten ſhips for our one; and the remarkable 'ſea-fights againſt the Hollanders themſelves in the late wars; wherein 'many merchant ſhips, from about 300 to 500 tons, did engage againſt 'the enemy with the ſtates ſhips, to our great advantage; the enemy 'notwithſtanding exceeding us in every fight in ſhips and tonnage.' This (though perhaps ſomewhat exaggerated) ſhews the ſtoutneſs of our trading ſhips in the Mediterranean in thoſe times, as well as the bravery of our ſailors; of which ſundry old ſongs and ballads alſo give teſtimony, in their encounters with the Barbary pirates.

Before the commencement of the civil wars in England we find, by the Eaſt-India company's account, that they alone employed 15,000 tons

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of ſhipping, which were accounted to be the beſt trading ſhips belonging to England, (as indeed they continue to be to the preſent times) from 300 to 600 tons each ſhip. But the Eaſt-India ſhipping fell off very much, by the general diſcouragements in their trade, and the undermenings of the Dutch; and now they had ſcarcely one good ſhip remaining. Moreover, from the year 1653, or 1654, to this year 1657, by means of the multitude of interlopers, there was a ſort of open trade from England to India: 'in which time (ſays our author, who in 1681 'wrote in defence of the joint-ſtock company) our nation had well 'nigh loſt all their privileges in India, which are many.' There were alſo grievous loſſes to private traders by depredations, 'a great lower-'ing of Engliſh commodities, and advancing of Indian commodities, 'an increaſe of preſents to governors, &c. to ſuch odious exceſs, that at 'length the very private traders themſelves, being without union and pro-'tection, were the forwardeſt petitioners for a return to a joint-ſtock.' Yet, on the other hand, the ingenious author of a treatiſe intitled *Brittania languens*, [*p.* 76, *ed.* 1680, 8*vo*] affirms, 'that during the years '1653-4-5-6, when the Eaſt-India trade was laid open, they afforded 'the India commodities ſo cheap that they ſupplied more parts of Eu-'rope, and even Amſterdam itſelf, therewith, than ever they did after; 'whereby they very much ſunk the Dutch Eaſt-India company's 'actions.' Yet, it is generally ſaid, that even the interlopers or ſeparate traders were loſers in the end, having alſo endured many indignities and injuries from the Indians. So difficult is it to come at the real truth where intereſt is nearly concerned on both ſides.

Upon the whole, the protector now re-eſtabliſhed the old company, with a joint-ſtock of L739,782, though only 50 per cent, or L369,891, was called in, or was ſtrictly (at that time) deemed their capital ſtock. Yet, by the late laying open of that trade, ſo many leſſer ſhips had been employed in it, that the company, though now again reſtored, could find few or no merchant ſhips large enough for their purpoſe. And the author juſt now quoted alleges, 'that although in former times the 'Engliſh trade into the Mediterranean did by eſtimation employ 80 or '100 ſail of ſhips, from 300 to 400 tons each, yet ſince they employ 'ſmaller ones, which are ſo often taken by the Spaniards,' &c. And he ſays, 'he has formerly known many ſhips of the above, or a greater 'burden, built and equipped in England, purpoſely to be ſent to Ve-'nice, to be let out to that ſtate for ſhips of war, to ſerve them againſt 'the Turks: but the Hollanders ſoon cut us out of that employment 'alſo, by ſerving them cheaper.'

On the 9th of May this year Cromwell concluded another ſelf-intereſted treaty of alliance with France againſt Spain and Holland, and againſt the ſolid intereſt of England. And as ſome of the ſecret articles have a relation to commerce, we ſhall remark on the following ones, viz.

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It ſeems the Dutch admiral De Ruyter had taken two French ſhips of war in the Mediterranean; to revenge which France engaged Cromwell by the IVth and Vth ſecret articles to fit out, at the expenſe of France, from 30 to 40 ſhips of war; part of which were to cruiſe before Oſtend and Dunkirk, and the reſt in the Channel, to take all the ſhips of Holland and Zealand in the French king's name. And article IX and X, that an Engliſh fleet was to block up Oſtend, Newport, and Graveling, whilſt Louis did the ſame on the land ſide. And Louis promiſes to leave thoſe ports (when taken) in the full poſſeſſion and property of the protector: as on the other hand (article XI) Louis was to enjoy all the other towns, harbours, and places, which ſhould be conquered in the ſeventeen provinces of the Netherlands, none excepted, whoever is or has been the poſſeſſor. Article XV and XVI, both parties agreed to aſſiſt the king of Sweden in his intended conqueſt of the city of Dantzic, Louis alſo promiſing to furniſh money for the conqueſt of the Daniſh forts in the Sound; and the protector engaging to ſend a fleet with land forces to block up the paſſage of the Sound, to the end that, with Sweden's aſſiſtance, he might be enabled to keep the trade with thoſe countries and thoſe of his allies free and undiſturbed. The plauſible or probable ground for theſe two remarkable articles of this alliance and enmity againſt Denmark was, becauſe Chriſtiern IV had increaſed his toll on foreign ſhips paſſing the Sound: which toll (we have ſeen) having been farmed to the Hollanders in 1649, it was probable they and the crown of Denmark had jointly aimed to make the moſt of againſt all other nations, though contrary to former ſtipulations.

By article XVII the protector was to have the diſpoſal of any countries and forts which ſhould be taken from Denmark, according to his good pleaſure: but the ſhips and merchandize of the French king's ſubjects ſhould paſs and repaſs the Sound as freely as thoſe of England.

1658.—Cardinal Mazarin (the prime-miniſter of France) having got intelligence that the court of Spain, in order to gain Cromwell, had ſome time before propoſed to aſſiſt him in the conqueſt of Calais for England, took pains to convince the protector, that Dunkirk would be of much greater importance to England, as really is known to be true: and as Cromwell's main dread was leſt France ſhould be aſſiſting in King Charles's reſtoration, he, after ſome deliberation, agreed to Mazarin's propoſal. Whereupon, on the 23d of March 1658, new ſtile, Sir William Lockhart, Cromwell's ambaſſador at Paris, ſigned a convention with the French court, whereby it was ſtipulated that Dunkirk, Mardike, and Graveling, (when taken) ſhould be put into the protector's hands; which was confirmed by a ſecond convention five days after. Whereupon Dunkirk was attacked by the joint forces of England and France, and ſurrendered on midſummer-day 1658, to the French, who, the day

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following, delivered it up with all its forts into the hands of Sir William Lockhart, for the protector. This great acquiſition occaſioned no ſmall jealouſy in the Dutch, who were very far from being pleaſed to ſee England thereby rendered maſters of both ſides of the Channel. Moreover, though France at this time yielded it to Cromwell for the ſake of his preſent friendſhip, in aſſiſting to the greater enfeebling of Spain, and the conſequent raiſing of her own power, yet the French court ſoon foreſaw how dangerous Dunkirk would prove in other hands than their own, and more eſpecially in the poſſeſſion of England, even then the firſt maritime potentate of Europe; wherefor they ſoon found means, (four years after) to get it ſurrendered to them.

Though clocks and clock-makers were introduced into England at leaſt as early as the year 1368, yet we have not diſcovered either the time or the certain place in which they were firſt made; as is alſo the caſe of ſeveral other inventions. Nurenberg in Germany has often been named as the moſt probable place of the invention of watches, (or rather the revival of them about 70 years ago) though I do not find any certainty thereof. The firſt pendulum clock is ſaid to have been invented by Huygens in the preceding year, 1657; yet others aſcribe it to Galileo. Be this as it may, we may be aſſured that the preſent watches are of a much later invention than clocks, though they, in fact, were but a neceſſary conſequence of the other. The Emperor Charles V was the firſt who had a watch; though ſome ſay it was only a ſmall table clock. Others ſay, that emperor had a watch, of ſome kind or other, in the jewel of his ſeal-ring. Spring pocket watches were the production of this century. Foreigners aſcribe the invention to Huygens, but the Engliſh to Dr. Hooke, about this year. It has ſince been brought to greater perfection in England than anywhere elſe.

This year the Swediſh fleet beſieging Copenhagen, where the Daniſh king then was in great diſtreſs, the Dutch fleet under Admiral Opdam defeated that of Sweden, and thereby ſeaſonably relieved the Daniſh king and his capital city. The next year Admiral De Ruyter joined the Daniſh fleet, and defeating that of Sweden, brought about a pacification at Roſchild between theſe two northern crowns, through the mediation of England and France.

1659.—Yet in the following year (1659) the Swedes, under their king Charles Guſtavus, were ſo ſucceſsful in a freſh war againſt Denmark as to oblige that crown to reſtore the fine province of Scania, or Schonen, to Sweden, after Denmark had been in poſſeſſion of it for three centuries. This conceſſion threw much weight into the ſcale of Sweden; but ſeems, however, to have reduced both crowns nearer to an equilibrium than before, with reference to the European ſtates trading into the Baltic ſea.

The Daniſh court having farther diſtreſſed the trade of other nations

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by increaſing the tolls in the paſſages into the Baltic, called the Sound, and greater and leſſer Belt; the two commonwealths of England and Holland, and the court of France, had entered into a joint treaty at the Hague, not only for obliging Denmark and Sweden, then at war, to agree to the above peace, but by the VIth article of that treaty it was ſtipulated, 'that no new duty, toll, or other impoſt, on account of beacons, 'light-houſes, anchorages, or any pretences whatever, be for the future 'raiſed in the Sound or the two Belts, by any perſon whatſoever, upon 'the ſaid three ſtates, or either of them, or upon their ſubjects. And 'with reſpect to the duties or tolls which are paid there by virtue of 'the treaty made at London between the late protector (Oliver) and 'the crown of Denmark, and of another treaty made between the ſaid 'crown and the United provinces in 1645, they ſhall never be augment-'ed upon the three ſtates, nor on any of them, for any cauſe or pretext 'whatever. And if it happens that there are more favourable and ad-'vantageous conditions in one of the ſaid treaties than there are in the 'other, with regard to the toll, or the manner of raiſing it, the ſaid 'three ſtates, and each of them, ſhall for the future enjoy the more fa-'vourable conditions equally; as alſo all other privileges and exemp-'tions; and ſhall be guarantees thereof one to the other.'

It ſeems that, before this definitive treaty, the Danes often varied the tolls they exacted from ſhips paſſing the Sound. Sometimes they laid a roſe-noble on every ſhip, beſide one per cent for laſtage; ſometimes three and one-half per cent; and at other times a thirtieth part of all the cargo was demanded and taken. Queen Elizabeth ſent four ſolemn embaſſies to Denmark in order to get thoſe tolls moderated, and fixed at ſome certainty; though all to very little purpoſe. The Swedes likewiſe had ſometimes pretended to a toll for their caſtle of Helſingburg, on their ſide of the Sound: but now this joint treaty and mutual guarantee of the three potent ſtates before mentioned ſeemed to put an end to all new demands or impoſitions whatever.

The advantageous peace concluded this year at the Pyrenees with the declining kingdom of Spain gave the French full leiſure to improve their foreign commerce, and more eſpecially their trade to Turkey for woollen goods; which, by the help of Spaniſh wool, they ſoon after brought to ſuch perfection, that they have long ſince been enabled, in a great meaſure, to get ground of the Engliſh Levant, or Turkey company, as well as of the Dutch and Venetians; their very able ſtateſman Colbert having ſoon after this time moſt aſſiduouſly applied himſelf thereto, without ſparing any expenſe for the improvement of every branch of commerce; ſuch, for inſtance, as premiums, remiſſion of cuſtoms and taxes, warehouſes rent-free, &c. Yet in order to get their woollen cloth at firſt introduced into Turkey, they are ſaid to have made uſe of the names of the Engliſh traders thither, and of the repu-

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tation of Engliſh cloth, calling their cloth by the name of drap de Londres.

By the Pyrenean treaty Spain yielded to France ſo much territory and ſo many ſtrong fortreſſes in the Netherlands, and on the ſide of Catalonia, Burgundy, and Lorrain, as made the ſcale of France ſtill much more preponderate; the enumeration of which countries and fortreſſes may be ſeen in all the accounts of that peace; which was indeed a very unfortunate one for Spain, and much altered the balance of power in reſpect of thoſe two nations, and in ſome meaſure therefor affected the ſafety of the reſt of Europe.

The iſland of Barbados was by this time become rich and populous; for, in a pamphlet, entitled Trade revived, printed this year, the author, treating of the value of our American plantations, deſcribes 'Barbados as having given to many men of low degree exceeding vaſt fortunes, equal to noblemen. He ſays, that upwards of 100 ſail of ſhips there yearly find employment, by carrying goods and paſſengers thither, and bringing thence other commodities: whereby ſeamen are bred and cuſtom increaſed, our commodities vended, and many thouſands employed therein, and in refining ſugar at home, which we formerly had from other countries. And all this out of that very ſmall, dry, and rocky iſland.' By this account it ſhould ſeem, that our other Caribbee iſles had ſcarcely begun to cultivate ſugar. This alſo ſeems to be the firſt account of ſugar-refining in England, though probably earlier in ſome other countries, (for which ſee the year 1503.)

According to Doctor D'Avenant, who was inſpector-general of the cuſtoms of England, the entire coinage of England for a complete century of years, taken from the regiſters of the royal mint, viz. from 1558 to 1659, was as follows.

Gold coined in Queen Elizabeth's reign	-	L1,200,000
In King James I's reign, about	- -	800,000
In King Charles I's reign	- -	1,723,000
Total gold,	-	L3,723,000
Silver in Queen Elizabeth's reign	- L4,632,932	
In King James I's reign	- 1,700,000	
In King Charles I's reign	- - 8,776,544	
By the parliament and Cromwell	- 1,000,000	
Total ſilver,	-	16,109,476
Total gold and ſilver,	-	L19,832,476

'Yet,' adds the doctor very properly, 'all this money was not co-exiſting in this year 1659. For Queen Elizabeth not only called in

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'and recoined all the debaſed ſilver coin of the three preceding reigns, 'but, by varying the ſtandard, there were freſh fabrications occaſioned, 'ſo that the ſame bullion was coined over and over.' And this able author conjectures, that in the year 1600 our whole gold and ſilver coin together did not exceed 4 millions; and that at the time he wrote (1711) there might be 12 millions of gold and ſilver coin in being. [*New dialogues on the preſent poſture of affairs, p.* 71, *ed.* 1711, 8*vo.*]

This very curious account is well worth our obſervation: and as our commerce is allowed by all men to be very conſiderably increaſed ſince the year 1711, being the ſpace of fifty-one years, I conceive we may reaſonably conclude, that the preſent gold and ſilver coin of Great Britain actually exiſting cannot be leſs than 16 millions: although it be not ſo eaſy to determine the proportion between the quantity of the gold and the ſilver coin.

Having nothing farther to add of the times preceding the reſtoration of King Charles II, we muſt do the rump parliament and Cromwell the juſtice to remark, by way of recapitulation, that they certainly made ſundry very good and ſucceſsful regulations and laws for the improvement and increaſe of commerce and ſhipping, moſt of which were confirmed by the parliament immediately after the reſtoration: which plainly evinced the public ſenſe of their utility, viz.

I) The reduction of the legal intereſt of money from 8 to 6 per cent, greatly to the advantage of the landed and trading intereſts.

II) The navigation act, whereby not only the trade to and from our American plantations was ſecured to ourſelves alone, but likewiſe our mercantile ſhipping was conſiderably increaſed, as was alſo the number of our ſailors, and of all trades depending on ſhipping.

III) Tenures by knights-ſervice, wardſhips, and all other kinds of ſervile tenures, were for ever aboliſhed in England.

IV) All kinds of monopolies were likewiſe quite aboliſhed.

V) Their granting full liberty of conſcience to all peaceable people, inviting multitudes of ſuch to return with their families and fortunes from New-England, Holland, Germany, &c. whither they had been driven by Laud's unchriſtian and mad perſecution, &c. and hereby not only the number of induſtrious people was increaſed, which is the moſt ſolid wealth of any nation, but likewiſe new manufactures were introduced, and the old improved and increaſed.

This meaſure was, however, not agreeable to the zealous royaliſts, and therefor it was not confirmed till the acceſſion of William and Mary, when the nation's eyes were fully opened to ſee the prejudice and folly, as well as wickedneſs, of denying that freedom of conſcience to others which we ourſelves would think we had a right to in like circumſtances.

VI) Vaſſalage was aboliſhed in Scotland, and better order was eſta-

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bliſhed in that country for providing for the poor, puniſhing vagrants, and ſuppreſſing robberies, than had before been in uſe.

But this benefit to Scotland was far from being confirmed after the reſtoration, though ſo reaſonable and beneficial. The firſt four, however, were wiſely confirmed, as what the nation could not have been eaſy without, having before ſo fully experienced their beneficial and moſt ſalutary effects.

1660.—On the 3d of May 1660, a final peace was concluded at the monaſtery of Oliva in Poliſh Pruſſia, between John Caſimir king of Poland, and his confederates the Emperor Leopold, and Frederic William elector of Brandenburg, on the one part, and Charles XI, king of Sweden, on the other part, Louis XIV, king of France, being guarantee. What is neceſſary for us to obſerve, is, the great additional weight thrown into the ſcale of Sweden, by Poland yielding to her the large, fair, and fruitful, province of Livonia, moſt of which, however, had been long before conquered and poſſeſſed by Sweden. On the other ſide, Sweden yielded to Poland the cities and forts ſhe held in Poliſh Pruſſia. The emperor yielded to Holſtein all that he held in that duchy, and the elector of Brandenburgh yielded to Sweden all that he had held in weſtern Pomerania.

We are now again returned to the legal conſtitution of England, of king, lords, and commons, by the reſtoration of King Charles II on the 29th of May, in this year 1660: and the firſt act of parliament relating to our ſubject, is that for a ſubſidy granted to him of tonnage and poundage, and other ſums of money payable upon merchandize exported and imported: the preamble to which act runs thus, viz.

'The commons aſſembled in parliament, repoſing truſt and confidence 'in your majeſty, in and for the guarding and defending of the ſeas 'againſt all perſons intending, or that ſhall intend, the diſturbance of 'your ſaid commons in the intercourſe of trade, and the invading of 'this your realm, for the better defraying the neceſſary expenſes there-'of, which cannot otherwiſe be effected without great charge to your 'majeſty, do, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords *, in 'this your preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the 'ſame, to the intent aforeſaid, give and grant unto you, our ſupreme 'liege lord and ſovereign, one ſubſidy called tonnage, that is to ſay, of 'every ton of wine of the growth of France, that ſhall come into the 'port of London, by way of merchandize, by your natural born ſubjects, L4: 10, and by ſtrangers and aliens L6, and into the outports 'L3 by natural born ſubjects, and by aliens L4: 10; and for every 'butt or pipe of muſcadels, malmſeys, gites, tents, alicants, baſtards, 'ſacks, canaries, malagas, maderas †, and other wines whatſoever, com-

* The biſhops were not yet reinſtated. *A.*

† This is the firſt time this wine is mentioned by that name. *A.*

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'monly called ſweet wines, of the growth of the Levant, Spain, and 'Portugal, or any of them, or of the iſlands belonging to them, or elſe-'where, that ſhall come into the port of London, brought by Engliſh 'ſubjects, L2 : 5, and by aliens L3, and into the outports, by Engliſh 'ſubjects L1 : 10, and by aliens L2 : 5; alſo for rheniſh wines, by 'natural born ſubjects L1 per aum, and by aliens L1 : 5, as in a book 'of rates herein after referred to: and alſo one other ſubſidy called 'poundage, i. e. of all manner of goods and merchandize exported or 'imported, either by denizens or aliens, 12*d* for every 20*s*, as in the 'book of rates valued, or *ad valorem*: and for Engliſh product or ma-'nufacture exported by aliens, 12*d* more for every 20*s* over and above 'the firſt 20*s*; excepting, however, all manner of woollen cloths, com-'monly called old draperies, and all wines which ſhall have paid the 'above named tonnage, and alſo fiſh brought by Engliſhmen, and all 'freſh fiſh and beſtial imported, and all other goods mentioned to be 'cuſtom free in the ſaid book of rates *. And we do hereby grant to 'our liege lord and ſovereign another ſubſidy, i. e. on every ſhort 'woollen cloth exported by Engliſhmen, called broad cloths, not ex-'ceeding twenty-eight yards in length and ſixty-four pounds weight, 'the ſum of 3*s* 4, and proportionably if of greater length or weight: 'and of leſſer lengths and weight, exported by Engliſhmen, alſo 3*s* 4, 'and by aliens 6*s* 8. Engliſh merchants ſhipping goods, &c. in foreign 'ſhips from England ſhall pay double duties, as if they were foreign-'ers. But herrings and other ſea fiſh exported ſhall be duty free. And 'it is hereby enacted, that no rates ſhall be impoſed on Engliſhmen 'without the authority of parliament. No king's collectors, &c. ſhall 'take more fees than were cuſtomary in the fourth year of the late King 'James.'

Other goods, when at certain prices, may be exported, viz. gun-powder, when not exceeding L5 the barrel; wheat L2 per quarter; rye, beans, and peas, L1 : 4; barley and malt 20*s* per quarter; oats 16*s*; beef, per barrel, L5; pork L6 : 10; bacon, per lb. 6*d*; butter, the barrel, L4 : 10; cheeſe, the hundred, L1 : 10; candles, the dozen pounds, 5*s*.

'Provided always, that his majeſty may, by proclamation, at any 'time when he ſhall ſee cauſe ſo to do, and for ſuch time as ſhall be 'therein expreſſed, prohibit the tranſportation of gun-powder or any 'ſort of arms or ammunition.

'And be it farther enacted, that over and above the rates herein be-'fore mentioned, there ſhall be paid to your majeſty on every ton of 'wine of the growth of France, Germany, Portugal, or Madeira, brought

* Neither tea, coffee, nor chocolate, are mentioned in this new book of rates, though they all occur in an act of parliament of this ſame year. *A.*

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'into the port of London, or elſewhere, L3 within nine months after im-
'porting; and of every ton of all other wines L4. The importer to
'give ſecurity for payment. Yet if any of thoſe wines ſhall be re-ex-
'ported within 12 months after, then the aforeſaid additional duty ſhall
'be returned; and the importer, paying ready money, ſhall be allowed
'10 per cent diſcount.

'Provided, that the priſage of wines, or priſe-wines, ſhall pay no ton-
'nage, cuſtoms, nor ſubſidy, in virtue of this act, nor of any thing
'therein contained.' [12 *Car. II, c.* 4.]

As the laſt reduction of intereſt from *eight* to *ſix* per cent was enacted by an uſurped power, the preſent parliament could not conſiſtently take direct notice of it by way of confirmation, though in effect they do it by the preamble to the act, [*c.* 13] that none ſhall take above L6 for the loan of an hundred pounds for a year; thus expreſſed: 'and
'whereas, in freſh memory, the like fall from 8 to 6 in the hundred,
'by a late conſtant practice, hath found the like ſucceſs to the general
'contentment of this nation, as is viſible by ſeveral improvements:
'and whereas nevertheleſs it is the endeavour of ſome at preſent to
'reduce it back again in practice to the allowance of the ſtatute ſtill in
'force,' (i. e. to 8 per cent) 'to the great diſcouragement of ingenui-
'ty and induſtry in the huſbandry, trade, and commerce of this na-
'tion: be it therefor enacted, that from and after the 29th of Sep-
'tember 1660, none ſhall take above 6 per cent, as above, and that
'all bonds and aſſurances whatever made after the time aforeſaid, for
'payment of any principal money to be lent or covenanted to be per-
'formed, upon, or for any uſury, whereon there ſhall be reſerved or
'taken above the rate of L6 in the hundred, ſhall be utterly void;
'and the taker of any higher intereſt or uſury, ſhall forfeit for every
'ſuch offence the treble value of the money ſo lent, &c.' [12 *Car. II, c.* 13.]

Two things are worth remarking in this act, viz. firſt, that the word uſury was ſtill the legal term for the lawful intereſt of money; ſecondly, that it does not take the leaſt notice of the unlawfulneſs, in point of religion or conſcience, or the ſin of taking uſury or intereſt for the loan of money, as has been expreſſed in the preceding acts for reduction thereof. Upon this reduction, Sir Joſiah Child remarks, as he alſo did in treating on the two former reductions, that in about 20 years after the like reduction by the rump parliament in 1651, notwithſtanding the long civil wars and the great complaints of the deadneſs of trade, there are more men to be found upon the exchange now (1688) * worth L10,000 than were then worth L1000; and that L500 ſixty years be-

* His *Brief obſervations concerning trade and intereſt of money* were firſt publiſhed in 1688, 4to. He made a ſhort addition to it in the ſame year, and by degrees his judicious writings on commerce have ſwelled to a ſizeable 8vo volume. *A.*

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fore with a daughter, was eſteemed a larger portion than L2000 in his time; that gentlewomen in thoſe days eſteemed themſelves well cloth-ed in a ſerge gown, which a chambermaid now would be aſhamed to be ſeen in; that, beſide the great increaſe of rich clothes, plate, jewels, and houſehold furniture, there were 100 coaches now to one kept formerly; all which, and much more, he ſolely aſcribes to the abatement of intereſt, which he calls the *cauſa cauſans* of all the other cauſes of the riches of the Dutch as well as of ourſelves, increaſed to ſix times what it then was: 'hereby alſo,' ſays he, 'we are enabled to 'pay a greater tax in one year than our forefathers could in twenty.' 'I can,' ſays he, 'myſelf remember, ſince there were not uſed in Lon-'don ſo many wharfs or quays for landing of merchants goods, by at 'leaſt one third part, as now there are, and thoſe that were then 'could ſcarce have employment for half what they could do. Lands 'in the country now yield twenty years purchaſe, which would not 'then have yielded above eight or ten at moſt. The ſame farms or 'lands to be now ſold would yield treble,' and in ſome caſes ſix times, 'the money they were ſold for fifty years ago. Ireland has alſo been 'vaſtly improved in its lands, ſince great part of it has been lately poſ-'ſeſſed by the induſtrious Engliſh, who were ſoldiers in the late army.' In brief, he lays it down as a conſtant rule to judge whether any coun-try be rich or poor, to know what intereſt they pay for money. 'Near 'home,' continues he, 'we ſee it evidently in Scotland * and Ireland 'where, 10 and 12 per cent being paid for intereſt, the people are poor, 'deſpicable, ill clothed, and their houſes worſe provided, money in-'tolerably ſcarce, notwithſtanding their great plenty of all proviſions. 'In France, where money is at 7 per cent, lands yield about eighteen 'years purchaſe. In Italy, money will not yield above 3 per cent up-'on real ſecurity, and there the people are rich, full of trade, well at-'tired, and their lands will ſell at 35 to 40 years purchaſe: and that it 'is ſo, or better with them in Holland, is too manifeſt. In Turkey 20 'per cent is their intereſt, which makes commerce there to be en-'groſſed by a few, as is always the caſe where intereſt is very high, and 'was the caſe in England in Elizabeth's and James I's time, when in-'tereſt was at 10 per cent. In Spain, the uſual intereſt is 10 and 12 per 'cent; and there, notwithſtanding they have the only trade in the 'world for gold and ſilver, money is nowhere more ſcarce; the people 'poor, deſpicable, and void of commerce, other than what the Engliſh, 'Dutch, Italians, Jews, and other foreigners bring to them, who are to 'them, in effect, as leeches who ſuck their blood and vital ſpirits from 'them.' Our author, however, ſeems to have been aware of a very

* He muſt be miſtaken with reſpect to Scotland, where intereſt was reduced by act of parliament to 8 per cent in the year 1633. *A.*

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ſtrong objection againſt a precipitate reduction of the legal intereſt of money in a nation, without duely attending to what may very properly be termed the natural intereſt of money in ſuch a nation, i. e. at what intereſt money may generally be borrowed on good ſecurity, ſo that ſuch propoſed legal reduction of intereſt ſhould not be very different from the natural intereſt of money at the time: wherefor he obſerves, 'that the matter in England was, at that time, prepared for an abate-'ment of intereſt; for, ſays he, the Eaſt-India company do now bor-'row what they want at 4 per cent.'

Yet notwithſtanding all that this able and experienced gentleman has ſaid upon this favourite ſubject of his, it ſeems to us, that he has not ſufficiently conſidered another point, viz. that low intereſt for money in any country, is at leaſt as much the effect, as the cauſe, of wealth and commerce. An increaſe of commerce brings an increaſe of wealth, which is ever attended with an increaſe of money, and ſuch increaſe of money will naturally and neceſſarily produce a low rate of intereſt, as plenty of any thing whatever neceſſarily cauſes its cheapneſs. A wiſe nation may indeed facilitate the reduction of their legal intereſt, by good and prudent preparatory regulations, and thereby contribute to the increaſe of commerce and to the encouragement of agriculture; but ſuch reduction of the legal intereſt is to be done with great circumſpection, and ever with a due regard to the current natural intereſt of money at any ſuch propoſed time.

In this ſame ſeſſion of parliament the firſt legal act was paſſed for the general encouragement and increaſe of ſhipping and navigation. 'Where-'in,' ſays its preamble, 'under the good providence and protection of 'God, the wealth, ſafety, and ſtrength of this kingdom are ſo much 'concerned.'

The principal enacting clauſes are,

I) 'No goods or commodities whatſoever ſhall be imported into, or exported from, any of the king's lands, iſlands, plantations, or territories, 'in Aſia, Africa, or America, in any other than Engliſh, Iriſh, or plan-'tation built ſhips, and whereof the maſter and at leaſt three-fourths 'of the mariners ſhall be Engliſhmen, under forfeiture of ſhip and 'goods.'

II) 'None but natural-born ſubjects, or naturalized, ſhall henceforth 'exerciſe the occupation of a merchant or factor in thoſe places, under 'forfeiture of goods and chattels *.'

III) 'No goods of the growth, product, or manufacture, of Aſia, 'Africa, or America, ſhall be imported into England, but in ſuch ſhips 'as do truely belong to Engliſh people, either here or in the king's lands.

* This is an improvement upon the act of navigation of 1651. It was common to have Dutch merchants acting as factors and agents in Engliſh colonies. A.

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'or plantations in thoſe parts, and navigated as in the firſt clauſe 'above *.'

IV) 'No goods or commodities of foreign growth, production, or 'manufacture, which ſhall be brought into England, Ireland, Jerſey, or 'Guernſey, &c. other than in ſhips built and navigated as aforeſaid, 'ſhall be ſhipped from any other place but the place of their growth, 'production, or manufacture, or from thoſe ports where they can only 'be, or uſually have been, brought, under forfeiture of ſhip and 'goods †.'

V) 'Such ſalted fiſh, train-oil, and whale-fins, (as have been uſually 'caught, &c. by the Engliſh or Iriſh) not caught, cured, &c. by Eng-'liſh or Iriſh, nor imported in veſſels truely Engliſh, and navigate as 'above ſhall pay double aliens cuſtoms.'

VI) 'No goods or proviſions ſhall be carried coaſt-wiſe, from one Eng-'liſh port to another, in veſſels whereof any ſtranger, not naturalized, is 'owner, in whole or in part, and which ſhall not be navigated as be-'fore.'

VII) 'No goods of the growth, &c. of Ruſſia, as alſo no maſts, timber, 'or boards, foreign ſalt, pitch, tar, roſin, hemp, flax, raiſins, figs, prunes, 'olive-oil, corn, ſugar, pot-aſh, wines, vinegar, and ſpirits, ſhall be im-'ported in any ſhips but ſuch whereof the true owners are Engliſh, and 'navigated as aforeſaid: nor any currants, or other goods, of the 'Turks dominions, but in Engliſh-built ſhips, and navigated as afore-'ſaid; excepting only ſuch foreign ſhips as are of the built of that coun-'try of which the ſaid goods are the growth, &c. or of ſuch port where 'the foreſaid goods can only be, or moſt uſually are, firſt ſhipped for 'tranſportation; and whereof the maſter and three fourths of the mari-'ners at leaſt are of the ſaid country or place.'

VIII) 'To prevent the colouring or concealing of aliens goods, all 'the foreign goods before-named, which ſhall be henceforth im-'ported into England in ſhips not belonging to England, and not navi-'gated as aforeſaid, ſhall be deemed aliens goods, and ſhall pay all ſtran-'gers cuſtoms and port-dues.'

IX) 'To prevent the like frauds in colouring the buying of foreign 'ſhips, no foreign-built ſhip ſhall enjoy the privileges of one belonging 'to England, till firſt the owners make it appear that they are not aliens: 'and they ſhall ſwear that they gave a valuable conſideration (to be 'then ſpecified) for ſuch ſhip, and that no foreigner has any ſhare

* This clauſe ſecured the Eaſt-India, Guinea, and Levant companies, and alſo the American co-lonies, from foreign ſhips. *A.*

† So lately as about the year 1755, twelve ſhips from Appenrade in Denmark were guilty of a breach of this clauſe, by bringing timber to Liverpool, not of the growth of Denmark, and were obliged to compound for their delinquency: as were alſo two other ſhips from the ſame port next year for timber brought into Leith. So ne-ceſſary is it for merchants to be acquainted with the mercantile laws of the countries they propoſe to trade to. *A.*

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'therein. Of all which a certificate ſhall be produced, and a regiſter 'kept *.'

X) 'This act ſhall not extend to merchandize from any place within 'the ſtraits of Gibraltar, if they be brought from the uſual ports there, 'though not from the place of their growth, production, or manufac- 'facture, ſo as the ſhip and crew be qualified as above. The like as to 'all Eaſt-India commodities brought from any place eaſt of the Cape of 'Good Hope. Moreover, Engliſh ſhips, navigated as above, may im- 'port from Spain, Portugal, the Canaries, Azores, and Madeira, all 'ſorts of goods of the plantations of Spain or Portugal.'

XI) 'Bullion, prize-goods, corn, and ſalt, and fiſh from Scotland, in 'Scotch-built ſhips, and three fourths of the mariners the king's ſub- 'jects, are excepted out of this act; and ſeal oil from Ruſſia, in Eng- 'liſh ſhips, with three fourths Engliſh mariners.'

XII) 'French ſhips in our ports ſhall pay 5/ per ton, ſo long as Eng- 'liſh ſhips in French ports pay 50 ſols per ton †.'

XIII) 'No ſugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, fuſtic, or 'other dying woods of the growth or manufacture of our Aſian, Afri- 'can, or American, colonies, ſhall be ſhipped from the ſaid colonies to 'any place but to England, Ireland‡, or to ſome other of his majeſty's ſaid 'plantations, there to be landed; under forfeiture as before. And to 'make effectual this laſt clauſe, (for the ſole benefit of our own naviga- 'tion and people) the owners of the ſhips ſhall give bonds, at their ſet- 'ting out, for the due performance thereof.' [12 *Car. II, c.* 18.]

Theſe were called enumerated commodities; and by the acts of the 15th, 22d, and 23d of this reign (the firſt for the encouragement of trade, and the others for preventing the planting of tobacco in England, and for regulating the plantation-trade) the enumerated commodities in the firſt act were expreſsly prohibited to be carried to Ireland till firſt landed in England. By the 3d and 4th of Queen Anne, rice and melaſſes are made enumerated commodities; but by the 3d of King George II, rice is again rendered unenumerated. By the 8th of King George I, for encouraging the ſilk manufacture, beaver, and other peltry of America, are made enumerated. And by the 2d of King George II, pitch, tar, turpentine, maſts, yards, and bowſprits, from our plantations are alſo made enumerated commodities; and all other plantation goods are called unenumerated. And by the 8th of George I, *c.* 18, copper ore of the plantations was made an enumerated commodity; i. e. ſuch a one as muſt be firſt landed in England before it can be

* Ever ſince this act paſſed, there is an officer eſtabliſhed at the cuſtom-houſe, called *the ſurveyor of the act of navigation*, who keeps a regiſter of all Britiſh-built veſſels. *A.*

† The Dutch were exempted from this impoſition of 50 ſols per tun by the treaty of Ryſwick, much to the damage of France, (as the French council of trade affirm in their report in 1701) ſince that duty, which before produced from 6 to 700,000 livres, now (1701) produces but 100,000. *A.*

‡ Ireland is left out in all ſubſequent acts, and expreſsly excepted in that of 22, 23 *Car. II, c.* 26. *A.*

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landed in foreign parts. Theſe enumerated commodities will probably be hereafter found neceſſary to be altered with the unforeſeen changes neceſſarily happening in our American and European commerce.

This is the ſubſtance of this very long act, here ſo neceſſary to be inſerted, as being perhaps the moſt important ſtatute in behalf of commerce, that ever was enacted in this, or poſſibly in any other, nation: inſomuch that Sir Joſiah Child, in his Diſcourſe on trade, thinks it deſerves to be called our *Charta maritima*. There wanted not, however, authors who at firſt (as in a former one, enacted by the rump) found fault with it, affirming that it would be deſtructive to our commerce, &c. In Roger Coke's Diſcourſe of trade, publiſhed even ſo late as 1670, he affirms, 'that in two years after the navigation-act of the rump parliament, in '1651, the building of ſhips in England became one third dearer than 'before, (at which none but ſuch a head as his would have wondered) 'and that ſeamen's wages became ſo exceſſive dear, that we have wholely 'loſt the Muſcovy and Greenland trades, whereby we gave the Dutch 'and other nations the power of driving the trade of the world.' Yet, quite on the contrary, we, by this navigation-act, have gradually obtained a vaſt increaſe of ſhipping and mariners: for by patience and ſteadineſs we have, in length of time, obtained the two great ends of this ever-famous act, viz.

The bringing our own people to build ſhips for carrying on ſuch an extenſive commerce as they had not before. Sir Joſiah Child was of opinion, 'that without this act we had not now (in 1668) been owners 'of one half of the ſhipping or trade, nor ſhould have employed one 'half of the ſeamen we do at preſent.' So vaſt an alteration had this act brought about in a few years; inſomuch that we are at length become, in a great meaſure, what the Dutch once were, i. e. the great carriers of Europe, more eſpecially within the Mediterranean ſea.

By this act we have abſolutely excluded all other nations from any direct trade or correſpondence with our American plantations; and were it not for this act (ſays that able author) we ſhould ſee 40 Dutch ſhips at our own plantations for one of England. That, before the paſſing of this act, and whilſt our American colonies were but in childhood, the ſhips of other European nations, more eſpecially of the Dutch, reſorted to our plantations both to lade and unlade; and their merchants and factors neſtled themſelves amongſt our people there, which utterly fruſtrated the original intent of planting thoſe colonies, viz. to be a benefit to their mother-country, to which they owed their being and protection. It could not therefor be thought ſtrange that, when our planters were become able to ſtand on their own legs, and to ſupply conſiderable quantities of materials for exportation, (as was now the caſe of Virginia for tobacco, and of Barbados for ſugar, ginger, cotton, &c.) our legiſlature thought it high time to ſecure to ourſelves alone thoſe increaſing benefits which had been produced at our ſole charge and trouble. And in this reſpect

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Spain had long before ſet us a juſt and laudable example, ſince followed by the other principal European nations who have planted in America.

We may here alſo note, that, till this act took place, the Dutch in a manner engroſſed the whole trade to Sweden; whereas hereby our Engliſh ſhips have ſince got a ſhare of the trade thither.

Such immenſe benefits obtained by this act may well be our juſtification for enlarging ſo much on it: ſince the hiſtory of our commerce muſt have been left very imperfect, without duely illuſtrating what has been one great means of increaſing our commerce and naval power. De Witt in his Intereſt of Holland, [*part* i, *c.* 22] treating of the expediency of Holland's eaſing their own, and charging foreign, manufactures with duties, obſerves, 'that in this ſame year, 1660, the 'Engliſh ſettled their rates of cuſtoms and convoy-money ſo well, to favour their own people as much as poſſible, and to burden all foreign 'maſters of ſhips and merchants, (he meant by this navigation-act) that 'it is to be feared the Engliſh merchants may in time bereave the 'Dutch of much of their trade;' than which, there cannot be a ſtronger approbation or commendation of our navigation laws.

We have ſeen, under the years 1645 and 1656, that wards, liveries, and tenures in capite and by night's ſervice, were aboliſhed by the long parliament, and alſo by the rump. And the people of England having enjoyed the benefits thereof for fifteen years, it could not but be very acceptable to them to have it confirmed after the reſtoration. The preamble to the acts ſhews, what opinion this parliament had of thoſe old ſlaviſh dependencies of the people on the crown and on the great lords, viz.

'Whereas it hath been found, by former experience, that the court of 'wards and liveries, and of tenures by knight's-ſervice, either of the 'king or others, or by knights-ſervice in capite, or ſoccage in capite of 'the king; and the conſequents upon the ſame have been much more 'burdenſome, grievous, and prejudicial, to the kingdom than they have 'been beneficial to the king. And whereas, ſince the intermiſſion of 'the ſaid court, anno 1645, many perſons have, by will and otherwiſe, 'made diſpoſal of their lands held by knight's-ſervice, whereupon di'verſe queſtions might poſſibly ariſe, unleſs ſome ſeaſonable remedy be 'taken to prevent the ſame: be it therefor enacted, that the court of 'wards and liveries, and all wardſhips and liveries, premier-ſeizens, 'and alſo voyages-royal, and ouſter-le-mains, values and forfeitures of 'marriages, by reaſon of any tenure of the king's majeſty, or of any 'other knight's ſervice, fines for alienations, ſeizures, and pardons 'for alienations, eſcuage, tenures by homage; and alſo aide pur 'filemarier, and purfaire fitz chevalier, be taken away and diſ'charged. And that all tenures before mentioned be utterly abo'liſhed, and all tenures of any honours, manors, lands, or any eſtate 'of inheritance at the common law, held either of the king or

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'of any other perſon, be hereby turned into free and common ſoccage, 'from that time for ever.' By this act alſo, purveyance of proviſions, &c. for the king's houſehold was taken away, ſo as 'no money or other 'things ſhall be taken, impoſed, or levied, for any proviſion, car-'riages, or purveyance for the crown. Nor ſhall the ſubject's timber, 'fuel, corn, cattle, hay, ſtraw, victual, carts, carriage-horſes, &c. be 'taken away without their free and full conſent: neither ſhall the 'crown hereafter have any pre-emption, in market, or out of market; 'but the ſubjects ſhall freely buy and ſell how, and to whom, they 'pleaſe, under proper penalties and forfeitures.' This famous law, which took away all ſervile tenures and dependencies on the king and great lords, and abſolutely prevented the arbitrary treatment of the people by the king's officers, under pretence of purveying or providing for his table, journies, &c. was looked on as a ſecond magna charta for the people of England. It was therefor judged but reaſonable that the crown, which had hereby loſt many emoluments and much power and influence, ſhould be recompenſed ſome other way: by this ſame act therefor the duties of exciſe on malt-liquors, cyder, perry, mead, ſpirits, or ſtrong waters, coffee, tea *, ſherbet, and chocolate, were ſettled on the king during his life, by way of additional revenue to the tonnage and poundage act already recited. [12 *Car. II, c.* 24.]

The parliament again prohibited the exportation of live ſheep, wool, woollen yarn, and fullers' earth, of the produce of England and Ireland, upon the forfeiture thereof, and of the ſhips carrying them, and alſo a penalty of 20*ſ* for every ſheep, and 3*ſ* for every pound of wool, and three months impriſonment for the maſter of ſuch ſhip. A clauſe was, however, added in behalf of the iſles of Jerſey and Guernſey, Alderney, and Sark, allowing them annually to export thither 3300 tods of unkemed wool, each tod not exceeding 32 pounds. [12 *Car. II, c.* 32.] This licence, it is ſaid, gave birth to the great ſtocking-trade of thoſe iſles, and thereby ſunk the ſtocking manufacture of Somerſetſhire, and ſome other parts of England. This was the firſt legal act for the expreſs and general prohibition of the exportation of wool by Engliſh ſubjects. Sundry additions and penalties have ſince been enacted for corroboration thereof; yet ſuch is the force of the temptation to gain, that to this day the complaints of exportation to France and Holland are as loud as ever: and though numberleſs ſchemes and propoſals for new laws and penalties have ſo often been offered to the public, yet none of them have been hitherto judged practicable in every reſpect.

In this memorable year the parliament paſſed an act againſt planting

* According to an author quoted by Dr. Johnſon, 'Tea was firſt imported from Holland by the 'earls of Arlington and Offory in 1666. From 'their ladies the women of quality learned its uſe. 'Its price was then three pound a pound, and con-'tinued the ſame till 1707.' [*Johnſon's Works, V.* x, *p.* 261, *ed.* 1787.] The act of parliament ſhews that this author was miſtaken; but it may be preſumed, that the uſe of tea was very rare at this time. *M.*

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tobacco in England or Ireland; which firſt takes notice 'of the great 'concern and importance of the colonies and plantations of England in 'America: and that all due and poſſible encouragement ſhould be given 'to them; not only as great dominions have been added thereby to the 'imperial crown of England; but alſo, that the ſtrength and welfare 'of the kingdom very much depend on them, in regard to the employ-'ment of a very conſiderable part of its ſhipping and ſeamen, and of 'the vent of very great quantities of its native commodities and manu-'factures; as alſo of their ſupplying us with ſeveral commodities for-'merly furniſhed us by foreigners. And foraſmuch as tobacco is one 'of the main products of ſeveral of thoſe plantations, it is hereby pro-'hibited to be planted in England or Ireland; as depriving the king of 'a conſiderable part of his revenue by cuſtoms: beſides that, tobacco 'of our own growth is, by experience, found not to be ſo wholeſome 'as our plantation tobacco.' [12 *Car. II, c.* 34.]

The earl of Clarendon (lord chancellor) in his own defence, upon his impeachment in parliament, obſerved, that ſoon after King Charles's reſtoration, he uſed all the endeavours he could to bring his majeſty to have a great eſteem for his plantations, and to encourage the improvement of them: and that he was confirmed in his opinion and deſire by the entries at the cuſtom-houſe, by which he found what a great revenue accrued to the king from thoſe plantations: inſomuch, that the receipts from thence had repaired the decreaſe of the cuſtoms, which the late troubles had brought upon other parts of trade.

As the ingenious author of the Preſent ſtate of England, [*Part* iii, *p.* 259, *ed.* 1683] obſerves, that aſparagus, artichocks, oranges, and lemons, were then but of a late date in England *; we imagine they may have been firſt produced with us, about the time of the reſtoration; and probably cauliflower was rather ſomewhat, though very little, later than this time; as were alſo ſundry kinds of beans, peas, and ſalads, now in common uſe.

In the ſame year, the rates of the poſt-office, for England and Ireland, were eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, letters of one ſheet, to any place not exceeding 80 miles, to be charged 2*d*; above the diſtance of 80 miles, 3*d*; from London to Berwick, 3*d*; from Berwick to 40 miles diſtance, 2*d*; from Berwick farther than 40 miles, 4*d*. From any part of England to Dublin, one ſheet, 6*d*; from Dublin to any part of Ireland, 40 miles diſtance, 2*d*, and double for a greater diſtance. Letters of two ſheets to pay double, and larger packets in the proportion of quadruple poſtage per ounce. The foreign letters we omit, for brevity's ſake, as they are in every counting houſe. [12 *Car. II, c.* 35.] This revenue was found to bring in L21,500 when it and the wine licences were ſettled in the year 1663 on the duke of York. All the foregoing

* Have oranges and lemons ever been cultivated in England but as matters of curioſity? *M.*

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acts being made without the biſhops, and the parliament being diſſolved the 20th of December 1660, the next parliament thought fit to re-enact them all. [13 *Car. II, c.* 14.]

By a reſolution of a committee of the Britiſh houſe of commons, on the 28th of March 1735, it appears that the privilege enjoyed by members of parliament of franking their letters, was co-eval with this eſtabliſhment, viz. 'it is the opinion of this committee, that the privilege of 'franking letters by the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, choſen to re-'preſent the commons in parliament, began with the erecting a poſt-'office within this kingdom, by act of parliament. And that all letters, 'not exceeding two ounces, ſigned by, or directed to, any member of 'this houſe, during the ſitting of every ſeſſion of parliament, and forty 'days before, and forty days, after every ſummons or prorogation, 'ought to be carried and delivered freely, and from all parts of Great 'Britain and Ireland, without any charge of poſtage.'

Soon after the reſtoration of Charles II the French began to invade the iſland of Newfoundland, till then ſolely poſſeſſed by England. They firſt ſettled on the ſouthern coaſt of it, by the help of their colony in Canada, and ſtrongly fortified themſelves at Placentia, where they continued to encroach on the Engliſh in the wars of King William and Queen Anne.

It is certain that there is a vaſt profit accruing to the public from the Newfoundland fiſhery. It breeds great numbers of excellent ſeamen. It keeps up a great number of ſhipping. It employs many various trades. It perhaps gains us almoſt L400,000 per annum increaſe to the national ſtock of treaſure, from Portugal, Spain, and Italy, to which countries moſt of the fiſh is carried; what is ſhipped for Britain and Ireland being but inconſiderable, when compared with what is ſent to thoſe countries; and ſome alſo is ſent to the ſugar iſlands. Computations have been made, that a ſhip of 100 tons uſually carries to market as much fiſh as yields L3000, of which L2000 is ſaid to be clear gain; which ſhews, that the fiſhery is of all trades the moſt profitable. There were uſually two different ways of conducting that trade. Some victual and man their ſhips from Poole, Dartmouth, Biddeford, and other weſtern ports, and reſort early to the banks of Newfoundland, to fiſh on their own proper account. Others ſail directly to the land, and purchaſe their cargoes of thoſe fiſhers, or elſe of the inhabitants from off their ſtages. The banks are vaſt ſhoals, or ſubmarine mountains, to which the cod reſort in infinite numbers. Train-oil is drawn from their livers in conſiderable quantities. On thoſe banks, and on the coaſts of Newfoundland, there have been ſeen 600 or 700 veſſels of different nations fiſhing at the ſame time.

This year Sir Thomas Modyford, an eminent planter in the iſland of Barbados, after acquiring a vaſt fortune there, removed to Jamaica,

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where he inſtructed the planters in the cultivation of the ſugar-cane; for which, and his other great improvements, he was afterwards appointed governor of Jamaica, and ſo continued from 1663 to 1669.

About this time, the Dutch attempted the conqueſt of Goa, the chief ſettlement of the Portugueſe in Eaſt India; but it being then probably in a better condition than ſince, they were not able to take it, although they blocked up the bar of that city for twelve years together. Goa was ſtill a magnificent city, full of churches and monaſteries: ſome accounts ſay, to the number of eighty; and that its diſtrict extended forty miles along the coaſt, and fifteen miles within land. That there were then about 30,000 perſons in its diſtrict, who lived by the church, being equal in number to the laity there, (a moſt wiſe nation ſurely!) beſides 50,000 native Indians. Yet it is no wonder that moſt of the laity are deſcribed to be poor, ſince the clergy ſwallow up the bulk of its riches. Goa is, in our time, much decayed, occaſioned chiefly indeed by the Portugueſe having loſt moſt of their ſettlements and factories in India. Yet it was deſcribed ſome years ago as having 140,000 people of all ſorts under the Portugueſe dominion, in the iſles of Goa, South Salſet and Bardes, whither three or four large veſſels went yearly from Portugal, now probably not ſo many.

We may here obſerve, that the parliament this year paſſed an act in favour of the Dutch or Flemings at Colcheſter, who in Queen Elizabeth's time brought the manufacture of bayes into England. Hereby the governor of the Dutch bay-hall in that town, and the Dutch people belonging to that community, were confirmed in all the privileges and immunities which they had at any preceding time enjoyed. And all bayes made in that town were directed to be carried to their row-hall, to be ſearched and ſtamped, before they be ſold. [12 *Car. II, c.* 22.]

The coins of King Charles II conſiſted of the ſame pieces with thoſe coined in the ſecond year of his father, and were all hammered, till the year 1663, when milled money was coined.

In this remarkable year was the royal ſociety of London formed and incorporated by King Charles II; of which the author of this work does not preſume to give the complete and perfect character and eulogium. It is ſufficient for his purpoſe only to remark, that its improvements in aſtronomy and geography are alone ſufficient te exalt its reputation, and to demonſtrate its great utility even, to the mercantile world, without inſiſting on its many and great improvements in other arts and ſciences, ſome of which have alſo a relation to commerce, navigation, manufactures, mines, agriculture, &c. Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV, obſerves, 'that to this illuſtrious ſociety the world is indebted 'for the late diſcoveries relating to light, the principle of gravitation, 'the motion of the fixed ſtars, the geometry of tranſcendant qualities, 'and an hundred other diſcoveries, which, in this reſpect, might juſtly

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'denominate the age we ſpeak of, to be the age of the Engliſh, as well 'as the age of Louis the XIV.'

In 1666 the great Colbert, emulous of this glory of England, adviſed King Louis XIV, at the requeſt alſo of ſeveral men of learning, to eſtabliſh the French academy of ſciences, which, in 1669, became an incorporated body like ours of London, as ſundry others have ſince been in other countries of Europe.

So greatly was the commerce, and conſequently the wealth, of England increaſed by this time, that ſeveral political writers, and particularly the anonymous author of the Happy future ſtate of England, thought by ſome to be the earl of Angleſey, are of opinion, that the revenue of England at the reſtoration was quintuple of what it was at the reformation from popery, in the reign of King Henry VIII. This, we apprehend, may be probable enough, yet no author, that we know of, has clearly made it out to be preciſely ſuch a proportion of increaſe, and therefor we ſhall leave it as we found it, rather than miſlead our readers by poſitive aſſertions, void of abſolute proof, which is not eaſy to come at.

While the Eaſt-India trade from England remained, in a manner, free and open, viz. from 1653 to 1657, an incident in India had almoſt made an open breach between our two houſes of parliament, after the reſtoration, and made a great buſtle for ſome years.

In the year 1657 Thomas Skinner, a merchant, had fitted out a ſhip for India, where he arrived the next year. At the ſame time the Eaſt-India company had a new charter from Cromwell, and their agents ſeized his ſhip and merchandize, together with his houſe and iſland of Barella, which he had bought of the king of Jamby. They even denied him a paſſage home; and he was obliged to travel over-land to Europe. For ſeveral years after the reſtoration Skinner made lamentable complaints to the king, who at length recommended his caſe to a committee of the council, and next to the houſe of peers, from whom alſo Skinner petitioned for redreſs. The peers directed the Eaſt-India company to anſwer, who pleaded their excluſive privileges and trade in and to India, and alſo demurred to the lords juriſdiction, as not coming to them regularly, by appeal from an inferior court. The lords overruled this plea, and in 1666 appointed Skinner's caſe to be pleaded at their bar, yet the company found means to get it poſtponed to the year 1667, when they again demurred as before, and at the ſame time petitioned the houſe of commons againſt the proceedings of the houſe of lords, which they alleged to be contrary to law. The lords hereupon were greatly inflamed, and finally gave Skinner L5000 damages, to be paid by the Eaſt-India company. This inflamed the houſe of commons, who not only paſſed ſome very warm votes againſt the houſe of lords, but ſent Skinner priſoner to the tower. The lords were thereby farther inflam-

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ed, and voted the company's petition to the houſe of commons to be falſe and ſcandalous. The commons thereupon reſolved, that whoever ſhould execute the ſentence of the lords in favour of Skinner ſhould be deemed a betraver of the rights and liberties of the commons of England, and an infringer of the privileges of their houſe. Thoſe violent heats obliged the king to adjourn the parliament ſeven times, and the quarrel reviving in the ſeſſion of 1670, the king called both houſes to Whitehall, and prevailed on them to eraſe all the votes, &c. of both houſes on this ſubject. Thus it ended, after many elaborate diſquiſitions on the juriſdiction of either houſe of parliament; nor does it clearly appear, that Skinner ever had any redreſs at all.

1661.—In the year 1661 the king granted a new, or ſupplemental, charter to the Engliſh Levant, or Turkey, company, which, after ratifying and confirming that company's firſt charter, granted in 1605, directed, that no perſon reſiding within 20 miles of London, excepting noblemen and gentlemen of quality, ſhould be admitted into the freedom of the company, unleſs firſt made free of the city of London. So all perſons, who from thenceforth deſired to trade to Turkey, and were not free of the city of London, were put to a conſiderable additional expenſe in taking up the freedom, which has been ſince frequently found fault with.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company, notwithſtanding the diſorders in it of late years, being ſuppoſed ſtill to exiſt, as eſtabliſhed by Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles I, obtained of King Charles II a new excluſive charter, dated the 3d of April 1661, by the old name of the governor and company of merchants of London trading to the Eaſt-Indies. It was to conſiſt of a governor, a deputy governor, and twenty-four committees, (ſince called directors) to be annually elected; the limits of their trade the ſame as in the former charters. They, their ſons at twenty-one years of age, their apprentices, factors, and ſervants, employed in this trade, might freely trade to India, in ſuch manner only as a general court ſhould direct. The company to have perpetual ſucceſſion, to make bye-laws, and impoſe penalties not repugnant to the laws of England; might export only L.50,000 in foreign ſilver annually. And in time of reſtraint to be allowed ſix good ſhips, and ſix good pinnaces, with 500 mariners, to ſail yearly to India, unleſs the king ſhould judge proper to ſtop them from going, in order to reinforce his royal navy for defence of the realm, on urgent occaſions. None other ſhould trade to India without their licence, on pain of forfeiting ſhips and goods, one half to the crown, one half to the company. They might admit into their freedom all ſuch apprentices, factors, and ſervants of any freeman of the company, and all ſuch others as a majority of their general courts ſhould chuſe. The company muſt import, within ſix months after every voyage, at leaſt as much ſilver as they carried out. All their gold and ſilver exported muſt be ſhipped at London, Dart-

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mouth, or Plymouth Adventurers to have votes in proportion to their ſtock paid in on the reſpective voyages L500 ſtock to have one vote; and any ſuch freemen as have paid in leſs than L500 might join together, and make up L500, or one vote, jointly. The company to have and enjoy all plantations, forts, factories, &c. in Eaſt India; may erect new fortifications there, or at St. Helena, immediately under their command; to have time for the payment of the king's cuſtoms, half in ſix months, and the other half ſix months after. And if any goods, which ſhall have paid cuſtom, are loſt, the cuſtom to be returned to the loſers; may appoint governors, judges, &c. thereof, and may judge all perſons living under them, both in civil and criminal cauſes; may make war and peace with any prince or people that are not chriſtians, (within their limits) as ſhall be moſt for the benefit of their trade, and may recompenſe themſelves on the goods, eſtates, or people there, who ſhall injure them; may build, plant, and fortify at St. Helena, and elſewhere within their limits; may tranſport ſuch numbers of men as they ſhall think fit, being willing thereunto, and govern them there, in ſuch legal manner as the company ſhall think fit, and may inflict puniſhment, fines, &c. for miſdemeanours; may ſeize the perſons of all Engliſh ſubjects, ſailing in any Indian or Engliſh veſſel, or inhabiting there without the company's leave firſt obtained, and may ſend them to England. Perſons in the company's ſervice, appealing from the ſentence of the governors, &c. in India, to be ſent home to receive ſentence of the company, agreeable to the laws of the land. Governors, &c. in India, may examine, upon oath, all factors, maſters, purſers, &c. for diſcovery of injuries.

Firſt proviſo, that this company may not trade to any place within their limits, already poſſeſſed by any chriſtian prince or ſtate in amity with his majeſty, without the conſent of ſuch prince or ſtate.

Second proviſo, that in caſe the continuance of this charter, or of any part thereof, ſhall hereafter appear to the king or his ſucceſſors not to be profitable to the crown or kingdom, then, after three years warning given to this company by the crown, this preſent charter ſhall be void to all intents and purpoſes. The reſt is only a repetition of the clauſes in Queen Elizabeth's charter of the year 1600, to which therefor, for brevity's ſake, we refer.

Thus the very ſame perſons and capital ſtock, re-incorporated by Cromwell in the year 1657, were now again eſtabliſhed and confirmed by this charter; in which, however, there were ſome powers relating to puniſhments of delinquents, &c. that were afterwards deemed illegal and arbitrary.

By this charter it appears that this company had not (in the manner of our modern Eaſt-India company) one ſole transferable joint-ſtock, but that every one, who was free of this company, paid in a certain ſum

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of money to the company, on fitting out their voyages, for which he had credit in the company's books, and had his proportionable dividend on the profits of ſuch reſpective voyage; the whole inveſtments being made by the company in their corporate capacity. And they were not hereby made an irrevocable corporation, but might be diſſolved on three years notice.

The Portugueſe having recovered the rich and extenſive province of Braſil from the Dutch, and the Dutch, on the other hand, having expelled the Portugueſe from their forts and ſettlements at Coulan, Cananor, Cochin, Cranganor, and Calicut, on the coaſt of Malabar, in East-India, they now terminated the war by a treaty, whereby each power retained the dominions and ſettlements then actually in their poſſeſſion.

About this time many proteſtant diſſenters in England and Scotland, to avoid perſecutions and reſtraints in matters of conſcience, removed to New England.

By an act of parliament [13, 14 *Car. II, c.* 2] for repairing the highways and ſewers, and paving and keeping clean the ſtreets in and about London and Weſtminſter, and for reforming annoyances and diſorders there, regulating and licencing of hackney coaches, and enlarging ſeveral ſtrait and inconvenient ſtreets and paſſages, it appears that many new ſtreets were then ſcarcely finiſhed in and about St. James's pariſh. The ſtreet or way from the end of Petty-france to St. James's-houſe *; a ſtreet from St. James's-houſe up to the high-way †; a ſtreet in St. James's-fields, commonly called the Pall-mall, and alſo a ſtreet extending from the Meuſe to Piccadilly ‡, and from thence towards the ſtone-bridge, to the furthermoſt building near the Bull, at the corner of Air-ſtreet, were hereby directed to be paved, at the rate of 1/4 for every ſquare yard, out from the houſes or garden-walls to the middle of the way, at the expenſe of the proprietors of the houſes, &c. The other ways were to be kept in repair out of the money ariſing from 400 hackney coaches hereby directed to be licenced, at L5 to be paid annually for every coach. The rates of the coaches by the day, by the hour, and by the ground, hereby eſtabliſhed exactly the ſame as at this day. Candles, or lights in lanthorns, were to be hung out by every houſeholder fronting the ſtreets, in London, Weſtminſter, and ſuburbs, from michaelmas to lady-day, from its being dark until nine in the evening. The following ſtreets and narrow paſſages are alſo directed to be widened, viz. the ſtreet or paſſage near Stocks in London; the ſtreet or paſſage from Fleet-conduit to St. Paul's church in London; the paſſage from the White-hart inn from the Strand, into Covent-garden; the ſtreet and paſſage by and near Exeter-houſe and the Savoy, being ob-

* It is not very clear what ſtreet was thus deſcribed. *A.*
† Now St. James's ſtreet. *A.*
‡ Now the Haymarket. *A.*

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ſtructed by a rail and the unevenneſs of the ground thereabouts; the paſſage and ſtreet of St. Martin's-lane out of the Strand; the paſſage or ſtreet of Field-lane, commonly called Jackanapes-lane, going between Chancery-lane and Lincoln's-inn-fields; the paſſage and gate-houſe of Cheapſide, into St. Paul's church-yard; the paſſage againſt St. Dunſtan's church in the weſt (being obſtructed by a wall); the ſtreet and paſſage near the weſt end of the Poultry, in London, and the paſſage at Temple-bar. All theſe were deemed very incommodious to coaches, carts, and paſſengers, and prejudicial to commerce and trading. All which ſhew very plainly, how inelegant, as well as inconvenient, a great part of the city of London was at this time; and alſo how much the liberty of Weſtminſter was conſtantly increaſing in new ſtreets and buildings, the conſequence of our increaſing commerce and wealth. So much is the great contiguity of London altered ſince then, that ſome part of this deſcription is difficult to be traced at this preſent time.

An act for regulating the making of ſtuffs in Norfolk and Norwich ſays, 'the trade of weaving ſtuffs hath of late times been very much 'increaſed, and great variety of new ſorts have been invented; ſo that 'the power given by the ſtatute [17 *Edw. IV, c.* 1] is not ſufficient for 'regulating the ſame; and the wardens by the ſame act appointed, be-'ing but eight, are too few for governing and ordering the trade; 'wherefor there ſhall be twelve wardens and thirty aſſiſtants for regu-'lating the manufacture of worſteds and Norwich ſtuffs.' [13, 14 *Car. II, c.* 5.] From this act we may infer that thoſe light manufactures were much increaſed.

The ſilk manufacture of London was now become ſo conſiderable, that the preamble to an act for regulating the trade of ſilk-throwing obſerves, that the ſaid company of ſilk-throwſters (as it is expreſſed in their petition) employ above 40,000 men, women, and children therein. It was therein enacted, that none ſhould ſet up in that trade without ſerving ſeven years apprenticeſhip, and becoming free of the company. [13, 14 *Car. II, c.* 15.].

After this time we find divers acts of parliament in this and ſucceeding reigns for regulating the ſilk manufacture at home, and the importation of raw and thrown ſilk from foreign parts, many of which were temporary, others have been repealed or altered, and the reſt of little information to the generality of readers, until we come to the year 1722.

Another act was paſſed, prohibiting the exportation of live ſheep, wool, woollen yarn, fullers earth, fulling clay, and tobacco pipe clay. [13, 14 *Car. II, c.* 18.] Additional laws have ſince this time been made for this very important end. But once for all, we ſhall take the liberty to remark, that they have by no means anſwered the end, though re-

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inforced by ſeverer penalties. So difficult a taſk it is effectually to maſter an evil, of which immediate and conſiderable gain is the object.

An act of parliament of the 9th of King Edward III having prohibited the melting of any ſilver halfpenny or farthing for any purpoſe whatever, and another act of the 17th of King Richard II having prohibited the like melting down of ſilver groats and half groats, thoſe denominations being the higheſt ſilver coins then in uſe, the goldſmiths and refiners at this time taking advantage of the ſtrict letter of thoſe two acts, concluded that there was no penalty for melting the ſilver coins of an higher denomination than were then in being. A law was therefor made this year [14 *Car. II, c.* 31] againſt melting down any of our ſilver coins, upon the penalty of forfeiting the ſame and double the value. Yet in this, as well as in the laws prohibiting the exportation of our wool, the temptation of immediate profit gets the better of all reſtraints whatever.

The parliament of Scotland, who in moſt matters relating to commerce, more eſpecially ſince the union of the crowns, wiſely followed the Engliſh, this year paſſed a navigation act, for encouraging of ſhipping and navigation; but it was not to extend to importations from Aſia, Africa, and America, Ruſſia and Italy, till ſo declared by a ſubſequent act, or by the privy council, or the council of trade, nor to corn in time of dearth. Goods ſhipped in foreign veſſels, or belonging to aliens, were to pay double duty.

They alſo paſſed an act for erecting companies for the improvement of the herring and white fiſheries. And in this and ſucceeding reigns, down to the conſolidating union of the two kingdoms, they granted ſundry bounties on the exportation of fiſh of all kinds, and made ſundry good laws (eſpecially ſince the reſtoration) for the regulation of their commerce, and of their linen and woollen manufactures, &c. All which being now of little or no uſe, we have not thought it neceſſary to enlarge on them *.

The laws prohibiting the uſe of logwood, which was ſuppoſed pernicious to the goods dyed with it, were repealed, it being now found (ſays the act, intitled, Frauds and abuſes in his majeſty's cuſtoms prevented and regulated), 'that the ingenious induſtry of theſe times hath 'taught the dyers of England the art of fixing the colours made of 'logwood, *alias* blockwood, ſo as that by experience they are found as 'laſting and ſerviceable as the colours made with any other ſort of 'dying wood.' [13, 14 *Car. II, c.* 11.]

* The Scottiſh parliament, at the ſame time, reduced the intereſt of money to *ſix per cent*, 'free 'of all retention or other public burdens whatſoever.' [*Parl I, Car. II, c.* 49.] *M.*

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At this time King Charles II ſhamefully delivered up to France the country of Nova Scotia, and ſuch part of Canada as was held by our people *.

The treaties of alliance made by King Charles with Sweden and Denmark contain nothing new or particular concerning commerce. [*General Coll. of Treaties*, *V.* iii, *pp.* 240, 253, 254, 263.]

Many and loud complaints had been made by the merchants and clothiers of Exeter and other parts of the weſt of England (whom the company of merchant-adventurers called interlopers), as particularly in the year 1638, to the houſe of commons, and alſo in the years 1643 and 1645. They now again complained to the parliament, and in their remonſtrance termed that company monopolizers and obſtructors of the ſale of our woollen manufactures. As it is poſſible that ſome ſuch objections, however ſlightly grounded, may ſome time or other be hereafter renewed, and as it will alſo throw ſome light upon the ſtate of our juſtly-favoured woollen manufacture, and will give a diſtinct ſtate of that company's condition at that time, we ſhall as briefly as poſſible ſet down their objections, with the company's anſwers.

In general it was objected,

That confining the whole trade of the manufactures of wool ſent to Germany and the Netherlands, being the greateſt ſtaple commodity of England, to one particular company of men, who call themſelves the only merchant-adventurers, is detrimental to all in general, and particularly to thoſe of Exeter and Devonſhire: For,

I) They make the clothiers take what price they pleaſe, by not buying their goods brought to market, until neceſſity obliges them to ſell even for loſs. They moreover frequently ſtint or limit the number of cloths to be ſhipped, and allot to each merchant how much he ſhall ſhip for his particular proportion; ſo that the governor, deputy, and committees, may ſerve themſelves and friends with the greateſt ſhare; which is not only prejudicial to the reſt, but does alſo hinder the putting off ſo much more cloth abroad.

II) The company confine the vent of this great ſtaple commodity to a few places at home, as the trade of all the weſt countries to London; whereas Exeter and other places ought to have liberty to ſhip off their goods from the neareſt port, whereby much charge might be ſaved †.

III) By the two reſolutions of the houſe of commons in 1624, for liberty to all merchants, as well as thoſe called merchant-adventurers, to export dozens, kerſies, and new manufactures, as well as dyed,

* I doubt if any part of Canada was then poſſeſſed by our people. Hiſtorians are ſo careleſs in their accounts of thoſe countries, that they ſeem not to have thought them worthy of their attention. *A.*

† The reſtriction of the ſtaple for cloths to one or two towns in each foreign country, *e. g.* Rotterdam for all Holland, was alſo complained of, as prejudicial to the manufacturers at home and to the conſumers abroad. *A.*

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dreſſed, and coloured cloths, into Germany and the Netherlands, the Engliſh traders increaſed in number, and the Dutch fell off ſo much, that they did not make 4000 cloths in the year 1632. But the company being again encouraged by means of their purſe, &c. the Dutch again increaſed to 20,000 cloths in the year, and many of our manufacturing people ſettled in Holland.

IV) This company make their embarkations but thrice in the year, which hinders the clothiers from ſelling their goods but juſt at thoſe times, and that only to two towns beyond ſea.

V) The heavy impoſitions and fines they lay on the manufacturers amount to near as much as the king's cuſtoms, inſomuch that from 1616 to 1641, they raiſed, as per their own books, L182,295, beſide what duties they received beyond ſea; whereby the cheapneſs of our commodities is hindered, and the Dutch are encouraged to improve their manufacture of woollen goods, as they have greatly done for the laſt forty or fifty years.

VI) The company ſtrictly tie their members to trade only to two towns, viz. Hamburgh and Dort, the later of which is inconveniently ſituated for vending the goods into the inland parts.

VII) In the company's preſent condition, they are indebted for vaſt ſums, which cannot be diſcharged but by raiſing it on our manufactures.

VIII) The company arrogate powers of impoſing oaths, and levying fines and taxes, on their fellow ſubjects, though they were never yet eſtabliſhed by law, and have been complained of from time to time theſe 160 years.

IX) This monopolizing company did in all tranſport but 225 pieces of woollen goods from midſummer to michaelmas 1661; and yet five or ſix Exeter merchants, not free of the company, did within the ſame quarter of a year buy and export beyond ſea 9254 pieces. The company employ ſhips but ſeldom, in compariſon of other merchants, nor the fourth part of the mariners that other merchants do.

X) The unlimited power given to this company by their charter is a great inconveniency, and repugnant to the ſtatute [12 *Hen. VII, c.* 6]; for they are thereby empowered to make what rules and ordinances they ſhall think fit for the ſupport of their privileges, and may not only compel thoſe of their fellowſhip, but even all others uſing trade with woollen manufactures in their precincts to obey the ſame *.

On the other hand, the company in their vindication replied in ſubſtance as follows, viz.

* Parker (in a pamphlet called Free trade, 1645), ſays that this fellowſhip in the marts abroad levy a fine of L40 ſterling upon every Engliſhman on his arrival for liberty to buy and ſell his own goods, which obliges merchants not belonging to their fellowſhip to ſhun thoſe marts, to the great prejudice of the ſale of the woollen cloths of this realm.

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I) The company do not pretend to be the only merchant-adventurers, although their charters ſtile them the merchant-adventurers of England: yet they count it their honour, that they are no company of one city, town, or burgh, but a national corporation, and diſperſed all over the kingdom: that they all meet together in their marts abroad, where their conſultations are for the intereſt of the whole kingdom in the clothing trade, and where a majority of the freemen and traders preſent governs in all matters. Yet nothing can be concluded in that chief mart town beyond ſea, but by the concurrence of that other court which reſides in the United Netherlands, and of this here in London. And this court at London maintains a correſpondence all along with all other their diſtinct courts, as of York, Hull, and Newcaſtle: and Exeter once had one of their moſt conſiderable courts in it, though now there be only one member there.

II) They deny their opponents accuſations of ſtinting the exportations, or of diſtreſſing the clothiers in the ſale of their goods; as alſo their confining the vent of the weſtern counties to London, ſeeing any freeman may ſhip his goods directly abroad from the next port, as from York, Hull, Beverley, Newcaſtle, Hartlepoole, Stockton, Norwich, Yarmouth, Lynn, Ipſwich, Colcheſter, and all other ports of England, where they have members.

III) As the ſtatute [12 *Hen. VII, c.* 6] relates only to a freedom of commerce during the four marts, for which alſo they were to pay the company ten marks, that act can be of no force at preſent, ſeeing thoſe marts are in diſuſe in the Netherlands. And it is enough that the fellowſhip ſubmits to the parliament's pleaſure to admit all men that can reliſh government on ſuch conditions and limitations of fines as they ſhall direct.

IV) In anſwer to the ſum of L182,295 ſaid to be raiſed on the trade by the fellowſhip in 25 years time, they ſay, that when they were diſſolved, in order to make room for Sir William Cockayne's project of dying and dreſſing cloths before exportation, the fellowſhip was indebted a good ſum of money; that after their charters were reſtored, they were engaged in ſeveral ſervices to the king and queen of Bohemia, and to King James and King Charles I; to which, if the charge of ſix ſeveral reſidences, and of courts abroad and at home be added, it will appear they were no ill huſbands, and that this ſum was not ſo burdenſome to be raiſed on the manufactures in ſo long a tract of time. For the impoſition laid on cloths is but about 1 per cent; and, in recompenſe for this 1 per cent, the company's immunities abroad, and their freedoms there, by treaties, from taxes, tolls, watch and ward, &c. which others not free of the fellowſhip muſt pay in the Netherlands and Germany, are worth 3 per cent to their members.

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V) It is true, they owe a large debt, occaſioned partly by the misfortunes of the civil wars, &c. and partly by the oppoſition of the interlopers, and they think it reaſonable that it ſhould be paid off, though very gradually, by contributions or taxes on the commerce.

VI) If the fellowſhip be not as yet eſtabliſhed by any law, it is now ſubmitted, whether it is not more than time it ſhould be ſettled by act of parliament.

VII) The fellowſhip take care that the rich overgrown traders ſhall not ingroſs the whole traffic, but there ſhall be room for younger and ſmaller traders to employ their ſtocks.

VIII) They carefully inſpect the true making of cloth.

IX) They have done more, and been at greater expenſe, to prevent the exportation of our wools and fullers-earth, than all the other corporations and merchants in England.

Laſtly, they inſiſted, that unleſs their corporation be ſupported, and even legally eſtabliſhed, all the privileges and advantages, which our commerce has for many ages enjoyed in foreign parts beyond other nations, muſt neceſſarily fall with their fellowſhip, and the kingdom at home be left without a ſhadow of regulation in its greateſt concernment.

After this time we hear no more of this company's complaints againſt ſeparate traders, nor, on the other hand, of any uneaſineſs of merchants not free of it, the terms being quite eaſy, if they incline ſo to be. They have long ſince fixed their reſidence ſolely at Hamburgh, where they have conſiderable privileges, and drive a great commerce for ſupplying many provinces of Germany with our manufactures of wool, &c.

Toward the cloſe of this year, a marriage treaty was concluded between King Charles and the Princeſs Catherine, ſiſter to Alphonſo VI, king of Portugal. It is ſaid, that the real fortune which Alphonſo agreed to give with his ſiſter was L300,000 ſterling. It is almoſt foreign to our purpoſe to remark, that France greatly forwarded this match for the farther weakening of Spain; and that Spain for the prevention thereof, propoſed to our king three ſeveral proteſtant princeſſes: but it is much to our purpoſe to note, that Portugal, hoping for great aſſiſtance from England againſt Spain, not only agreed to the above large ſum, but likewiſe to cede to King Charles for ever the town and port of Tangier on the Barbary ſhore, at the very entrance of the Straits, and alſo the town, port, and iſland of Bombay, with the reſt of the iſle of North Salſet on the coaſt of Malabar in Eaſt-India. Tangier had been poſſeſſed by the Portugueſe ever ſince the year 1463, when King Alphonſo V took it from the Moors. To this port King Charles granted all the privileges and immunities of a free port, in order to make it

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a place of trade, for which, as well as for the ſecurity of our Mediterranean commerce, it was very advantageouſly ſituated *.

King Charles at firſt propoſed to preſerve Bombay and Salſet as part of his royal domain, and therefor ſent the earl of Marlborough thither with five ſhips of war and 500 ſoldiers. But he met with ſo many difficulties from the Portugueſe viceroy of Goa, &c. that after loſing many men by ſickneſs, &c. he did not get abſolute poſſeſſion of Bombay till the year 1664, and even then not all the territory agreed to be yielded with it. It was ſoon after found, that the king's expenſe in maintaining it greatly exceeded the profits of it, and that his people there underſold the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's agents, whereby, and by violences committed on the natives by the king's ſoldiers, &c. great confuſions were likely to enſue: theſe conſiderations induced him to make a grant in full property for ever of that port and territory to our Eaſt-India company, by charter dated 27th March 1668, to hold it in free and common ſoccage of his imperial crown, on reimburſing the expenſes of it, and paying an annualrent of L10 in gold on the 30th September yearly, at the cuſtomhouſe in London. It has been by degrees greatly improved by that and the preſent Eaſt-India company, both in ſtrength, commerce, and healthfulneſs, and ſome ſay, they lately had 60,000 people on that iſle of different nations under our company's protection: though the Portugueſe had ſcarcely 1000 people on it. It is extremely well ſituated for the trade of that extenſive coaſt, and now enjoys a conſiderable commerce.

King Charles, by his commiſſion under the great ſeal, now conſtituted his brother the duke of York, the lord chancellor Clarendon, and ſundry other perſons of diſtinction, to be the council of the royal fiſhery company of Great Britain and Ireland; and mighty matters were expected from ſo pompous a title: yet all came to nothing, though it muſt be owned, that the king freely granted them all the immunities, and even more, than were granted by the commonwealth in 1654; with authority to ſet up a lottery, and to have a voluntary collection in all pariſh churches. Moreover, all houſes of entertainment, as taverns, inns, alehouſes, &c. were to be obliged to take one or more barrels of herrings, at the ſtated price of 30/ per barrel; and 2/6 per barrel was to be paid to the ſtock of this company on all foreign-caught fiſh imported.

1662.—The ſtatute [13, 14 *Car. II, c.* 6] for enlarging and repairing common highways, ſo as they ſhould all be made 24 feet in breadth, was become very neceſſary, ſince the great increaſe of carts, waggons, &c. by the general increaſe of our commerce. This act, being only temporary, was revived and farther enforced by an act [8, 9

* See General Monk's opinion of this place, as noticed under the year 1657. *A.*

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Gul. III, c. 15] which ordered, that where two or more croſs highways met, a ſtone or poſt ſhould be erected, with an inſcription in large letters, directing to the next market town to which each of them leads. It is much to be wiſhed that the ſtatute-breadth of the highways was better obſerved than it has been hitherto.

It was in the year 1662 that the Engliſh from the north continent of America began to cut down the logwood trees, growing in infinite quantities on the uninhabited coaſts of Yucatan, and more eſpecially in the bay of Campeachy, where they made a ſettlement for that end, as it was not near to any Spaniſh ſettlement or inhabitants. Their firſt ſettlement was near Cape Catoche, next at the Laguna de Terminos, which was found more convenient, and where the Engliſh buccaneers were afterwards obliged to ſettle, upon the treaty of Madrid between England and Spain in the year 1667; which treaty, though it made no particular mention of America by name, expreſsly ſtipulated 'a general firm 'and perpetual amity between the two crowns, as well by land as by 'ſea, and between all the countries under the obedience of either of 'the kings.' By the year 1669, that Engliſh ſettlement was conſiderably increaſed, and much logwood was carried thence to New-England and Jamaica. In the year 1670, Sir William Godolphin concluded at Madrid the firſt treaty between England and Spain, which expreſsly related to America, and therefor is uſually called the American treaty; whereby the then poſſeſſions of both nations in America are confirmed. This gave encouragement to many more of our people to join the logwood-cutters, as it was in a deſolate and unplanted country, and the Spaniards had not hitherto made any complaints about it. For it was not till the year 1672 that they began to interrupt our logwood-cutters there, or to make the leaſt complaint to our court againſt their ſettling in that bay. Soon after, however, they became ſo uneaſy at that ſettlement and our logwood-cutting, that they actually made prize of all Engliſh veſſels they met in the American ſeas, which had logwood in them, of which the earl of Arlington, the Engliſh ſecretary of ſtate, in the year 1674, complained in a letter to Sir William Godolphin our miniſter at Madrid. For as the ſole advantage our court had in view by concluding this famous American treaty of 1670, was, that our people might, without interruption, trade to our own colonies, and peaceably enjoy our poſſeſſions in America, we were therein greatly fruſtrated by the court of Spain's orders to make prize of all ſhips having logwood in them. So that this treaty has ever ſince afforded a pretence for the Spaniards to ſeize our ſhips ſailing along their American coaſts, though with no intention of carrying on any contraband trade; and on ſome occaſions they have even ſeized veſſels for having a quantity of pieces of eight on board, if found near their American coaſts. Yet, excepting two or three months in the year 1680, that the Spaniards, by a con-

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ſiderable force, diſlodged our logwood cutters from the Laguna de Terminos and the iſland of Triſt, our people, till very lately, have remained in poſſeſſion thereof. But as the controverſy remains undetermined to this day, it is to be feared it may ſtill occaſion much altercation *.

At this time a ſtatute was made [13, 14 *Car. II, c.* 12] for the better relief of the poor of England; whereby a corporation, choſen out of the magiſtrates of London, Weſtminſter, and the ſuburbs, on both ſides the Thames within the weekly bills of mortality, was eſtabliſhed, for erecting work-houſes for employing the poor. A ſubſequent act [23 *Car. II, c.* 18] enabled that corporation to levy a certain aſſeſſment on pariſhes not exceeding one fourth part of the aſſeſſment to the poor, for any reſpective year. Yet, to the ſhame of the nation, nothing has been effectually done for anſwering that truely great and good end even to this day, ſo many difficulties being ſtarted to every ſcheme hitherto propoſed to the public.

This year the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council, of London, petitioned the houſe of commons to erect the merchants trading to France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, into four new corporations for confining thoſe trades entirely to Engliſh natives; the pretext for which was, that moſt part of the trade of exporting the commodities of England was in the hands of aliens, whom they would have to be obliged by law to pay double duties on all draperies exported by them. They alſo, and ſundry merchants of London in behalf of themſelves and the Engliſh merchants of the outports, petitioned that the merchant-adventurers, the Levant, the Eaſtland, the Ruſſia, and the Eaſt-India, companies already eſtabliſhed, might have further privileges confirmed to them by parliament, excluſive of foreigners. But the commons were wiſer than to liſten to petitions for adding new fetters to our export trade.

King Charles II having laviſhly conſumed the large ſupplies granted by parliament, was now put upon the moſt pernicious project that could have entered into the thoughts of the monarch of the firſt commercial kingdom in Europe, by yielding to France the town and port of Dunkirk, with all its fortifications, ſluyces, dams, &c. and likewiſe the fort of Mardyke, with the wooden fort, and the other great and ſmall forts between Dunkirk and Bergh St. Wynox, together with all the arms, artillery, ammunition, &c. We have ſeen that Dunkirk had been ſurrendered by France to Cromwell four years before, by a ſtipulated agreement, for the ſuccours which that protector had given to France againſt Spain. Our paſſive parliament ſeemed to content themſelves with Charles's poor pretence, that, as it was only ſurrendered to an uſurper, he had a right to diſpoſe of it as he pleaſed. It was concluded at Lon-

* A more copious explanation of this ſubject by the board of trade will be found under the year 1717. *A.*

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don by the French ambaſſador, the Count D'Eſtrades, and by the earl of Clarendon lord chancellor, the earl of Southampton lord treaſurer, the duke of Albemarle, and the earl of Sandwich, (all Engliſhmen) under a commiſſion from the king. As for the price, it was almoſt as ſhameful as the delivering up the place was criminal, viz. 5,000,000 of livres, or about L250,000 ſterling. Had that number of millions been ſterling money inſtead of French, fatal experience has long ſince demonſtrated its being inadequate to ſo ineſtimable a jewel. We ought, however, to do juſtice, as far as we fairly can, to one of the four commiſſioners, who, rather than loſe their private emoluments, ſo ſhamefully gave up the nation's intereſt, viz. the earl of Sandwich, who at firſt propoſed the abſolute demolition of Dunkirk, and deſtroying its harbour in ſuch a manner as to render it for ever uſeleſs, which, next to its remaining in our hands, was certainly the beſt ſcheme. For, as to what ſundry writers have remarked, of its being better to have been ſold to Spain or Holland, that might be true with reſpect to the time we are upon, but who could anſwer for the hurt that place might in future times have done to us in the hands of either of thoſe nations, as power is perpetually fluctuating? there was therefor nothing for a wiſe king and an honeſt Engliſh miniſtry to chooſe but to preſerve, ſtrengthen, and improve, that place, let the expenſe be more or leſs, whereby we ſhould have remained maſters of both ſides of the greateſt commercial thoroughfare in the univerſe. Marſhal Schomberg, then in England, adviſed the king to keep it, as his naval ſtrength would effectually prevent its being taken, and the holding of it would keep both France and Spain in a dependence upon him: in which opinion, ſays Biſhop Burnet, he was ſingular; and yet there was more truth and judgement in this opinion than all that was ſaid and written on this point. For, with regard to the moſt ſolemn treaties, which France's neceſſities have ſince obliged that crown to ſtipulate for the demolition of its fortifications and the filling up of its harbour, &c. we have more than once ſeen how eaſy it has been for ſuch a powerful nation, void of all ſhame and honour, to reſtore both the one and the other *.

Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV, informs us that the French royal council of commerce was erected this year; and that the king himſelf preſided therein once in every fortnight. Need we to wonder then at

* The price, which however, was a matter of little conſequence, was L400,000. [*D'Eſtrades*, quoted in *Macpherſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, V.* i, *p.* 51.] It is not eaſy to give any good reaſon, why Mr. Anderſon, and many thouſands beſides, ſhould be ſo exceedingly angry at getting rid of the uſeleſs expenſe of keeping an indefenſible poſt in a foreign country, which has not a harbour capable of receiving large ſhips. As for the poſſeſſion of it making us maſters of both ſides of the ſtrait, it is evident, that our floating caſtles may command the ſtrait without having forts or harbours on both ſides, but that both ſhores covered with great guns can never command ſuch a paſſage without ſhips. *M.*

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the progreſs that nation has ſince made in commerce, thus ſo eminently encouraged by ſo diſcerning and potent a prince *.

The king in council this year iſſued his proclamation, intimating, 'that notwithſtanding the navigation act paſſed two years ago, ſeveral 'letters or warrants had, through miſinformation, been obtained from 'him, by which the Lubeckers ſhips, merchants, and mariners, were li- 'cenced to come into England, &c. freed from the penalties of the act, 'upon pretence of a former cuſtom. But the council having conſider- 'ed the ill conſequences of trenching on that act, and the damages 'which ſuch a toleration would bring upon the Engliſh owners of ſhip- 'ping, and their merchants and mariners, it was ordered by his ma- 'jeſty in council, that all ſuch letters, licences, or warrants, ſhould be 'recalled and declared void.'

The following improvements were made upon the act of navigation.

I) No foreign-built ſhips ſhall enjoy the privileges of Engliſh or Iriſh built ſhips, even although navigated as that act directs; and although the owners likewiſe be Engliſhmen, prize ſhips only excepted.

II) Whoever ſhall export or import goods to or from any port of this kingdom (capable of a ſhip of 200 tons burden) to or from any port of the Mediterranean beyond the port of Malaga, in any ſhip that hath not two decks, and carries leſs than 16 cannon, ſhall pay to the king one per cent on their ladings, beſide all other duties.

III) And in order to encourage the building of good and defenſible ſhips, it was farther enacted, that for ſeven years to come, whoever ſhould build ſhips with three decks, or with two decks, a half deck and a forecaſtle, with five feet between each deck, mounted with at leaſt 30 cannon, ſhould, for the firſt two voyages, receive one tenth of all the cuſtoms paid on their cargoes exported or imported. [14 *Car. II, c.* 11.]

The two laſt clauſes were deſigned by way of precaution againſt the Barbary rovers.

Other good ſtatutes were made this year, ſuch as thoſe prohibiting the exportation of wool and fullers-earth, yarn, and undreſſed hides, and the importation of foreign bone-lace and other French frippery wares, which drew incredible ſums of money from us, and turned the balance of the trade with France very much againſt us.

The Engliſh American plantations were by this time ſo much cultivated and improved, that the demand for ſervants and labourers was greatly increaſed; and as their mother country could by no means afford numbers ſufficient for their ſupply, and they were not then ſo

* The new council, or board of commerce, eſtabliſhed in the year 1701, is ſubordinate to this royal council. *A.*

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well ſupplied with negroes from the African coaſt as they wiſhed for, ſince the trade thither had been laid open, a third excluſive Engliſh African or Guinea company was this year incorporated for that end, at the head of which was the duke of York, joined with many perſons of rank and diſtinction, who undertook to ſupply our Weſt-India plantations with 3000 negroes annually. If this new company's accounts are to be relied on, it ſeems, that while the trade was laid open in the times of the late civil wars, our forts on the Guinea coaſt were demoliſhed by the Dutch and the Danes, by which, and by the capture of ſhips belonging to the company, and to ſeparate traders, to the value of L300,000, the ſtock of the ſecond company was ruined.

This new company, ſupported by the king's brother, &c. and knowing the king's inclinations to make war againſt the Dutch, afterwards got Sir Robert Holmes to be ſent out with a ſquadron of fourteen ſhips to the coaſt of Guinea, to attack the Dutch forts, &c. prior to a formal declaration of war; of which more in its place.

Toward the cloſe of this year, King Charles ſent Admiral Lawſon to Algiers, who obliged that piratical ſtate, and alſo thoſe of Tunis and Tripoli, to ſign articles of pacification, which they kept juſt as long as they ſtood in fear of our ſhips of war in the Mediterranean.

The Dutch, according to ſome authors, had taken Formoſa from the Portugueſe in the year 1635. The ports of that iſland were extremely commodious for their China and Japan trades: yet Candidius, a Dutch clergyman (in his account, in Churchill's voyages) ſays, 'the Dutch 'had built a fort in one of the iſlands called Pehou, near the mouth of 'the great river Chincheo in China, from whence they intercepted the 'Chineſe trading to the Philippines. This obliged the Chineſe to 'agree with the Dutch to grant them the harbour of Togowang in 'Formoſa, in lieu of the other, where they might build a fort, whence 'they traded with the Chineſe, who, however, this year drove them out 'of the iſland.'

The firſt wire-mill in England was ſet up by a Dutchman at Sheen near Richmond.

Connecticut, a province of New-England, had its firſt charter dated 23d April 1662. It was one of the ſix charter colonies of the continent of Britiſh America.

1663.—We have exhibited under the year 1629 ſome fruitleſs efforts (from England) to plant the country then named Carolana, now Carolina; but the ſucceeding diſcontents in England, and the conſequent civil wars, occaſioned Carolina to remain unplanted till now, that the king granted his firſt charter (dated the 24th day of March 1662-3) to the Lord-chancellor Clarendon, the duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkley, Lord Aſhley chancellor of the exchequer, Sir George

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Carteret vice-chamberlain, Sir William Berkley, and Sir John Colleton, whoſe eight names, given to ſeveral of its rivers and counties, will probably be remembered there to the end of time. Their limits, by this charter, run from the 36th degree of north latitude (being the ſouth border of modern Virginia) to the 31ſt degree, or the ſouth border of modern Georgia, along the Atlantic ocean, and ſtretching weſtward without limitation to the South ſea. The territory was granted to them in perpetual property, on paying an annual quit rent of twenty marks.

The antient fund for keeping the roads of England in repair was a rate levied on the landholders in proportion to their rents, together with the actual ſervice of the men, the carts, and horſes, of the neighbourhood, for a limited number of days. But now, by the increaſe of inland trade, heavy carriages by waggons and pack horſes were ſo exceedingly multiplied, that thoſe means of repairing the roads were found totally inadequate; neither was it juſt, that a neighbourhood ſhould be burdened with the ſupport of roads for the ſervice of a diſtant quarter of the kingdom. It was therefor neceſſary to deviſe more effective, and at the ſame time more equitable, means of ſupporting the public roads; and the preſent method of making and repairing the roads at the expenſe of thoſe who actually wear them, and reap the benefit of them, was now firſt eſtabliſhed by an act of parliament [15 *Car. II, c.* 1] *for repairing the highways in the ſhires of Hartford, Cambridge, and Huntington*, by which three toll-gates (or turnpikes) were ſet up at Wadeſmill, Caxton, and Stilton.

Parliament ſettled the revenues of the poſt-office and the wine-licences on the duke of York, the king's only brother, which were afterwards conſiderably increaſed. They were now, by moſt authors, reckoned together to bring in only L21,000 per annum; yet the following proviſo of this ſame act ſhews they were much miſtaken, viz. 'nothing herein contained ſhall make void the grant made by his majeſty 'to Daniel O'Neale, Eſq. of the office of poſtmaſter-general, for four 'and a fourth years from lady-day 1663, under the yearly-rent of 'L21,500 for all the ſaid term (except the laſt quarter, which is paid 'aforehand), ſo as the ſaid rents be paid unto his ſaid Highneſs James 'duke of York.' [15 *Car. II, c.* 14.]

In the year 1653, the poſt-office revenue (as we have already noted) was let to farm for L10,000 yearly: yet I cannot perceive upon what grounds Dr. D'Avenant, in his Eſſay on the public revenue and trade of England [*part* I, *p.* 125] could remark, that for ſome years this poſt-office revenue hardly bore its own expenſe, unleſs he meant the times anterior to the year 1653. But he adds, that when he wrote (1698), it had been ſo much improved under a management,

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as that its groſs produce, by a medium of three years, amounted per annum to about L90,440 : 15 *.

For the encouragement of agriculture and trade, permiſſion was given to export all kinds of grain, when wheat ſhould be currently ſold in England at 48/ a quarter, and other grain in proportion; and they might be imported when above thoſe prices, on paying 5/4 of cuſtom, with poundage, per quarter for wheat, &c. [15 *Car. II, c.* 17.]

By this ſame ſtatute it was enacted, 'that for the farther improve-
'ment of former navigation acts, no merchandize of the growth, pro-
'duction, or manufacture, of Europe ſhall be imported into any of the
'Engliſh plantations or factories in Aſia, Africa, and America, (Tan-
'gier only excepted), but what ſhall be laden in England, and in En-
'gliſh-built ſhipping, and navigated by at leaſt three fourths Engliſh
'mariners, and ſhall be carried to thoſe places directly from England,
'and no where elſe, on forfeiture of ſhips and ladings, excepting, how-
'ever, ſalt for the fiſheries of New-England and Newfoundland, and
'wines from Madeira and the Azores, ſervants, victual, and horſes,
'from Scotland or Ireland; and that none of the product of the Eng-
'liſh plantations (viz. ſugar, tobacco, cotton, ginger, fuſtic, and other
'drugs) ſhall be carried any where (except to other plantations) till
'they be firſt landed in England, under forfeiture of ſhips and car-
'goes.' And here Ireland was firſt left out, though inſerted in the 12th of this king, *c.* 18, § 9.

'And for the encouragement of the herring and North-ſea, Ice-
'land, and Weſtmony fiſheries, no freſh herring, cod, haddock, &c.
'ſhall be imported into England, but in Engliſh-built ſhips, navigated,
'&c. as before.'

'And foraſmuch as the planting of tobacco in England doth conti-
'nually increaſe, notwithſtanding the act of the 12th year of this king,
'[*c.* 34] a farther penalty of L10 is laid upon every rood or pole of
'land ſo planted in England, Ireland, Jerſey, or Guernſey, excepting,
'however, tobacco planted in the phyſic-gardens of either univerſity,
'or in other private gardens for ſurgery, ſo as the quantity exceed not
'half a pole of land in any one garden.'

In this act of parliament we have the firſt legal licence for the ex-portation of foreign coin and bullion for the benefit of commerce, in the remarkable words following, viz. 'and foraſmuch as ſeveral conſi-
'derable and advantageous trades cannot be conveniently driven and
'carried on without the ſpecies of money and bullion, and that it is
'found by experience that they are carried in greateſt abundance (as

* *Management* here means the government making the moſt of the revenue, in contradiſtinction to *farming* it at a certain ſum. In comparing the two ſums, the charges of management muſt be deducted from the groſs produce. *A.*

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'to a common market) to ſuch places as give free liberty for exporting 'the ſame, and the better to keep in and increaſe the current coins of 'this kingdom, be it enacted, that it ſhall be lawful to export out of 'any cuſtomhouſe or port of England, all ſorts of foreign coin or bul- 'lion of gold or ſilver, firſt entering the ſame at the cuſtomhouſe, 'without paying any duty or cuſtom for the ſame.'

It is ſtrange our legiſlature ſhould have been ſo late in coming into this meaſure, though ſo much earlier practiſed by other wiſe and mercantile nations, bullion and foreign coin being undoubtedly as much a mercantile commodity as any other inſtrument of commerce whatever. Mr. Thomas Munn, in his judicious treatiſe, entitled England's treaſure by foreign trade (8vo, 1664) has fully ſhewn, of what benefit the free exportation of money was in Tuſcany, under the year 1630. He has alſo no leſs clearly ſhewn the abſurdity of the old Engliſh laws for obliging merchants-ſtrangers, importing into England, to lay out their produce in the commodities of our realm; as alſo the laws for obliging all merchants exporting corn, fiſh, ammunition, &c. to bring home money or bullion in return: and in fine, 'that nothing but an 'overbalance in foreign trade, or exporting more in value of our own 'product and manufacture than we import of thoſe of other nations, 'can either increaſe our bullion, or even keep what we have already.' Mr. Polexfen, however, (an able and ſtrenuous opponent of the Eaſt-India trade) in his Account of the Eaſt-India trade, 1696, on the other hand, remarks, 'that till the licence granted by this act to export fo- 'reign coin and bullion, the Eaſt-India company did not export 'above L40,000 in bullion yearly; but now it began to be ex- 'ported in much greater quantities, and that it was no leſs than 'L600,000 ſterling per annum, taking any number of years, when the 'trade was carried on without any great obſtruction.' Yet poſſibly that company might before have exported much more than L40,000, though they did it clandeſtinely till this law gave permiſſion.

In the ſame ſtatute there is the following clauſe, viz. 'that whereas a 'great part of the richeſt and beſt land of England cannot ſo well be 'otherwiſe employed as in the feeding and fattening of cattle; and 'that by the coming in of late of vaſt numbers of cattle from beyond 'ſea already fattened (meaning from Ireland), ſuch lands are in many 'places much fallen in rents and values, to the great impoveriſhment 'of this kingdom, it was now enacted, that for every head of great cattle 'imported (except the breed of Scotland) between the 1ſt of July and '20th of December in any year, and of the breed of Scotland between 'the 24th of Auguſt and the 20th of December in any year, there ſhall 'be paid or forfeited 20ſ to the king, and alſo 10ſ to him that ſhall inform 'or ſeize the ſame, and other 10ſ to the poor of the pariſh where ſuch ſeizure 'ſhall be made; and for every ſheep ſo imported 10ſ, to be recovered and

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'levied in manner aforeſaid.' This act was to continue no longer in force than to the end of the firſt ſeſſion of the next parliament, but has ſince been made perpetual. We ſhall here only remark, that the nation, in the opinion of many, has often had ground to repent thoſe reſtraints in favour of the grazing countries, and to the prejudice of the reſt of the kingdom.

Two other well-intended ſtatutes were made this year for the encouragement of the linen and tapeſtry manufactures of England, and diſcouragement of the very great importation of foreign linen and tapeſtry, and for regulating the packing of herrings. It was alſo thereby enacted, that for the preſervation of the ſpawn of fiſh at the iſles of Iceland and Weſtmony, no ſhip ſhould ſail thither until the 10th of March in any year, neither ſhould any toll or other duty be taken at Newfoundland for any fiſh caught there. [15 *Car. II, cc.* 15, 16.]

Before we cloſe this year, we cannot forget to do juſtice to an excellent little treatiſe on commerce, now publiſhed by Samuel Fortrey, Eſq. intitled England's intereſt and improvement; which, in only 43 ſmall 12mo pages, treats moſt judiciouſly of all the principal branches of our foreign and domeſtic commerce; of the benefit of increaſing our induſtrious people by naturalization; the improvement of our lands by incloſures, and the breeding of cattle; of the exportation of horſes; the improvement of mines; our manufactures; our fiſheries; of diſcouraging the wear of foreign manufactures, more eſpecially French ones, whereby that country gets ſo great a balance from us; of the benefit of the act of navigation, and of our foreign plantations; the regulation of our coin; lowering the intereſt of money, &c.: a treatiſe which, though written 100 years ago, will well bear reading over even at this day.

Rhode-iſland and Providence plantation, two provinces of New-England, had this year a charter to the whole freemen or inhabitants of each colony, who are empowered to elect their own repreſentatives; and thoſe of the later alſo elect their governor and council. The report of the board of trade to the houſe of lords, in January 1733-4, obſerves of theſe two colonies, and of Connecticut, 'that almoſt the whole power of 'the crown is delegated to the people; and, as their charters are 'worded, they can, and do, make laws, even without their governors 'conſent, and directly contrary to their opinions; no negative voice 'being reſerved to them as governors, in the ſaid charter.' This was careleſsly granted by a very careleſs monarch; and is what no wiſe miniſtry nor council would have deliberately adviſed.

1664.—In the year 1664 the Engliſh again took poſſeſſion of the iſle of St Lucia, having previouſly treated with the native Caribs for the purchaſe of it (ſays the author of the Britiſh empire in America, whom, nevertheleſs we muſt very cautiouſly truſt on many occaſions). Five

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ſhips of war carried thither about 1500 men, who, being joined by 600 Caribs in their canoes, had the iſland and fort yielded to them without reſiſtance, on condition that the French governor and his garriſon (of only 14 men) with their artillery and baggage, ſhould be eſcorted to Martinica. Yet it ſeems, two years after, the Engliſh, for want of ſupplies, abandoned it again, and burnt their fort; though but two days after they were gone, a bark, with neceſſaries, arrived there from Lord Willoughby governor of Barbados. In the treaties of King Charles and King James with the French court, and in thoſe of Ryſwick and Utrecht, there are general ſtipulations for reſtoring to the crown of Great Britain all iſlands and countries which may have been conquered by France, and ſuch as had been in the poſſeſſion of the king of Great Britain before ſuch reſpective war began. But ſuch general ſtipulations ſignified little with the French. This iſland had at ſundry times been inhabited by both Engliſh and French planters at one and the ſame time in ſeveral parts of it: and ſo it remained till about the year 1719, when we ſhall again reſume its farther hiſtory.

In Mr. Munn's valuable treatiſe, named England's treaſure by foreign trade [*p.* 177] he relates, that there was in thoſe times exported, one year with another, to the value of L2,200,000 of our native commodities: 'ſo that (ſays he) if we were not too much affected to pride, 'monſtrous faſhions, and riot, above all other nations, 1,500,000 of 'our money might plentifully ſupply our neceſſary wants, (as I may 'term them) of ſilks, ſugars, ſpices, fruits, &c.: ſo L700,000 might be 'yearly treaſured up in money, to make the kingdom exceeding rich 'and powerful in a ſhort time.' But this was far from being the caſe at that time; for by a report of Dr. Charles D'Avenant, inſpector-general of the cuſtoms,

Our imports in the year 1662 amounted to - -	L4,016,019
Our exports to - - - - - - -	2,022,812
So that the balance againſt us was no leſs than -	L1,993,207

A moſt melancholy account truely, more eſpecially as coming from this able author, who poſſeſſed that important office in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne.

This year King Charles entered into a treaty with James duke of Courland concerning Tobago, one of the Caribbee iſles in America *.

* In the title of the treaty Tobago is ſaid to have been diſcovered, fortified, and cultivated, by the duke's ſubjects, till they were driven out by the Dutch, whereupon the duke ſubmitted it to the king's protection, and held it by a grant from the crown of England. The Dutch, however, ſoon after took poſſeſſion of Tobago, and retained it for ſome years.

This treaty is rather curious than uſeful, as ſhewing that a duke of Courland attempted to become a commercial potentate.

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I) 'The king grants to the duke and his ſucceſſors full liberty of 'trade and commerce for ſuch ſhips as properly belonged to him and 'his heirs (but not to thoſe of his ſubjects) in any rivers or havens 'within his majeſty's dominions on the coaſt of Guinea, for goods not 'exceeding L12,000 in value: and he may build ſtore-houſes, under 'protection of the king's forts there.

II) 'In conſideration whereof, the duke makes over to the king his 'fort of St. Andrew, on the Guinea coaſt, and all his other forts there, 'together with their guns and ammunition; the duke paying 3 per cent 'on all goods imported or exported.

III) 'On the other hand, King Charles grants to the duke and his 'heirs the iſland of Tobago, to be enjoyed by him under the king's 'protection: provided, the duke ſhall ſuffer none others but the king's 'and his own ſubjects to remain on that iſland.

IV) 'The duke farther agrees, that neither he, nor his heirs, nor his 'ſubjects, ſhall export any of the product of that iſland, nor import, 'otherwiſe than out of, or into, ſome ports belonging either to Eng-'land or to Courland, or the port of the city of Dantzick.

V) 'And, in return for the protection of England, whenever the 'king ſhall be at war with any nation but Poland, the dukes of Cour-'land, when required, ſhall, at their coſt, furniſh one good ſhip of war 'of 40 cannon, to be ſent to ſuch port as the king ſhall name, for one 'year at a time, to be manned, victualled, and paid by his majeſty.' [*General collection of treaties, V.* iii.]

In this year the Engliſh clergy voluntarily reſigned the power, they had enjoyed for ſo many ages, of taxing themſelves in their own convocation. In the troubleſome times preceding the reſtoration, the clergy, having no proxies nor regular convocations, ſubmitted to be taxed with the laity; and the court, finding that method eaſier, (and perhaps too bringing in a better revenue) was glad to accept of this reſignation: and ſo it has continued ever ſince; whereby, however, the convocations of the clergy have greatly loſt their former weight with the crown.

King Charles, on making war with the Dutch, intended to drive them out of New-Nidderland and New-Belgia, (ſince called New-York and New-Jerſey) both which they had greatly improved. He therefor made a grant of them to the duke of York; and even ſome months before the formal declaration of war he ſent thither Sir Robert Carr with a ſquadron of ſhips and 3000 land forces. They landed at the entrance of Hudſon's river, and immediately attacked the town of New-Amſterdam (now New-York) and reduced it without any difficulty, the Dutch there not knowing of any rupture with England. The Engliſh found the houſes of that city handſomely built of brick and ſtone: and its ſituation being on an iſland before the entrance of the river, on an high land, it makes a beautiful appearance from the ſea. It has ſince been

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much enlarged and improved, ſo as to be juſtly deemed one of the firſt cities of Britiſh America. The major part of the Dutch at New-York remained there, as the great number of Dutch names to be found even at this day in that city and province ſufficiently teſtify; and thoſe who deſired to remove were permitted to take their effects with them, the province being ſoon repeopled with Engliſh. Fort-Orange (ſince named New-Albany, from the duke of York's Scottiſh title) a great way up Hudſon's river, was ſoon reduced, as were alſo Staten-iſland, Long-iſland, &c. And the firſt Engliſh governor, Colonel Nichols, is ſaid to have been the firſt who concluded a league with the famous Indian nations of the Iroquois, behind this province; in conſequence of which league France, at the treaty of Utrecht, engaged to obſerve peace with thoſe Indian nations as inviolably as with the Engliſh of this province, which extended north-weſtward into the country, for 200 miles, to Lake-Champlain, although the French afterward encroached on our territory, by building forts near that lake: but its breadth on the ſea-coaſt is not above 30 miles. New-York has long been one of the moſt proſperous colonies on that continent, which ſome, in part, aſcribe to that ſpirit of frugality which the Dutch carried thither, and which is ſaid to be ſeen amongſt them in ſome degree even at this day. New-York exports to our ſugar-iſlands great quantities of flour, peas, biſket, bacon, butter, pork, &c. and receives in return ſugar, melaſſes, rum, cotton, ginger, pimento, &c. and alſo Spaniſh money, which pays Great Britain for all the various neceſſaries they receive from thence.

The king's grant to his brother comprehending the country, ſince called New-Jerſey, the duke of York in the ſame year re-granted part of that country to Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret, who gave it the name of New-Jerſey, or Eaſt and Weſt New-Jerſey, Lord Berkley aſſigned his part to William Penn, and three others, as did afterwards Sir George Carteret, to Penn, and eleven others, in the year 1681. The former aſſignees alſo ſold many ſhares to the earl of Perth, Sir George Mackenzie, and many other Scots: and many of the Scots being ſoon after perſecuted for their religious opinions, went and ſettled there; and, amongſt others, the famous Mr. Robert Barclay, (who might not unfitly be termed the apoſtle of the quakers) went thither as governor, with his family. In 1683 Lord Neil Campbell, ſon of the marquis of Argyle, ſucceeded him as governor of Eaſt-Jerſey: ſo that New-Jerſey continued to be two ſeparate proprietary governments till 1702, when, as will be ſeen in due time, they were united under one regal government.

Colbert, the able miniſter of France, now began to put in execution his deep-laid ſchemes for the advancement of the commerce, manufactures, and naval power, of that kingdom, the foundation whereof had been laid by the great Richlieu. For that purpoſe he granted number-

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leſs immunities, indulgences, premiums, penſions, protections, &c. to foreign artiſts, artificers, manufacturers, &c. from all parts, to ſettle with their families and workmen in France. He got his king to appropriate a million of livres annually for the improvement of the woollen manufacture alone: and it is generally believed, that it was owing to Colbert, that the miſchievous practice of running our Engliſh and Iriſh wool into France, (vulgarly called *owling*) was firſt ſet on foot; whereby they gradually brought forward their preſent great woollen manufacture, having till this time been chiefly ſupplied with woollen goods from England.

Notwithſtanding former fruitleſs attempts, he alſo this year erected an excluſive French Eaſt-India company for 50 years, on the ruins of a China company erected in 1660, which came to nothing ſoon after: their limits being from the Cape of Good Hope eaſtward to the fartheſt Indies, and from the ſtraits of Magellan and Le Maire weſtward into all the South ſeas: which companies immunities, &c. were much augmented in the year following. It was to be under 21 directors, 12 whereof were for Paris, and nine for the ſea-ports. Soon after, they poſſeſſed and fortified Pondicherry on the Coromandel coaſt, which has ſince been their capital ſettlement; their principal trade on that coaſt being in muſlins and calicoes of many various kinds: yet, partly from the difficulties of ſettling trade by any nation before unacquainted with India, and partly by their war with the Dutch in India, they did not proſper for a great number of years after this time.

On the ruins of their former Canada and Weſt-India companies Colbert at the ſame time erected a new excluſive Weſt-India one for 40 years; its limits being, 1ſt, that part of the continent of South-America lying between the rivers of Amazons and Oronoko, with the adjacent iſlands: 2dly, in North-America, all Canada behind Virginia and Florida: and, 3dly, all the coaſt of Africa from Cape Verd ſouthward to the Cape of Good Hope.

Colbert ſaw, how much the Dutch had increaſed their power and wealth by their extended commerce, though France, which naturally abounded with all things, was in a manner deſtitute of commerce and naval ſtrength: he therefor got King Louis to make him protector of both thoſe companies, to whom he lent ſix millions without intereſt. Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV, ſays, that from the year 1635 to 1665 the colonies of Martinica, Canada, &c. had been in a languiſhing ſtate, and rather chargeable than profitable: but that now (1665) they began to flouriſh; and that, in the year 1664, the king ſent a freſh colony to Cayenne iſland, firſt ſettled on by France in 1635, and another colony in that ſame year to Madagaſcar, which had been ſettled on by France in 1650, but afterward deſerted: yet, 10 years after Louis reverſed all theſe grants to that company, and laid the trade open to all his ſubjects.

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King Charles this year made war on the United Netherlands in a very extraordinary manner, without a formal declaration of it till ſome months after, for which no other grounds are generally aſſigned by hiſtorians than jealouſy on account of rivalſhip for commerce and naval power; ſet on likewiſe ſecretly (as it is ſaid) by the arts of the French court and of Rome, for weakening both ſides. The Engliſh fleet under Admiral Holmes took ſeveral forts near Cape Verd from the Dutch, for the benefit of the Engliſh African company, at the head of which was the duke of York; which forts the Dutch admiral De Ruyter retook the ſame year. Holmes alſo erected a new fort at the mouth of the river Gambia, and named it James-fort, which we ſtill hold. Thence ſailing ſouthward, he maſtered all the Dutch forts on the Guinea coaſt, except St. George del Mina and Acheen; though De Ruyter ſoon regained all again: whereupon the Engliſh fleet, commanded in chief by the duke of York, made prize of 130 Dutch merchant ſhips. A war was then formally declared, for which the parliament voted L2,500,000. What is already in all hiſtories, and alſo not very material for our ſubject, was, that the grand fleet of England, in 1665, conſiſting of 108 ſhips of war and 14 fire-ſhips, under the duke of York, attacked the Dutch fleet under Opdam of 103 ſhips of war and 11 fire-ſhips, and quite defeated it; many of the later being taken, ſunk, and burnt: and, in the ſame year our fleet took eight Dutch ſhips of war, two Eaſt-India ſhips, and many other merchant ſhips.

Had the Engliſh Eaſt-India company better fortified their iſle of Poleroon, which produced fine nutmegs and mace, (but according to others only cloves) it had not been ſo eaſily taken, as it was in this year by one ſingle Dutch ſhip from Batavia; whereby the Engliſh were quite excluded from all the ſpice iſlands, which the Dutch company has abſolutely poſſeſſed to this day.

This year a general valuation was made of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's capital, the market price on the exchange of London being then only 70 per cent: and it appeared that their ſtock was (as their writers ſay) intrinſically worth 130 per cent: and that in the remaining quarter of this year, and the compaſs of next year, they are ſaid actually to have divided 50 per cent profit on their capital ſtock: but this ſeems ſomewhat exaggerated.

There was a private company of merchants of Dieppe in Normandy, who, in early times, had carried on a trade to the river Senegal on the weſt coaſt of Africa; where, by means of a ſmall ſettlement on an iſland at the mouth of a branch of the river, they had carried on a conſiderable trade. That branch of trade fell afterwards to certain merchants of the city of Rouen, who this year yielded it to the French Weſt-India company. The later company being diſſolved 10 years afterwards, the old Senegal company reſumed that commerce till 1681,

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when Colbert transferred it to a much larger number of merchants, whoſe privileges alſo being thought too extenſive for their capital ſtock, a new Guinea company was thereupon erected, to whom moſt of their privileges were aſſigned; and yet the old Senegal company continued to be a thriving ſociety. A ſingle member thereof, however, in the year 1694, by their after ill management, bought out their privileges, and erected a new company, who, by misfortunes, were obliged to make over their privileges to ſome rich merchants at Rouen, who, with various ſucceſs, carried on the Senegal trade till the year 1718, when it was united to the Eaſt-India company. The Guinea company, on the acceſſion of King Philip V to the throne of Spain, had a grant of the aſſiento negro trade; which trade was, by the treaty of Utrecht, conveyed to the South-ſea company: and thus the main commerce of France was united to what they called their India company, comprehending not only the Eaſt-India, the American, the Guinea, but alſo the Senegal trade, by the wild ſchemes of the duke regent and Mr. Law.

An act of parliament was paſſed this year for preventing the commanders of merchant ſhips from delivering ſuch ſhips to Turkiſh and other pirates without fighting; whereby, according to its preamble, not only merchants were much prejudiced and diſcouraged, but the honour of the Engliſh navigation was likewiſe much diminiſhed: to which ſuch commanders were much encouraged by a practice of thoſe pirates, who, after they have taken out the goods, as an encouragement to maſters of ſhips to yield, do not only reſtore the ſhip with ſuch goods as are claimed by maſters or ſeamen, but do many times pay the maſter all or ſome part of the freight. It was therefor now enacted, that where any merchandize ſhall be laden on board any Engliſh ſhip of the burden of 200 tons or upwards, mounted with 16 guns or more, if the maſter ſhall yield the ſaid goods to any Turkiſh or other pirate without fighting, he ſhall thenceforth be incapable of commanding any ſhip; and the ſhip ſo delivered back to him, and alſo the goods, ſhall be forfeited, to make good the loſs ſuſtained by the owners of the goods detained by ſuch pirates, pro rata; and the owners to have their action againſt ſuch maſter for the remainder. And if an Engliſh ſhip, though it be under the ſaid tonnage and guns, be yielded to any ſuch pirate not having at leaſt double his number of guns, without fighting, the maſter ſhall be liable to all the penalties aforeſaid. Alſo, every mariner, refuſing to fight ſuch pirates when required by the maſter of the ſhip, ſhall forfeit all his wages and his effects in ſuch ſhip, and ſhall be impriſoned for ſix months, and kept during that time to hard labour. Moreover, mariners, laying violent hands on their maſter to hinder him from fighting ſuch pirates, ſhall ſuffer death as felons. Maſters or mariners, wounded in defence of their ſhip from pirates, ſhall, on their return home with their ſhip, re-

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receive a compenſation from the owners of the ſhip and goods, not exceeding two per cent of the value of the ſhip and goods ſo defended, to be diſtributed among the captain, maſter, officers, and ſeamen, of ſuch ſhip, or the widows and children of the ſlain, by direction of the judge of the admiralty-court, in due proportion. And whereas it often happens that maſters and mariners of ſhips, having inſured or taken up on bottomry greater ſums of money than the value of their adventure, do wilfully caſt away, burn, or otherwiſe deſtroy, the ſhips under their charge, to the great loſs of merchants and owners, ſuch maſter, &c. ſhall ſuffer death as felons.

1665.—In the year 1665 the Dutch admiral De Ruyter not only retook moſt of the forts which Sir Robert Holmes had taken from Holland, but he alſo took our own fort of Cormanteen, which they hold to this day by the name of Fort Amſterdam. They alſo ſeized the iſle of St. Helena, which was a refreſhing place for our Eaſt-India ſhipping, and therefor was retaken even the ſame year.

Under the year 1645 we have given the riſe of banking by goldſmiths in London; and obſerved how much they improved that new branch of their buſineſs after the reſtoration, by taking advantage of the king's perpetual neceſſities, from his unfrugal management of the public revenue, which he was conſtantly anticipating; partly proceeding from their readineſs to lend him at extravagant intereſt, and their taking to pawn the king's bills, orders, and tallies. Nevertheleſs, the number of bankers increaſed ſo much, and the money came ſo faſt into their hands, by people to whom they paid a moderate intereſt * for the ſame, that all the public demands fell ſhort of employing their whole caſh. This made them run into the buſineſs of lending money on private pawns at high intereſt, diſcounting bills of exchange, lending on perſonal ſecurity to heirs in expectancy, &c. Theſe, and many other ſuch methods of beſtowing their caſh, were about this time put in practice by the goldſmiths, ſays the author already quoted under the year 1645, who, through the increaſe of commerce, thinks the banking trade was at its greateſt hight in the year 1667, when the Dutch burnt our ſhips at Chatham; but that diſaſter cauſing what is in our days called a run (probably the firſt of its kind) on the bankers, it, in ſome meaſure, leſſened their credit, which was entirely ruined, by ſhutting up the exchequer five years after, of which more in its place. As there was a great quantity of caſh in the kingdom at that time, this brief account may, in part, ſerve to anſwer a query often made in our own days, viz. how were monied people able to diſpoſe of their ſuperlucration caſh, before the modern public funds exiſted?

* They generally allowed four per cent for the uſe of money lodged with them by widows, orphans, or other perſons, who would nor have occaſion for it for ſome time certain. Merchants, who lodged their running caſh, to be drawn for whenever wanted, received no intereſt. *A.*

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A violent peſtilence in the courſe of this year ſwept off, in London alone, 100,000 perſons, which was a terrible ſhock to the commerce of England.

In an obſtinate ſea-fight this year between the Engliſh and Dutch fleets, both ſides claimed the victory, which ſhews it was a doubtful conflict. They ſoon after met again, being about 100 ſhips of war on each ſide, when the Engliſh fleet, commanded by the duke of York, obtained a real victory, deſtroying 20 Dutch ſhips of war. Soon after which, Sir Robert Holmes burnt 150 Dutch merchant ſhips on the coaſt of North Holland, and two of their ſhips of war. Yet in this ſame year the Dutch inſulted our own coaſts, making deſcents in ſeveral places.

In the ſame year the Dutch Eaſt-India company's privileges were renewed for forty years longer.

This year King Charles granted a ſecond charter to the proprietors of Carolina, whereby he extended their limits ſouthward as far as 29 degrees, ſo that the mouth of the great river Miſſiſippi is included in their grant, and to 36½ degrees north latitude. Thus they had now an extent of 7½ degrees, or about 450 miles along the coaſt, ſouth and north, and an unknown ſpace weſtward to the South ſea. This ſecond charter ſtiles the grantees, 'the true and abſolute lords proprietors of the 'province and territory of Carolina; ſaving always the faith, allegiance, 'and ſovereign dominion, due to us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors for the 'ſame; to be held in free and common ſoccage, as of our manor of 'Eaſt Greenwich, in Kent; yielding and paying to us and our ſucceſſors, for the ſame, the fourth part of all gold and ſilver ore found within their limits, beſides the yearly rent of 20 marks.' The patentees were empowered to grant peculiar titles of honour to great planters in Carolina, ſo as they ſhould not be the ſame as in England; and, in conſequence of this clauſe, they accordingly, at different times, conferred the titles of caciques and landgraves, the former an Indian dignity, the later a German one. The patentees had alſo the power to enjoy quitrents, and alſo reaſonable cuſtoms on merchandize; but not without the conſent and approbation of the freemen of the colony. Alſo to erect forts, to incorporate towns and cities, to train ſoldiers, &c.

The noble patentees immediately ſet about planting that delightful country; and all freemen who ſettled there had 50 acres of land granted to them for themſelves, and 50 more for each man-ſervant; alſo 50 acres for each marriageable woman-ſervant, and 40 for unmarriageable ones. Covenant ſervants, when out of their time, to have 50 acres alſo given them. The firſt embarkation coſt the proprietors L12,000. The fundamental conſtitutions of its government were framed by the truely great John Locke, founded on the moſt juſt and generous principles, and calculated for encouraging men of all perſuaſions to ſettle therein. The eldeſt of thoſe lords proprietors had the title of palatine; in whom,

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assisted by three other proprietors, the executive powers in most cases were lodged; and those four constituted the palatine court, whose deputies in Carolina acted by their directions. Its parliament consisted, in the upper house, of the proprietors or their deputies, with the governor, council, caciques, and landgraves; and the commons, or lower house, were elected as in other colonies.

The king granted a patent to 60 persons, and to all others of his subjects, that had within seven years past traded to the Canaries to the value of £1000 yearly; and also to all others who should be admitted, whereby they were constituted a body-politic, and were to enjoy the sole trade to the Canary islands, under a governor, deputy-governor, and twelve assistants. The grounds for this charter, as set forth in its preamble, were, that the trade to the Canary isles was formerly of greater advantage to the king's subjects than at this time; that by reason of the too much access and trading of subjects thither, our merchandize were decreased in their value, and the Canary wines, on the other hand, were increased to double their former value; so that the king's subjects were forced to carry silver and bullion thither to get wines; and that all this was owing to want of regulation in trade *. This company, in spite of the *non obstante* in their charter to the statute of monopolies, had judgment given against them in the year 1667, when both houses of parliament, in an address to the king, thanked him for revoking their patent. And the third article of the impeachment of the lord chancellor Clarendon, by the house of commons, directly charges him with having received great sums of money for procuring this and other illegal patents.

This year (according to the supplement to Puffendorf's Introduction to the history of Europe) the state of Genoa made the first attempt for a treaty of commerce with Turkey, by their envoy going thither, under the protection of Count Lesley, the imperial ambassador, though much opposed by France. But (says de Mailly, *V. iii, l.* 17) with all their endeavours they were not able to put off a sufficiency of their woollen cloth, in the goodness of which they were excelled by the English and Dutch, nor of their silver coin of five sols, (counterfeited from the French coin of that name, then in great credit in Turkey) which the Turks named themins, to support the expense and dignity of their resident at Constantinople, and their consul at Smyrna; so that this attempt proved abortive. They again made a fresh attempt for this purpose in the year 1675, which also proved abortive, and we have not heard, that they have ever attempted it since. The Genoese, in their first attempt, took advantage of the assistance which France had afford-

* The word *regulation* was in those days much used, but little understood, and often misapplied. A-

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ed to the emperor in Hungary, and to the Venetians, in defence of Candia. Yet, though thoſe aids made a difference between France and the Ottoman Port for a while, Louis XIV found means, in the year 1673, to renew his commerce with Turkey; which Colbert now began ſeriouſly to think of, though retarded for the above reaſons.

1666.—The Engliſh fleet, under Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, fought the Dutch admiral de Ruyter for four days ſucceſſively; in which conflicts the Engliſh are ſaid to have loſt 23 ſhips, and 6000 men killed, with the admirals Sir William Berkley, and Sir Chriſtopher Mynes, beſides 2600 men taken priſoners by the Dutch, who allege, that they loſt only ſix ſhips, 2800 ſoldiers, and 80 ſeamen, with three of their admirals, and ſundry officers. In Auguſt, this ſame year, another ſea-fight gave England the advantage; and, in the Mediterranean, the French joined the Dutch with 36 ſhips, in hopes to ruin the Engliſh trade in thoſe parts. A French ſquadron likewiſe joining the Dutch fleet near Dunkirk, obliged ours to retire with the loſs of one of our fifty-gun ſhips. Theſe terrible conflicts are very variouſly repreſented by the writers of the oppoſite nations, and, in ſome reſpects, by different Engliſh writers.

The vain and ridiculous competition (as Voltaire calls it, in his Age of Louis XIV) between England and Holland, for the honour of the flag, and alſo concerning the commerce to Eaſt-India, having kindled the war between thoſe two nations, Louis XIV with pleaſure beheld them deſtroying each other, by the moſt obſtinate ſea-fights that had been ever ſeen before in any age of the world; all the fruits whereof (as the ſame author juſtly remarks) were merely the weakening of both nations. Thus, ſays he, the ſovereignty of the ſeas was for ſome time divided between thoſe two nations, and the art of ſhip-building, and of employing them in commerce and in war, was perfectly known only by them. France, under Richlieu's miniſtry, eſteemed herſelf powerful at ſea, becauſe that of 60 ſhips then in her ports, ſhe could put to ſea about 30, of which only one carried 70 cannon. Under Mazarine, the few ſhips France had were purchaſed of the Dutch. France was in want of officers, ſailors, manufactures, and, in ſhort, of every thing needful for ſhipping. In the years 1664 and 1665, while the Engliſh and Dutch covered the Ocean with near 300 large ſhips of war, Louis XIV had not above 15 or 16 of the loweſt rates; but he uſed his utmoſt efforts to efface the ſhame thereof in the moſt ſudden and effectual manner.

This year, the Engiſh colony in St. Chriſtophers, in the Weſt-Indies, was overpowered by that of France, in the ſame iſland; and they were entirely diſpoſſeſſed of all their plantations, which, however, were reſtored four years after. It was ſurely very ill-judged in both nations to plant on the ſame ſmall iſland, which, however, was not entirely reme-

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died, until, by the treaty of Utrecht, France ceded the whole to Great Britain.

Parliament having found the act [15 *Car. II, c.* 8] for preventing the importation of foreign live cattle ineffectual, now enacted, that all great cattle, ſheep, and ſwine, and alſo beef, pork, or bacon, imported, except for neceſſary proviſion, ſhould be forfeited, the importation of fat or lean cattle, alive or dead, being unneceſſary, deſtructive of the welfare of the kingdom, and a public nuiſance *. And for the better encouragement of the fiſhery, the importation or ſale of ling, herring, cod, or pilchards, freſh or ſalted, dried or bloated, and of ſalmon, eels, or congers, taken by foreigners, was alſo prohibited; and any perſon whatever was empowered to ſeize the ſame, half for his own uſe, the other half for the poor of the pariſh: proviſo, that 600 head of black cattle, of the breed of the iſle of Man, might annually be imported at Cheſter only. The term of this act was for ſeven years, and to the end of the firſt ſeſſion of the next parliament. [18 *Car. II, c.* 2.]

It was prolonged and further ſtrengthened by two ſubſequent acts [20 *Car. II, c.* 7; 32 *Car. II, c.* 2] by the latter of which it was extended to mutton, lamb, butter, and cheeſe, from Ireland: yet by reaſon of a late very great dearth of proviſions in the year 1757, an act of parliament allowed the importation of ſalted beef, pork, and butter, from Ireland.

Concerning theſe laws for prohibiting the importation of Iriſh cattle, many people think them in the main to be hurtful, and that it would be wiſer to ſuffer the Iriſh to be employed in breeding and fattening cattle for us, than to turn their lands into ſheep-walks, as at preſent, whereby they are led, in ſpite of all our laws to the contrary, to ſupply foreign nations with their wool, to our very great detriment. Of this opinion was the great Sir William Temple (in his Miſcellanies), and later experience has confirmed it.

By a ſtatute for the encouragement of the woollen manufactures of England [18 *Car. II, c.* 4], it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould be buried in any ſhirt, ſhift, or ſheet, made of or mingled with flax, hemp, ſilk, hair, gold, or ſilver, or other than what ſhall be made of wool only, upon forfeiture of L5 to the poor of the pariſh, towards a ſtock or work-houſe for their employment.

This is certainly a wiſe and ſalutary law, as it is a means of conſuming a conſiderable quantity of our ſlight woollen manufactures: yet ſuch is the vanity of too many, that they will rather forfeit L5, than be inſtrumental in promoting our own moſt important manufacture.

* Sir William Petty (in his *Political ſurvey of Ireland*) ſays that before this ſtatute took place three fourths of the foreign trade of Ireland was with England, but not one fourth of it ſince that time. *A.*

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Another good law was made for encouraging the coinage of gold and ſilver [18 *Car. II, c.* 5] whereby both natives and foreigners were entitled to receive out of the mint an equal quantity of gold and ſilver coin for what crown gold or ſterling ſilver they ſhould bring thither, and in the ſame proportion for over or under fineneſs, without any expenſe whatever; the charge of which coinage was now to be defrayed by a tax on wines, ſpirits, vinegar, cyder, and beer, imported.

The iſland of Antigua, one of the Caribbees in the Weſt-India ſeas, about 20 miles in length and almoſt as broad, by reaſon of its having no freſh-water brooks, was for a long time deemed almoſt uninhabitable; and it was probably for that reaſon that ſome Engliſh families from the neighbouring iſland of St. Chriſtophers, who had ſettled there about the year 1632, ſoon deſerted it again. Lord Willoughby de Parham, having obtained a grant of it from King Charles in the year 1663, now planted a colony on it, and it has proſpered extremely, being the beſt Engliſh colony of the Caribbees next after Barbados and St. Chriſtophers. It is noted for the beſt harbours in all the Caribbee iſlands, though ſomewhat dangerous coming into them without a ſkilful pilot. It is much troubled with hurricanes, often doing much hurt on ſhore, as well as on the adjacent ſeas. It is now well fortified at proper diſtances; and by means of tanks, or ciſterns, they make a tolerable ſhift to ſupply themſelves with rain-water. They raiſe and ſend home to Britain great quantities of ſugar, rum, and melaſſes; and many of the planters make very conſiderable fortunes, and ſettle in Britain. Yet for want of a ſufficiency of freſh water, their ſhipping are obliged to take in their water at St. Chriſtophers, which is a conſiderable inconveniency.

The moſt extenſive and dreadful conflagration, that ever happened to the city of London, broke out this year on the 2d of September, burning no fewer than 13,200 houſes, and moſt of the churches and corporation-halls; the damage, as has been uſually computed, amounting to ten million ſterling. So vaſt a loſs of merchandize, treaſure, plate, and houſehold furniture, and ſo immenſe an expenſe for rebuilding the city in a more beautiful, convenient, and ſubſtantial, manner than it ever was before, was undoubtedly a great ſhock and obſtruction for ſome time to the commerce of London: yet the noble city, by redoubling its diligence, did in a few years recover its priſtine foreign and domeſtic trade, and has ſince ſo very much increaſed in both, as to be, beyond all doubt, at preſent the greateſt commercial city in the world. By the aid of two acts of parliament, it was ſooner and more beautifully rebuilt than could have been reaſonably expected, conſidering the great neceſſity there was for diſpatch for accommodating merchants and traders.

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Since that terrible conflagration, the increaſe of our foreign commerce and our home manufactures has been ſo great, that the ſuburbs of the city, as well as the adjacent villages and hamlets, have ſo vaſtly increaſed, as in point of magnitude, though not of wealth, to vie with, and taken together, even to ſurpaſs, the city itſelf; particularly the vaſt increaſe of the hamlet of Spitalfields occaſions ſurpriſe to all who know, or have heard from their friends of but one or two generations backward, that almoſt all that ſpace of ground running from Artillery-lane on the eaſt ſide of Biſhopſgate-ſtreet quite down to Shoreditch church, next turning eaſtward towards Bethnal-green, and then ſouth-eaſtward to Whitechapel road, containing by common eſtimation between three and four hundred acres of ground, ſhould have ſince then been built up into almoſt numberleſs ſtreets, lanes, alleys, and courts, filled with induſtrious manufacturers, chiefly in the ſilk trade, and others depending thereon, to the amount perhaps of above 100,000 people, where probably not one ſingle houſe ſtood little above 150 years ago. Another vaſt increaſe of buildings on new foundations is the great number of ſtreets contained within the compaſs of ground ſtill called Goodmans-fields, with Wellcloſe-ſquare, Ratcliff-highway, and the adjacent ſtreets. Northward there is the greateſt part of the village of Hoxton built on ſince about the year 1688, and all about Old-ſtreet, on each ſide, and up to Iſlington road, to a place where a wind-mill ſtood, ſtill called Mount-mill. The fine and extenſive ſtreet of Hatton-garden, on the ſite of the ſingle houſe and garden of the Lord Hatton, the great number of alleys in and about Saffron-hill (formerly called the biſhop of Ely's vineyard), Brook-ſtreet, Grevil-ſtreet, &c. where formerly ſtood Lord Brook's houſe and garden, as were alſo all the ſtreets from the Strand down to the Thames, formerly only noblemen's houſes and gardens. Weſtward, on Red-lion-fields near Holborn, on which ground now ſtands Red-lion-ſquare and Red-lion-ſtreet, and many other ſtreets built in and ſince the reign of King James II, quite up to Bloomſbury-ſquare (otherwiſe called Southampton-ſquare), and thence to the town, as it was then called, of St. Giles's in the fields, formerly a detached village, all the vacancy of which was built ſince 1680. More weſtward and ſouth-weſtward ſtill, all the buildings north of the ſtreet named Long-acre, up to the place now called the Seven Dials; Govent-garden and its neighbourhood, built up in the reigns of Kings Charles I and II, though ſome part of it in the memory of many ſtill living; and northward from Leiceſter-fields and St. Martin's-lane up to Soho and St. Giles's-road, and weſtward to the farther end of Piccadilly, and from the north ſide of Piccadilly up to Tyburn-road, including Soho) otherwiſe named King's) ſquare and Golden-ſquare; and on the ſouth ſide of Piccadilly, St. James's-ſquare, Pall-mall, St. James's-ſtreet, Arling-

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ton-ſtreet, &c. all which were paſture-grounds till about the year 1680.

In the city of Weſtminſter, ſtrictly ſo called, ſince the year 1688 there has been a great increaſe of buildings towards Tothill-fields, &c. beſide the ſuperb ſtreets in our days erected in the vicinity of the new bridge there. Laſtly, ſince the acceſſion of the preſent royal family, there is ſo great an addition made to the weſtern ſuburbs, where ſtands New Bond-ſtreet and the other ſtreets adjoining to Hanover, Cavendiſh, Groſvenor, and Berkeley, ſquares, as alone would conſtitute a conſiderable and beautiful city; and a conſiderable addition has been alſo made in the proper city of Weſtminſter, beſides the great additions made to the nearly adjoining villages of Paddington, Chelſea, Knightſbridge, and Kenſington, weſtward, and Marybone, Iſlington, and Newington, northward, and more eminently to the famous village of Hackney north-eaſtward; and alſo eaſtward to Mile-end, Bow, and Stratford, Wapping, and Limehouſe; and a new town growing gradually up ſouth of the Thames from the fine bridge of Weſtminſter, and at Stockwell and Clapham, beſides the many ſtreets built on the marſh-grounds of Rotherhithe and Deptford, and alſo at Greenwich.

Whither indeed can we turn or caſt our eyes, eaſt, weſt, ſouth, or north, where there are not great improvements on new foundations, all ariſing out of the immenſe commerce of the antient and noble mercantile city of London?

Before the great conflagration the ſtreets were very narrow, ſo as in many of them the garrets on each ſide projected very near each other, the houſes being almoſt wholely of timber, lath, and plaſter, each ſtory projecting beyond the next lower one; wherefor, in order to widen many of the more public ſtreets after this great diſaſter, there were two extenſive acts of parliament paſſed [19 *Car. II, cc.* 2, 3] for determining in a ſummary way the bounds of houſes and ſtreets to be rebuilt in London; and many and great alterations were made for the better in the width of ſtreets and lanes, as in Fleet-ſtreet, Ludgate-hill, Ludgate-ſtreet, St. Paul's churchyard, Cheapſide, Newgate-ſtreet, the Poultry, Gracechurch-ſtreet, Thames-ſtreet, Old Fiſh-ſtreet, and from Cheapſide to the Thames, then a poor, narrow, and crooked, lane called Soper-lane, now Queen-ſtreet, a fine new ſtreet from Cheapſide up to Guild-hall, called King-ſtreet, there being no other coach-way thither before the fire but by Laurence-lane. Thames-ſtreet was raiſed three feet*,

* The ſtreets of a populous town, *if not paved*, muſt inevitably be raiſed in the courſe of ages by the accumulation of rubbiſh. The workmen, in digging after the great fire, found three different ſtreets above each other, and at twenty feet under the ſurface diſcovered Roman walls and teſſelated pavements. So often has London been deſtroyed and rebuilt, and ſo deep is Roman London buried by the repeated accumulation of ruins above the original ſurface. The reader who is deſirous of ſeeing a particular account of the Roman antiquities in and near London, may conſult *Stukely*, *Gale*, *Maitland*, and particularly *Bagford's Letter*, printed with *Leland's Collectanea*, *V.* 1, *p.* lviii. *M.*

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to prevent inundations. Conduits, blocking up ſtreets, were removed, and alſo ſundry middle rows of houſes in many parts. The new and widened ſtreets were to be at leaſt 24 feet in breadth. Hereby alſo we learn, that the water-houſe adjoining to London-bridge had ſupplied the ſouth ſide of the city with water for almoſt a hundred years preceding. From Mincing-lane down a new way to the Cuſtomhouſe ſeveral other ſtreets now paſſable by coaches were only foot-way thoroughfares, as Princes-ſtreet near the new Manſion-houſe; others were only open by mean gateways, as Shoe-lane, &c. and ſome, as Bartholomew-lane, behind the royal exchange, had no exiſtence at all.

In order to widen the more public ſtreets, much ground before built on was ſet apart, ſuch as middle rows of houſes in many ſtreets, now quite clear of ſuch nuiſances, gateways turned into open ſtreets. On the other hand, it is known that many of the great merchants houſes and city-halls ſtood on much more ground than at preſent, with gardens and large court-yards; ſo that, according to ſome opinions, there were near 4000 more houſes erected after this conflagration than had been in the city before, and that conſequently there are more people in it. Thus, for a few inſtances, the famous Exchange-alley, on which ſo conſiderable a number of capital tenements now ſtand, was till that period only one ſingle merchant's houſe and garden, running between Cornhill and Lombard-ſtreet; and the like of Sweething's-alley at the eaſt end of the Royal-exchange. All Croſby-ſquare, though not then burnt down, was, it ſeems, only the houſe and garden of Sir James Langham, a merchant. The like might be ſaid of Princes-ſtreet, Copthall-court, Angel-court, and Warneford-court in Throgmorton-ſtreet, and of King's-arms-yard in Coleman-ſtreet, formerly ſingle houſes, now containing many eminent merchants and traders habitations. Devonſhire-ſquare, with the adjoining back ſtreets and alleys, were all built on the earl of Devonſhire's houſe and garden, as were Bridgewater-ſquare and adjoining ſtreets on that of the earl of Bridgewater, which was burnt down in 1687. The ground-plots of many other of the great houſes of the nobility and great merchants have had the like improvements ſome few years before this great fire, though moſtly ſince, ſuch as Prince Rupert's in Barbican, the ducheſs of Suffolk's in Alderſgate-ſtreet, where the earl of Shaftſbury's and the biſhop of London's palaces ſtill remain entire, the biſhop of Wincheſter's in Wincheſter-ſtreet, &c. all which, though happening in various periods of time, we have thrown together in this place, that we may not any more have recourſe to them hereafter.

This year Captain Sayle, in the ſervice of the new colony of Carolina, in his way thither, was driven by a ſtorm on Providence, the chief of the Bahama or Lucay iſlands; and on his return to England, with a

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report of the condition of thoſe iſlands, King Charles II now granted them, by a patent to the lords proprietors of Carolina.

Providence, ſituated in 25 degrees north latitude, is about 28 miles long, and 11 miles broad, lies in the midſt of ſome hundreds, great and ſmall, of dangerouſly-ſituated iſles, from latitude 22° to 27° to the northward of Cuba, and eaſt of the coaſt of Florida. Moſt of them are good for very little, and more noted for frequent ſhipwrecks, when ſhips chance to be driven amongſt them by ſtreſs of weather, and the tempeſtuouſneſs of thoſe ſeas, than for any material benefit they can afford us in time of peace, as lying ſeveral hundred miles out of the uſual courſe of ſhips to or from any of our own plantations; yet, when we are at war with other European nations, who have colonies in America, our privateers may be uſefully employed thereabout, as alſo our ſmaller ſhips of war, which the port of Naſſau in Providence can well receive; whereby, and by a royal ſquadron ſtationed at Port-Royal in Carolina, the Spaniſh plate fleets from the Havanna, in time of war, might be more eaſily intercepted than by any fleet at Jamaica *. For theſe reaſons it was judged proper to fortify Providence, and eſtabliſh a regular government in it: for, ſhould it be poſſeſſed by any other nation, it might be a means of greatly injuring our American commerce. The Spaniards, jealous of a ſettlement ſo near to the Havanna, ſurpriſed the Engliſh there in the year 1641, burnt their habitations, and murdered the governor, after which it remained a deſart, till replanted in 1666. It was again neglected or deſerted till about the year 1690, when the proprietors of Carolina once more repeopled it, and appointed a governor to it. In the year 1703 the French and Spaniards utterly waſted and depopulated the iſle of Providence, drove out the Engliſh, carried off their negroes, &c. and demoliſhed the fort of Naſſau; and ſo it remained till the reign of King George I, when the houſe of lords addreſſed the king, to replant and refortify the Bahama iſles, where pirates then had their uſual retreat. Whereupon, in the year 1718, Captain Woods Rogers was ſent regal governor to Providence, to whom moſt of the pirates ſubmitted, and accepted the king's pardon; and it has ever ſince remained a regal colony, where there is a ſmall town named Naſſau, with two good and well-deſigned forts, erected in the year 1745, ſo as to be now in a very good ſtate of defence againſt any enemy. Beſides this principal iſland of Providence, there are ſmall Britiſh ſettlements on Harbour-iſland, and on Eleuthera, and a few families on ſome other of thoſe iſlands, who join with the inhabitants of Providence in the choice of 20 aſſembly-men, to repreſent them all. Thoſe iſles abound with many ſorts of good, and ſome very uncommon, timbers, and with plenty of

* The advantages, which may ariſe from the local ſituation of theſe iſlands in a war with Spain, were clearly explained to government by Captain Rogers in the year 1728. *A.*

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ſtones and lime: on Exuma there is excellent ſalt, and they have made ſome eſſays at ſugar-canes. The whole white people in them were lately ſaid to be about 2000. But the condition of ſuch places is uſually ſo fluctuating, more eſpecially in time of war, that we can ſay little more of them at preſent.

By a ſtate of the Dutch Eaſt-India company's affairs, publiſhed this year, it appears that their ſettlement on the Cape of Good Hope was already in a pretty good condition; their garriſon conſiſted of 500 men, and their new fort was nearly completed: they indeed complained of ſome want of ſlaves for the cultivation of their lands, but their vines and olive trees proſpered very well.

1667.—What Alderman Cockayne had fruitleſsly attempted for ſeven years together, (from 1608 to 1615) was effected in the year 1667 by making uſe of proper workmen, and taking other prudent meaſures. For one Brewer from the Netherlands came over to England with his ſervants, and had due encouragement from the crown for inſtructing our people in dying and dreſſing the fineſt white woollen cloths, which were thereby brought to the greateſt perfection before their exportation.

Since Captain Fox's and Captain James's attempts for a north-weſt paſſage through Hudſon's bay in the years 1631 and 1633, we hear of no more ſuch till the year 1667, that ſundry perſons of worth and diſtinction who had been for ſome years before conſulting about that voyage and diſcovery, fitted out a ſhip with merchandize from London, under the command of Captain Gillam, who paſſed through Hudſon's ſtraits, and ſo into Baffin's bay, as far as 75 degrees northward: next he ſailed as far ſouthward as to 51 degrees, odd minutes, where, in the river he named after Prince Rupert, one of the adventurers, he built Charles's fort, the firſt we ever had in Hudſon's bay; and he was the firſt that ever practiſed any thing like real commerce in that bay. Gillam carried with him two Frenchmen, who had lived at Quebec in Canada, and who, upon the information of an Indian there, that the French, by travelling farther north, would come to a great bay or ſea, had gone home to France to ſolicit for ſhips to ſail into Hudſon's bay, but their propoſal being ſlighted by the French court, our ambaſſador there picked them up and ſent them to England, where the noble adventurers employed them as above *.

* Before this time a ſmall ſettlement had been formed by ſome Engliſhmen, who had fortified a poſt on Port-Nelſon river. They were ſurpriſed and made priſoners by Groſeillier, the chief of the two Frenchmen mentioned by Mr. Anderſon. Some diſputes, between Groſeillier and thoſe he was connected with in Canada, obliged him to ſeek for redreſs at Paris, where the neglect of the government threw him into the arms of Mr. Montague the Engliſh ambaſſador. Groſeillier had alſo found ſome of the men belonging to a ſhip from Boſton in New-England, who had been left at Port-Nelſon river by their ſhip driving out to ſea.

Theſe particulars, together with a circumſtantial account of Gillam's voyage, may be found in *Forſter's Diſcoveries in the North*, *p.* 376 of the Engliſh tranſlation. *M.*

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France and Holland being willing to treat of a peace, plenipotentiaries met at Breda; and a peace between England and France was concluded, whereby the later ceded to England all their part of the isle of St. Christophers, together with Antigua and Montserrat. On the other hand, the English court, not then knowing or duely weighing the importance of the country of Acadia, or Acadie, part of Nova-Scotia, yielded it to France.

A treaty was also concluded between England and Holland, whereby it was agreed, that both parties should retain what they then possessed. But before it was quite concluded, the king, imagining the peace to be certain, (some say too, for saving the money granted by parliament for less valuable ends) omitted to fit out his principal fleet to sea; the Dutch at the instigation of the French court, sent over De Ruyter with 70 ships of war, who, entering the mouth of the river Thames, took the fort of Sheerness, which he blew up, with a great quantity of naval and military stores, &c. Thence sending Van Ghent with part of his fleet up the river Medway to Chatham, where many of our capital ships lay, they burnt four (the Dutch say six) of them, and brought off the hull of the Royal Charles: but two or three of the Dutch ships running aground, they burnt them to prevent their falling into our hands, and so returned in triumph to their own coast. But as the peace was now too far gone to break it off, it was soon after signed. We shall here only farther take notice, that the fort at Sheerness has since been rebuilt in so substantial and judicious a manner, as probably will prevent any such daring attempt hereafter.

The disaster at Chatham created great uneasiness in London, especially among those who had trusted the London goldsmiths with money at a moderate interest, which they had advanced to the king at a much higher interest, on the security of his revenue as it should come in, the creditors of these bankers being justly apprehensive lest a sudden stop should be put to their payments at the exchequer. The king therefor, in order to quiet such uneasiness in the people, who were continually demanding their money of the goldsmiths or bankers, issued his declaration for preserving inviolably the course of payments in his exchequer, both with regard to principal and interest: although in less than five years we shall see that he absolutely disregarded this solemn declaration.

At the treaty of Breda the English ministers at first insisted on the Dutch East-India company's restoring the spice isle of Poleroon; Cromwell had indeed obliged them, in 1654, to restore it: yet the Dutch had again seized on it in the year 1664. But at length Poleroon was agreed to be left to the Dutch, though it is said to yield the best nutmegs and mace of all the Molucca isles.

Nothing could more effectually demonstrate the excellency of the

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Engliſh navigation act, than the Dutch plenipotentiaries ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſting, at this treaty of Breda, that that law was deſtructive of their commerce, and ſhould therefor be made void. Yet, though our miniſters durſt not go ſo far, it was ſtipulated, that all merchandize brought down the Rhine from Germany to the ſtaple at Dort, ſhould be deemed the ſame as if they were of the growth of Holland, and might conſequently be tranſported to England in Dutch bottoms.

And whereas, during the war, the Engliſh colony at Surinam on the coaſt of Guiana had been attacked, and had ſurrendered to the Zealand ſquadron, and conſidering that the *uti poſſidetis* was agreed at this treaty to be the baſis thereof, that colony was therefor yielded to the Dutch, which England had never made of any great importance to her commerce, though there were ſome fine ſugar plantations then in it, and alſo ſome tobacco ones, the later not good for much. Surinam has ever ſince been in their poſſeſſion: and by the ſame rule, the fine province of New-York, a much nobler exchange, was confirmed to England. Laſtly, it was ſtipulated by this peace, that Dutch ſhips of war as well as merchant ſhips, which ſhall meet any Engliſh ſhips of war within the four ſeas ſurrounding Great Britain, ſhall ſtrike the flag and lower the topſail, as formerly. But the heirs of Sir William Courten received no ſatisfaction for the capture of his two ſhips in India by the Dutch Eaſt-India company, after much ſtir made about it for many years paſt. It was, on the whole, rather a diſhonourable peace for us, and an honourable and advantageous peace for the Dutch: for, although they hereby quitted all pretenſions to New-York, it was purely becauſe they were before quite diſpoſſeſſed of it, and, being ſurrounded by the other Engliſh colonies, they could never have been able to regain or keep poſſeſſion of it. The province of New-York is ſaid by ſome to have, on trial, yielded as good tobacco as Virginia or Maryland. It produces great quantities of corn, and has a profitable trade for furs and peltry with the Indians, and with the ſugar iſles for its horſes and proviſions of all kinds, and pipe-ſtaves, as alſo to Madeira and the Azores.

We are at length arrived at ſomewhat like a pacification between England and Spain in the American ſeas, where till now both nations had in ſome degree kept up a ſtate of hoſtility, even while they lived peaceably together in Europe. By this time indeed Spain's old pretenſions to an univerſal ſovereignty in the American ſeas were become obſolete; yet till now both nations took advantages of each other in thoſe parts. The improving ſpirit of the Engliſh, and the great declenſion of Spain's power, had gained them conſiderable ground in America. King Charles nevertheleſs thought it prudent at this time to agree to a general pacification with Spain in America, in a treaty of peace and alliance concluded with that crown; the eighth article where-

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of, being the only one relating to America, or any particular commercial point, runs in the following ſtrain, viz.

'We do mutually agree to remain on the ſame footing with regard 'to our American commerce, upon which the ſtates-general of the 'United provinces of the Netherlands were put by the ſixth article of 'the treaty of Munſter, between Spain and the ſtates-general in the 'year 1648, which runs in the following words, viz.

'As to the Weſt-Indies, the ſubjects and inhabitants of the ſaid lords, 'the king and the ſtates-general reſpectively, ſhall forbear ſailing to and 'trading in any of the harbours, places, &c. poſſeſſed by the one or 'the other party, viz. the ſubjects of the ſaid lord the king ſhall not 'ſail to, or trade in, thoſe held and poſſeſſed by the ſaid lords the ſtates, 'nor ſhall the ſubjects of the ſaid lords the ſtates ſail to or trade in 'thoſe held and poſſeſſed by the ſaid lord the king of Spain.'

This eighth article, though thus looſely expreſſed, was at leaſt a tacit agreement of the *uti poſſidetis* in America, and was introductory of another more explicit treaty three years after.

About this time France, in the miniſtry of the ſharp-ſighted Colbert, ſet on foot the famous tapeſtry manufacture at the Gobelins in Paris, for this end, procuring from all foreign parts, drawers, deſigners, painters, dyers, and engravers, alſo workers in gold, ſilver, ivory, braſs, &c. which, under the direction of the famous Le Brun, were brought to great perfection, and thereby much money kept at home, which before was ſent abroad for ſuch ornaments and curioſities: as alſo every poſſible means was uſed for improving old manufactures and introducing new ones, and new branches of commerce. By ſuch meaſures, France ſoon became the great rival and ſupplanter of England and Holland in moſt foreign markets, as in Turkey, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, more particularly for woollen goods, with which, till after this time, the two former nations ſupplied moſt of the countries of Europe. Yet in ſome reſpects the French overſhot the mark, as even their countryman Huet, in his Memoirs of the Dutch commerce, obſerves: for, 'by laying ſuch high duties on all foreign merchandize imported, and 'pretending to ſell their own merchandize to other nations without 'buying any from them, they vainly imagined that foreign nations 'could not be without French wares, for which too, they would pay 'ready money to France, whilſt the French took off none of theirs. 'This,' he obſerves, 'made both the Engliſh and Dutch ſet up many 'of the manufactures which they were wont to have from France, and 'who, eſpecially the Dutch, ſold them in imitation of thoſe of France, 'much cheaper than France could afford to do, ſuch, particularly, as 'broad ſilks, gold and ſilver brocades, ribands, laces, hats, hardware, 'watches, toys, paper, &c. and have ſince been wonderfully ſucceſsful 'therein.' We may add, that in England our broad ſilk manufacture

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has been brought to great perfection, as alſo that of hardware, watches, and haberdaſhery; and our paper, quite a modern manufacture, ſo far improved, as to ſave great ſums formerly paid to France.

1668.—In January 1668, N. S. King Charles concluded with the ſtates-general of the United provinces of the Netherlands a defenſive alliance; and in February following, a treaty of commerce, in ſubſtance as follows, viz.

Articles I, II) The king's ſubjects may freely trade with ſuch kingdoms and ſtates with whom he is in peace, although the ſtates-general ſhould happen to be at war with the ſaid kingdoms and ſtates; which freedom ſhall extend to all kinds of merchandize but contraband goods.

III) By contraband goods are meant all ſorts of fire arms, gunpowder, and military inſtruments of war: alſo ropes, horſes, ſaltpetre, horſe accoutrements, ſaddles, bridles, &c.

IV) But proviſions of all kinds for the ſuſtenance of life may be carried freely even to the enemies of the ſtates, excepting only to towns beſieged or inveſted.

V) Engliſh ſhips entering laden into any of the ports of the ſtates, with an intention to ſail thence to places at war with them, ſhall only be obliged to produce their paſſports, containing an atteſted inventory of their lading, and then may freely proceed.

VI, VII, VIII) Other means to be uſed, where there may be juſt ground for ſuſpicion of carrying contraband merchandize.

IX) Contraband goods, found in Engliſh ſhips bound to the ports of enemies of the ſtates, ſhall be taken out; but neither the ſhip nor the other merchandize ſhall be ſeized.

X) Merchandize ſent by the king's ſubjects in ſhips belonging to the enemies of the ſtates, even though not contraband, ſhall be forfeited together with the other goods in ſuch ſhips: but, on the other hand, whatever is found onboard Britiſh ſhips, though the lading, or part of it, ſhould belong to the enemies of the ſtates, ſhall be free, except they be contraband goods.

XI) And the ſubjects and ſhips of the ſtates-general ſhall, in all reſpects, enjoy all the before and after named privileges allowed to the king's ſubjects and ſhips, in reference to trade and navigation on the coaſts and in the ports of the king's dominions.

XII, XIII, XIV) No violence nor injury ſhall be offered by Britiſh ſhips and ſubjects to thoſe of the ſtates, and *vice verſa*; and the commanders of privateers, before they put to ſea, ſhall give ſecurity to the value of L1,500 or 15,000 gilders for this end: but if a commander of any Engliſh ſhip ſhall take a veſſel laden with prohibited goods, he ſhall not be allowed to open cheſts, &c. nor to ſell, barter, or make away with, them, till brought on ſhore in the preſence of the officers for prizes: and unleſs the prohibited goods make only a part of the lading,

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in which caſe they ſhall be preſently taken out, that the ſhip may purſue her voyage.

XV, XVI, XVII) The king promiſes to do all poſſible right and juſtice in the caſe of prizes, and, in caſe of the ſtates' miniſters complaining of any injuſtice in the ſentences paſſed, the ſame ſhall be reviewed by his council in three months ſpace. Neither ſhall the controverted goods be ſold nor diſpoſed of in the meantime, unleſs periſhable, but by the conſent of the parties complaining, who, if they get a ſentence in their favour, either in the firſt or ſecond inſtance, ſuch ſentence, upon giving ſecurity, ſhall be put in execution, although the other appeal to a higher court: but not againſt the opponents, if the ſentence ſhould be pronounced in their favour. And finally, all the foregoing ſtipulations ſhall be equally obſerved by the ſtates in reſpect to the ſuits of the king's ſubjects. [*Collection of treaties, V.* i, *p.* 136, *ed.* 1732.]

The ingenious author of a treatiſe, entitled the Britiſh merchant, and many other writers, loudly and juſtly complain of the too much encouragement given to the conſumption of French wines and brandies, ſilks, linens, hats, &c. He obſerves, that, though a duty of 4*d* a quart was this year laid upon French wines, which raiſed their retail price from 8*d* to 1*s*, we ſtill took off prodigious quantities of them, and of almoſt every other ſpecies of French merchandize, while the French were continually diminiſhing their conſumption of Engliſh manufactures and merchandize by new and high impoſitions, obſtructions, and at length prohibitions: inſomuch that the general balance of the trade of England for this ſame year was moſt grievouſly to our loſs, viz.

Imported into England from all the world -	L4,196,139	17 0
Exported - - - - -	2,063,274	19 0
The imports exceed the exports, the ſum of	L2,132,864	18 0

This great national loſs was owing to our having a full trade with France. That full trade being afterwards prohibited, the general balance in 1699, was got to be ſo far in our favour as L1,147,660: 10: 9. Total gained by us, from having no trade with France in the year 1699, L3,280,525: 8: 9, which balance, in the year 1703, was increaſed to L2,117,523: 3: 10½. Total gained by us, from our having no trade with France in the year 1703, L4,250,388: 1: 10½. A moſt intereſting conſideration.

At this time alſo the laudable Engliſh faſhions of former times began to alter in favour of France. The women's hats were turned into hoods made of French ſilk, whereby every maid-ſervant in England became a ſtanding revenue to the French king of the half of her wages. Many hats for men were likewiſe brought from France, which alſo ſupplied

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Italy with woollen goods, made of Engliſh wool run to them, in return for Italian ſilk, which France manufactured, and ſold to England to pay for that wool. And whilſt they laid ſuch high duties on our woollen cloths as amounted to a prohibition, we were in a manner totally ſupplied with their linens, beſide their wines, brandies, paper, &c. [*Britiſh merchant*, *V.* iii, *p.* 315, *ed.* 1713.]

This year the king, by the perſuaſion of Lord Aſhley, the chancellor of the exchequer, inſtituted a council of commerce, conſiſting of a preſident, vice-preſident, and nine other counſellors *, who, inſtead of the former method of referring all commercial matters to a fluctuating committee of the privy council, which was liable to many objections, were to apply themſelves diligently to the advancement of the nation's commerce, colonies, manufactures, and ſhipping. But as this king was never long conſtant in any very laudable regulation, he, a few years after, laid aſide ſo very beneficial an inſtitution, too expenſive alſo for him to ſpare from his pleaſures, whereby commercial concerns fell into the former way of a reference to a committee of the privy council.

At length France was induced to conclude a peace with Spain at Aix-la-Chapelle, though on the following very diſadvantageous terms for the later; Spain now ceding to France the towns and forts of Charleroy, Binch, Aeth, Doway, Fort Scarp, Tournay, Liſle, Audenard, Armentiers, Courtray, Bergues, and Furnes, together with their bailywicks, chatellanies, territories, and dependencies. Thus France got a firm footing in the very heart of the Spaniſh Netherlands, whereby the balance of power between thoſe two great nations was ſhamefully ſuffered by King Charles to be quite deſtroyed; who, had he had any great regard for England's commercial intereſts, or for the equilibrium of Europe in general, might have undoubtedly prevented it. Yet Louis XIV ſcarcely kept to this peace for ſo long as two years time, without making farther encroachments on the declining monarchy of Spain. At this time, however, Louis found himſelf obliged to reſtore to Spain the county of Burgundy, commonly called Franche Compté, the invaſion of which and of the Netherlands had obliged Spain to make peace with, and renounce all pretenſions on, Portugal.

The king granted a new charter to the famous Cinque-ports, ſituated on the coaſts of Kent and Suſſex, whereby he confirmed their antient privileges, with ſome new regulations, more ſuitable to modern times, relating to taxes and the election of their officers, &c. now of no uſe to our purpoſe. Since our vaſt increaſe of the royal navy theſe Cinque-ports are no more of any great importance, though, as we have more than once ſhewn, they were greatly uſeful to our Norman race of kings in their expeditions to the continent, and alſo in caſe of threatened

* The preſident had a ſalary of L800, the vice-preſident L600, and the counſellors L500 each.

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invaſions from thence, before there was any royal navy properly ſo called.

The timber of the king's foreſt of Dean in Glouceſterſhire being of late much deſtroyed, an act of parliament directed, that eleven thouſand acres of the waſte lands in that foreſt ſhould be incloſed, for the growth and preſervation of oak-timber for the ſupply of the royal navy, and the maintenance of ſhipping for the trade of this nation. [20 *Car. II, c.* 3.]

1669.—The author of the Happy future ſtate of England acquaints us, that in the year 1669 there was 23,680 lb. weight of linen-yarn imported from Scotland into the port of London. He alſo relates, that at this time the French proteſtants ſettled at Ipſwich made linen of 15*ſ* per ell.

De Witt, the judicious author of the *Intereſt of Holland*, has the following obſervations upon the improving commerce and power of England during about a century preceding this time. He ſays, 'that when 'the compulſive laws of the Netherland halls drove the cloth-weaving 'from the cities to the villages, and thence into England, and the cruel-'ty of the duke of Alva drove the ſay-weaving after it, the Engliſh be-'gan to vend their manufactures throughout Europe: they became po-'tent at ſea, and no longer depended on the Netherlands. Alſo by the 'diſcovery of the inexpreſſibly rich cod-bank of Newfoundland the peo-'ple of Briſtol in particular were enriched. Moreover, the long perſe-'cution of puritans in England has occaſioned the planting of many 'Engliſh colonies in America, whereby they drive a mighty foreign 'trade thither. So that this mighty iſland united with Ireland under 'one king,—ſeated in the midſt of Europe, having a clear deep coaſt, 'with good havens and bays, in ſo narrow a ſea, that all foreign ſhips 'that ſail either to the eaſtward or weſtward are neceſſitated, even in 'fair weather, to ſhun the dangerous French coaſt, and ſail along that 'of England, and in ſtormy weather to run in and preſerve their lives, 'ſhips, and merchandize, in its bays: ſo that England now, by its con-'junction with Scotland, being much increaſed in ſtrength, as well by 'manufactures as by a great navigation, will in all reſpects be formid-'able to all Europe; for, according to the proverb, a maſter at ſea is 'a lord at land; and more eſpecially a king of England, ſeeing he is 'able, both by whole fleets and private ſhips of war, at all times to 'ſeize on ſhips ſailing by that coaſt; the weſterly winds, which blow 'for the moſt part of the year on this ſide of the tropic, giving the Eng-'liſh great opportunities to ſail out of their numerous bays and har-'bours at pleaſure to infeſt our navigation: of which formidable power 'King Henry VIII was ſo ſenſible, that he dared to uſe this device; *cui* '*adhæreo præeſt*, i. e. he whom I aſſiſt ſhall be maſter: and he accord-'ingly made war as he liſted; ſometimes againſt France, at other times

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'againſt Spain, though then ſtrengthened with the German empire and 'theſe Netherlands; making peace at his own pleaſure both with King 'Francis I and with the emperor Charles V, whom he dared ſo horri-'bly to deſpiſe as to repudiate his aunt Queen Catherine.'

Thus this able miniſter of ſtate lays down an immutably intereſting leſſon for Britain, viz. ever to be ſuperior to any other nation on the Ocean, whereby we ſhall ever be ſuperior in commerce; and while thereby we preſerve our great influence in the councils of the nations on the continent of Europe, we ſhall increaſe our wealth, and preſerve our independence, and conſequently our liberty. Neither need we on this ſubject to obſerve, that our ſuperiority muſt ever be very conſiderable, not only on account of the guard of our own extenſive coaſts, but alſo for the protection of our commerce in all the four quarters of the earth. This will ever be our great palladium; and, according to the poet,

'We then moſt happy, who can fear no force,
'But winged troops and Pegaſean horſe!' WALLER.

This year the French prime miniſter Colbert brought Van Robais, a Dutch merchant, from Holland, to ſettle with 500 workmen at Abbeville in Picardy, where a new manufacture for ſuperfine woollen broad cloth was very ſucceſsfully ſet on foot. It is ſuperfluous to recite all the privileges, immunities, and ſums of money, beſtowed on him and his workmen. From 30 looms, in the year 1681, he was encouraged to ſet up 50. In 1698 Van Robais's looms amounted to 80, and in 1708 they exceeded 100 in number. The French king, to do the greater honour to this new manufactory, gave leave to the nobleſſe to be concerned in it, without detracting from their nobility. And to encourage the ſale of theſe and other French woollen goods in Turkey, he advanced money to the merchants of Marſeilles out of his treaſury, to be repaid after the return of their ſhips from Turkey, whereby that city has gradually ſupplanted England and Holland of much of their Turkey trade. And the apprehenſions of ſome people go ſo far as to think Marſeilles will be able in time to engroſs the whole of it.

France at this time, as has been already obſerved, began to abound in all kinds of curious manufactures, toys, &c. with which they ſupplied every part of Europe. One moſt material thing, however, they hitherto wanted, for completing their ſuperiority over the reſt of the world, viz. a ſuperiority of naval power. De Witt, who at this time wrote his Intereſt of Holland, obſerves, [*part* ii, *c.* 7] that the French have very few ſhips and mariners of their own; ſo that all their traffic is driven by Dutch ſhips, and to Holland, or at leaſt by unloading there, ſome few Engliſh ſhips and traffic excepted: and when any goods are to be tranſported from one French harbour to another, they are put on-

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board ſhips of Holland. This was the caſe in his time. Voltaire (in his Age of Louis XIV) ſays, that this great prince ſoon after granted a bounty of five livres per ton for every new ſhip built in France, whereby ſhipping ſoon became more plenty: yet he ſays, that ſo ignorant were they then in France, that not a few condemned thoſe wiſe meaſures as pernicious.

With reſpect to the woollen manufactures, there is a general miſtake prevails with many even to this day, in imagining that the fine broad cloth in France is principally ſupported by our Engliſh run wool, ſeeing it is well known that the real ſuperfine cloth everywhere muſt be entirely of Spaniſh wool, and therefor often called Spaniſh cloths; and that though the ſecond ſort of French cloth is much meliorated by the help of our fine ſhort wool, yet for the moſt part the beſt wool of France alone may do well enough for their coarſe cloths. And it is principally for their fine ſtuffs, hoſe, caps, &c. that the French find our ſoft and long combing wool (the beſt of its kind in all Europe) abſolutely neceſſary, ſeeing, without a certain proportion thereof mixed up with their own wool, they cannot make thoſe fine goods fit for the markets of Spain, Portugal, and Italy. Moreover, by running our wool to Hamburgh, Holland, Flanders, France, &c. thoſe countries are enabled to manufacture thoſe ſtuffs and ſtockings, to the great detriment of our own manufacturers.

The French in our days take from us no other commodities than what they can farther improve or manufacture; or ſuch as they cannot as yet be without, viz. raw hides, leather, beef, and butter, chiefly from Ireland; and alſo much leaf tobacco.

De Witt eſtimates the increaſe of the commerce and navigation of Holland in the ſhort ſpace of time from the pacification with Spain, in the year 1648, to this year 1669, to be fully one half. He obſerves that, during the war with Holland, Spain loſt the bulk of her naval power: and ſince the peace the Dutch have moſtly beat the Eaſterlings and the Engliſh out of the trade to Spain, all the coaſts of which country are navigated chiefly by Dutch ſhipping; and for want of ſhips and ſailors of their own, Spain has now openly begun to hire Dutch ſhips to ſail to her Indies, though formerly ſo careful to exclude all foreigners from thence: and ſo great is the ſupply of Dutch manufactures to Spain, &c. that all the merchandize brought from the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies is not ſufficient to make returns for them; ſo that the Dutch carry home the balance in money. [*Intereſt of Holland, part* ii, *c.* 8.]

The ſame great author, for the better illuſtration of the increaſe of the Dutch commerce and of their people, has exhibited the computed number of the inhabitants of the province of Holland and Weſt-Frieſeland at this time, with the ſeveral means whereby they are ſupported, viz.

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	Perſons.
By the fiſheries at ſea, and the ſeveral trades and traffic depending thereon - - - -	450,000
By agriculture of all kinds, turf-making, inland fiſhing; and by furniſhing thoſe people with all ſorts of materials, they being huſbandmen - - -	200,000
By manufactures, ſhipping, works of art, &c. conſumed abroad; and by trades relating to the ſaid manufactures	650,000
By navigating for freight and trade jointly, excluſive of the fiſhery and trades depending thereon. - -	250,000
By all the above people, (men, women, and children) who muſt be ſupplied with what they want; as food, clothing, houſing, furniture, and all other things for art, eaſe, pleaſure, and ornament - - - -	650,000
Gentry without employment, civil magiſtrates, and officers, and ſuch as live on their eſtates or money, ſoldiers, the poor in hoſpitals, beggars, &c. - -	200,000
Total number of ſouls in the ſingle province of Holland	2,400,000

He adds, 'that the eighth part of this number could not be ſupplied 'with neceſſaries out of the product of Holland, it being their gain by 'traffic, which brings in the neceſſaries for the other ſeven eighth parts 'of the whole people.'

He alſo obſerves, [*part* iii, *c.* 6] that the city of Amſterdam hath been enlarged two parts in three: and yet none can obſerve that either the houſes or the inhabitants are thereby leſſened in value. Yea, that it is ſo augmented in buildings, that the impoſts on the bulky goods of that city only, in the laſt farm, yielded above 30,000 gilders more than in the former farm; and we may affirm the like of Leyden, Dort, and other cities in proportion.

In this ſame year the Dutch Eaſt-India company, after a long conteſt with the king of Macaſſar, obliged him to yield to them the fortreſs of that name.

King Charles having now received intelligence that the Spaniards had abandoned the moſt part of the great province of Chili in South America, was adviſed to attempt a ſettlement in a country ſo greatly abounding in gold, &c.: he therefor ſent out Sir John Narborough, with a ſhip of 36 guns and a pink; with orders to make diſcoveries on that coaſt, and in other parts of the South ſeas. He paſſed the ſtraits of Magellan, and ſailed along the coaſts of Patagonia and Chili; but, as his orders were expreſs not to moleſt the Spaniards in thoſe parts, and as the Spaniards at Baldivia would not permit him to trade with the Indians, and had ſeized his lieutenant and three of his ſailors, he judged it prudent to

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return home; which he accordingly did by the ſame Magellanic ſtraits; which probably none after him has ever attempted, as the voyage round Cape Horne into the South ſeas is everywhere ſo far better. He arrived in England in the year 1671; and his obſervations and draughts were afterwards publiſhed. Such a ſettlement as was hereby propoſed to be made in ſo remote a part of the world from England, in ſo tempeſtuous an ocean, and with ſo obſtinate a people as the Chileſe, would have probably been attended with almoſt inſuperable difficulties; ſince Spain itſelf, though poſſeſſed of the countries north and eaſt of Chili, has had enough to do to preſerve their footing there.

After an obſtinate ſiege of 20 months, the Turks took the capital of Candia (or Crete) from the Venetians, and thereby completed their conqueſt of the iſland. As Candia lies directly in the way of the navigation to and from Conſtantinople, the Turkiſh iſles of the archipelago, Egypt, &c. it was a great eye-ſore to them whilſt in the poſſeſſion of Venice. It is commonly remarked that, ever ſince this conqueſt, the naval power of Turkey has greatly decreaſed; poſſibly, becauſe, ſince being poſſeſſed of Candia, they are more ſecured and uninterrupted in their communication with Egypt and their other levantine provinces. Formerly the Turks were very formidable in thoſe ſeas; and indeed ſundry parts of their dominions afford great abundance of materials for ſhip-building and naval ſtores; but as they never were much, and now leſs than ever, addicted to commerce, this reaſon alone is ſufficient to account for the preſent decayed ſtate of their marine.

It was about this time that the French Eaſt-India company abandoned their ſettlement in Madagaſcar, as not finding it worth keeping, and transferred their principal reſidence to Surat in India. Soon after, the king, by the patronage of Colbert, granted them the haven of Port Louis in Bretagne, for their ſhips; in virtue of which grant they afterwards eſtabliſhed their warehouſes, ſhips, and magazines, at what they named Port L'Orient, near Port Louis. Colbert alſo obtained for this company a remiſſion of 3 millions of livres due to the king, and an exemption from all duties on their imported merchandize; notwithſtanding all which, at his death, in the year 1683, their affairs were in a declining condition.

1670.—It was about this time that the wear of the flimſy muſlins from India was firſt introduced into England: before which time our more natural and uſual wear was cambrics, Sileſia lawns, and ſuch kind of fine flaxen linens, from Flanders and Germany, in return for our woollen manufactures of various kinds, exported to thoſe countries in very conſiderable quantities.

An additional act of parliament was paſſed for rebuilding London, uniting ſundry pariſhes, rebuilding the cathedral of St. Paul, and the parochial churches, whereby Pater-noſter row, Warwick lane, Watling

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ſtreet, Candlewick ſtreet, Eaſtcheap, Swithin's lane, Little Wood ſtreet, Milk ſtreet, Tower ſtreet, Water lane, (near the cuſtom-houſe) Rood lane, St. Mary-hill, Thames ſtreet from London bridge to Puddle-dock, Pye-corner, Threadneedle ſtreet, and the paſſage at Holborn bridge, were directed to be widened; and the Royal exchange, Gildhall, the Seſſions-houſe in the Old bailey, and the city priſons to be enlarged. Two ſhillings more per chaldron were laid on coals; in all three ſhillings. One fourth part of all monies appropriated for rebuilding pariſh churches was to be applied for rebuilding St. Paul's cathedral. The channel of Bridewell-dock, from the Thames to Holborn bridge, (now known by the name of Fleet-ditch, though it will ſoon loſe that name alſo) was ordered to be made navigable. Alſo a new ſtreet to be made from the weſt end of Threadneedle ſtreet into Lothbury, (this is Princes ſtreet). Two poſterns for foot paſſengers to be made at Ludgate, and the gate to be enlarged. [22 *Car. II, c.* 11.]

At this time King Charles II was enabled by two acts of parliament, [22 *Car. II, c.* 6; 22, 23 *Car. II, c.* 24] to alienate his fee-farm rents, the purchaſe-money of which was preſently ſquandered away, under pretence of paying the king's debts bearing intereſt. Theſe rents were a noble income and reſource to the crown, which ſurely no wiſe king would ever have alienated, on any pretence whatever. The purchaſers had very cheap bargains of thoſe rents, though now they ſell at very high prices. Thus this improvident monarch completed what his predeceſſors had begun and carried very far, viz. to render themſelves abſolutely dependent on their parliaments; which ſhould be very far from diſpleaſing the true friends of England's liberty.

In ſpite of prohibitions and penalties, tobacco was ſtill cultivated in England; wherefor a new act was paſſed to prohibit it: whereby the peace officers were directed to ſearch for and prevent tobacco growing within their reſpective bounds; and to deſtroy the ſame wherever found: with a proviſo, however, as formerly, of allowing it to the phyſic gardens of both univerſities, or other private gardens for phyſic or ſurgery, ſo as any one ſuch plantation exceed not the compaſs of half a pole or perch for every ſuch garden. [22, 23 *Car. II, c.* 26.] To this act there was added a clauſe, expreſsly repealing the word *Ireland*, in the act 12 *Car. II, c.* 18; ſo that now the product of the Engliſh plantations brought to Europe muſt be firſt landed in England only, before they be reſhipped for other parts.

We have ſeen, under the year 1667, that till that year there was not the leaſt mention of America in any treaty between England and Spain; the later willing to keep up her antient claims in that country, and the former determined to keep and improve the footing ſhe had gained there. The feeble condition of Spain, however, at length brought her to reaſonable conditions: and as the eighth article of the treaty of

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1667 was thought too general by the Spaniſh miniſtry, they earneſtly applied to the Engliſh court for a more clear and explanatory treaty relating to America; which was accordingly complied with by the king of England, upon the king of Spain agreeing to recognize the former's right to all the American dominions he was poſſeſſed of in this year, 1670; when Sir William Godolphin, the Engliſh miniſter at Madrid, concluded the following treaty, viz.

Article I and II) There ſhall be an univerſal peace, and a true and ſincere friendſhip in America, as well as in all other parts of the world, between the two nations.

III and IV) All enmities, hoſtilities, &c. ſhall henceforth ceaſe between the two kings and their ſubjects: and for this end both ſides are to forbear all acts of violence, and to call in all commiſſions, letters of marque, &c. and to declare them null and void.

V) Both kings hereby renounce all leagues, confederacies, &c. to the prejudice of each other.

VI) Priſoners on both ſides, detained by reaſon of acts of hoſtility hitherto committed in America, to be forthwith ſet at liberty.

VII) Offences, injuries, and loſſes, ſuffered by either party in America, ſhall be utterly buried in oblivion.

VIII) The king of Great Britain, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, ſhall always poſſeſs, in full right of ſovereignty and propriety, all the countries, iſlands, colonies, &c. in the Weſt-Indies, or in any part of America, which he and his ſubjects now poſſeſs; inſomuch, that they neither can nor ought hereafter to be conteſted, under any pretence whatſoever.

IX) The ſubjects, merchants, captains, maſters, and mariners, of each ally reſpectively, ſhall forbear and abſtain from ſailing to, and trafficking in, the ports and havens that have fortifications or magazines, and in all other places poſſeſſed by either party in the Weſt-Indies: but if at any time either of the kings ſhall think proper to grant the other's ſubjects any general or particular leave or privileges to ſail and traffic in any of the places under his obedience, the ſaid traffic and navigation ſhall be exerciſed according to the form and effect of the ſaid leave and privileges ſo granted them; for the ſecurity, guarantee, and authority, whereof this preſent treaty and the ratification of it ſhall ſerve.

X) In caſe the ſubjects of either ally and their ſhips, whether ſhips of war or merchant ſhips, ſhall at any time be forced, by ſtorm, purſuit of pirates or enemies, or any other accident, to enter into any of the rivers, creeks, bays, havens, roads, and ports, belonging to the other in America, for protection and refuge, they ſhall be received and treated there with all manner of humanity, civility, protection, and aſſiſtance; ſhall be allowed to refreſh themſelves, and, at a common price, to buy proviſions and other neceſſaries for the conveniency of their voyage; and ſhall be permitted to depart without let or moleſtation.

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XI) Or if the ſhips of either party ſhall run upon ſand-banks or be ſhipwrecked within the dominions of the other, or ſuffer any damage there, the ſaid perſons ſhall by no means be detained priſoners; but, on the contrary, ſhall have all manner of aſſiſtance, and ſhall have paſſport for their free and peaceable return to their own country.

XII) But yet, in caſe thoſe ſhips happen to be three or four together, ſo as to give juſt ground of ſuſpicion; in ſuch caſe they ſhall, on their arrival, let the governor or chief magiſtrate of the place know the cauſe of their coming; and ſhall tarry no longer there than the ſaid governor or chief magiſtrate will give them leave, after ſupplying themſelves with proviſions, and refitting their ſhips. And they are ever to abſtain from putting any wares or bales of goods on ſhore to expoſe them to ſale: neither are they to receive any merchandize on board, nor do any thing that is contrary to this treaty.

XIII, and XIV) The preſent treaty to be inviolably obſerved by both parties and their ſubjects. And particular offences ſhall no way prejudice this treaty: but every one ſhall anſwer for what he has done, and be proſecuted for contravening it. Neither ſhall letters of repriſal, nor any other methods for obtaining reparation, be granted, unleſs juſtice ſhall be actually denied, or unreaſonable delays be uſed; in which caſe it ſhall be lawful to have recourſe to the ordinary rules of the law of nations, until reparation be made to the perſon that has been injured.

XV) This treaty ſhall not derogate from any pre-eminence, right, or ſigniory, which either the one or the other of the allies have in the ſeas, ſtraits, or freſh waters, of America. And it is always to be underſtood, that the freedom of navigation ought by no means to be interrupted, when there is nothing committed contrary to the true ſenſe and meaning of theſe articles.'

By this famous treaty, the pirates or buccaneers (who for ſeveral years had greatly annoyed Spaniſh America) were cut off from all future protection from England in any hoſtile attempts on the Spaniſh American dominions, and all commiſſions to ſuch were called in and annulled; whereby a very troubleſome thorn was taken out of her foot *.

About this time Sir Joſiah Child publiſhed his Diſcourſes on trade; which, he tells us, he wrote at his country houſe in the ſickneſs year (1665); and though written ſo long ago, yet, taken altogether, it is ſtill an excellent book on that ſubject. One of his greateſt and moſt favourite points was to perſuade men how much the low intereſt of money contributes to the advancement of the commerce and riches of a

* It was on the authority of this treaty (confirmed by ſubſequent ones) that Engliſh veſſels ſailing along, though not landing on, the coaſts of the Spaniſh dominions in America, have been ſo much diſtreſſed by the guarda-coſtas, which at length obliged the king of Great Britain to declare war againſt Spain in the year 1739. And the controverſy remains to this day undecided, though the freedom of navigation was expreſsly provided for in the fifteenth article of this treaty. *A.*

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nation; which he more particularly exemplifies in the Dutch: yet certainly, in ſome few leſſer points, he puſhes the ſubject too far; and is for introducing ſome Dutch cuſtoms, which would not ſuit the genius, laws, and conſtitution, of Britain; ſuch as transferring all bills of private debts; gavel-kind, or dividing the eſtate of a father equally to all his children. Such points ſeeming fitter for a republic, like Holland, wholely made up of merchants, than for a great monarchy with an immenſe fund of land. Yet, upon the whole, his foundations, obſervations, and informations, are juſt, and very uſeful.

In his preface, he aſſerts, that our exports of native commodities to Spain and Portugal are more than tripled ſince the year 1640.

That in the Ruſſia trade, the Dutch had in the preceding year twenty-two ſail of great ſhips, and the Engliſh but one.

That in the Greenland whale-fiſhery, the Dutch and Hamburghers have annually four or five hundred ſail, and the Engliſh but one ſhip laſt year, and none in the former one.

That the Hollanders have the great trade for ſalt from Portugal and France; and immenſe fiſhing for white herrings upon our own coaſts.

In the Eaſtland (i. e. Baltic) trade, the Engliſh have not half ſo much to do as formerly; and the Dutch ten times more than they formerly had. And

He ſays, that the Dutch intereſt of three per cent, and the narrow limited companies of England, have beaten us out of theſe and ſome other trades, which he could name *.

He juſtly remarks, that in all probability the Dutch would have long ſince engroſſed the trade of red herrings, but for two ſtrong reaſons, 1ſt, that the fiſh for that purpoſe muſt be directly brought freſh on ſhore (as at Yarmouth), which the Dutch cannot do, becauſe the herrings ſwim on our coaſts, and are at too great a diſtance from theirs; 2dly, they muſt be ſmoked with wood; which cannot be done on reaſonable terms but in a woody country, which Holland is not. And the like may be ſaid of our pilchard trade, which muſt be cured and preſſed upon the land, which the Dutch cannot do.

Neither can the Dutch gain firm footing in the Newfoundland and New-England fiſheries, as being managed by our weſt-country ports, properly ſituated for it.

England (ſays our author), has no ſhare in the trade to China and Japan; to both which the Dutch have a great trade †.

As to our Norway trade, it is in great part loſt to the Danes, Holſteiners, &c. by means of ſome clauſes in our act of navigation ‡.'

* He means here the Ruſſia, merchant-adventurers, and Eaſtland, companies. *A.*

† Since his time Britain has long had the largeſt trade to China of any European nation. *A.*

‡ Thoſe northern nations bring their own produce in their own ſhips, which they navigate cheaper than ours; and therefor the greateſt ſhare of that trade muſt naturally reſt with them. *A.*

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And with reſpect to our having loſt (as he juſtly obſerves) a very great part of our former exportations to France, we need only to obſerve, that ſince his time our legiſlature have done all that was in their power to retaliate their great impoſts on our draperies, by laying high duties on their wines, brandies, &c. and by rejecting the French bill of commerce in the year 1713.

He ſays that a great part of the plate-trade from Cadiz is loſt by us to the Dutch *.

What he ſays of the Dutch having bereaved us of the trade to Scotland and Ireland, is quite reverſed in our time. With regard to the former country, by the conſolidated union of the two kingdoms; and to the later, by the greater application of both nations.

He well obſerves, that no trades do ſo much merit our care as thoſe which employ moſt ſhipping; ſince, beſide the profit by the merchandize, the freight is often more in value than the merchandize, and is all clear profit to the nation; and the ſhips and ſailors are an addition of power and ſtrength to us.

Next, he comes again to the brighter ſide of our commerce, beſides our two fiſheries, &c.

In our Turkey, Italian, Spaniſh, and Portugueſe, trades, we have the natural advantage of our wool.

Our proviſions and fuel, in country places, are cheaper than the Dutch have them.

Our native commodities of lead and tin are great advantages.

He juſtly terms our act of navigation our *Charta maritima*, on account of its many benefits to us; as it compels us to import foreign merchandize in our own ſhipping, and as it alſo ſecures to us the ſole trade to our own plantations in America.

He ſhews the vaſt increaſe of England's riches, even in only twenty years ſpace, i. e. ſince the year 1650.

For, 1ſt, (ſays he) we give generally now one third more money with apprentices than we did twenty years before.

2dly, Notwithſtanding the decay of ſome, and the loſs of other, trades, yet, in the groſs, we ſhip off now one third more of our manufactures, and of our tin and lead, than we did twenty years ago.

3dly, Houſes in London yield twice the rent which they did before the conflagration in 1666; and immediately before that diſaſter they generally yielded about one fourth more rent than they did twenty years ago.

4thly, The ſpeedy and coſtly rebuilding of London after that great fire is a convincing (and to a ſtranger an amazing) argument of the plenty and late increaſe of money in England.

* Had he lived till our time, he would have ſeen more reaſon to complain of the French in this reſpect. *A.*

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5thly, We have now more than double the number of merchants and ſhipping that we had twenty years ago.

6thly, The courſe of our trade, from the increaſe of our money, is ſtrangely altered within theſe twenty years; moſt payments from merchants and ſhopkeepers being now made with ready money; whereas formerly the courſe of our general trade did run at three, ſix, nine, twelve, and eighteen, months time.

As to the objection, that all ſorts of men complain ſo much of the ſcarcity of money, eſpecially in the country, he judiciouſly anſwers,

That this humour of complaining proceeds from the frailty of our natures: it being natural for men to complain of the preſent, and to commend the times paſt. 'And I can ſay with truth, upon my own 'memory, that men did complain as much of the ſcarcity of money 'ever ſince I knew the world as they do now: nay, the very ſame per-'ſons who now complain of this, and commend that time.'

This complaint proceeds from many men finding themſelves uneaſy in matters of their religion (i. e. the perſecution of the proteſtant diſſenters); it being natural for men, when they are diſcontented at one thing, to complain of all.

And more eſpecially, this complaint in the country proceeds from the late practice of bringing up the tax-money in waggons, which did doubtleſs cauſe a ſcarcity of money in the country *.

And, principally, this ſeeming ſcarcity of money proceeds from the trade of bankering, which obſtructs circulation, advances uſury, and renders it ſo eaſy that moſt men, as ſoon as they can make up a ſum of L50 or L100, ſend it into the goldſmith: which doth, and will occaſion, while it laſts, that fatal preſſing neceſſity for money ſo viſible throughout the whole kingdom, both to prince and people.

This paragraph, ſo far as relates to circulation, merits explication: for the money ſo put into the goldſmiths hands in thoſe times was far from circulating, as the running caſh-notes of the bank of England, and of ſome bankers, do in our days; for in ſuch caſe it would undoubtedly have increaſed the currency; but as the bankers of London in thoſe times advanced their money to the king on the credit of parliamentary grants, and thoſe advances were then always at extravagant intereſt; the bankers therefor, in order to be ready to ſupply the neceſſities of that improvident prince, were glad to allow a lower intereſt for a certain time to people who brought their money to them; which trade certainly hindered the circulation of money, inſtead of increaſing it: but we ſhall ſoon ſee an end put to it, by ſhutting up the exchequer.

This famous author alſo inſiſts much on the great advantage the Dutch had over England, in point of commerce, from the lowneſs of

* In this gentleman's time the dealings between London and the country were probably not ſo great as in our days; and therefor bills of exchange might not then be ſo eaſily obtained as now. A.

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their cuſtoms on merchandize. And yet he ſubjoins, that two per cent extraordinary on the intereſt of money, is worſe than four per cent extraordinary in cuſtoms; becauſe cuſtoms run only upon our goods imported or exported, and that but once for all: whereas intereſt runs as well upon our ſhips as goods, and muſt be annually paid on both ſo long as they are in being.

He remarks how much Ireland has been improved by the late commonwealth's Engliſh ſoldiers ſettling on the lands of that kingdom; whereby that country was able to ſupply foreign markets, as well as our own plantations in America, with beef, pork, hides, tallow, bread, beer, wood, and corn, at cheaper rates than we can afford to do; to the beating us out of thoſe trades. Whereas formerly (i. e. preſently after the late Iriſh war, begun in the year 1640) many men got good eſtates by tranſporting Engliſh cattle thither.

Such are the perpetual fluctuations in commerce. Inſomuch that the Iriſh, about theſe times, poured in their live cattle upon England, till we were obliged, for the pacifying of our landed gentlemen, to enact a total prohibition of them.

We have alſo ſeen in our own times ſo great an improvement in thoſe reſpects in our northern continental colonies of America in raiſing ſtocks of cattle, more eſpecially of hogs, as alſo in producing corn and pulſe, that they in a great meaſure ſupply our own ſugar colonies therewith, and with timber, pipe-ſtaves, and other lumber (as they term it), and alſo the ſugar colonies of other European nations. In times of dearth alſo, Pennſylvania and the Jerſeys have helped to ſupply even Britain and Ireland with corn.

With reſpect to the benefits and advantages accruing to England from its Eaſt-India company and trade, Sir Joſiah Child, who was an eminent director and promoter of it, ſuppoſes it to be far from difficult to evince it to be the moſt beneficial trade which England at that time carried on: which he lays down in the following poſitions, viz.

I) It employs from 25 to 30 ſail of the moſt warlike mercantile ſhips of the kingdom, with 60 to 100 mariners in each ſhip.

II) It ſupplies the kingdom conſtantly and fully with that moſt neceſſary article, ſaltpetre.

III) It ſupplies the kingdom, for its conſumption, with pepper, indigo, calicoes, and ſeveral uſeful drugs, to the value of L150,000 to L180,000 yearly *.

IV) 'It alſo ſupplies us with materials for carrying on our trade to 'Turkey, viz. pepper, cowries, calicoes, and painted ſtuffs; as alſo for 'our trades to France, Spain, Italy, and Guinea, to the amount of two 'or three hundred thouſand pounds yearly; moſt of which trades we 'could not carry on with any conſiderable advantage but for thoſe

* The tea-trade from China was not yet introduced. *A.*

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'ſupplies. And thoſe goods exported, do produce in foreign parts to 'be returned to England, ſix times the treaſure in ſpecie which the 'company exports from England to India.

He therefor concludes, 'that although the Eaſt-India company's im- 'ports greatly exceed its exports of our manufactures, yet, for the above 'reaſons, it is clearly a gainful trade to the nation: he ſubjoins to this, '1ſt, that if we had not this trade ourſelves, the ſingle article of ſalt- 'petre, ſo abſoultely neceſſary for making gunpowder, would coſt us a 'vaſt annual ſum to purchaſe it from the Dutch: 2dly, the loſs of ſo 'many ſtout ſhips and mariners would be a great detriment to the na- 'tion: 3dly, were we forced to buy all our pepper, calicoes, &c. from 'the Dutch, they would make us pay as dear for them as we do for 'their nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, and mace; and if we did not uſe 'calicoes, we ſhould fall into the uſe of foreign linens *.'

In the ingenious Mr. Polexfen's Diſcourſe on trade (1696), there is the following remarkable paragraph, relating to our Engliſh Eaſt-India company, viz. 'till after the year 1670, the importations from Eaſt- 'India were chiefly drugs, ſaltpetre, ſpices, calicoes, and diamonds: 'then throwſters, weavers, dyers, &c. were ſent to India by the compa- 'ny, for teaching the Indians to pleaſe the Europeans fancies.' And this brought to us an inundation of wrought ſilks and ſtuffs of many various ſorts, whereby our own manufactures were greatly obſtructed: wherefor, long after, the legiſlature found it neceſſary abſolutely to pro- hibit the wear of them at home. So now they are all re-exported.

After all that has formerly been ſaid on the following ſubject, we are nevertheleſs greatly obliged to Sir Joſiah Child in particular, for the firſt judicious diſſertation we have met with on the difficulties attending the means of diſcovering the true ſtate of our national balance of trade: wherefor we have thrown this, and the arguments of ſome other later authors together, on this curious and moſt intereſting inquiry, that the whole may appear in one view.

There are (ſay they) but three ways of judging whether the balance of trade be for or againſt us, viz.

1) By diſcovering the true value of our exports and imports from the cuſtom-houſe books; and this would doubtleſs be a good rule were it practicable: yet as there is a difficulty, and even an impoſſibility, of taking a true account, as well of the quantity as of the value of commodi- ties exported and imported, this rule will by no means effectually ſerve us.

1) Becauſe many fine goods, as jewels, fine lace, cambrics, rich ſilks, &c. are imported by ſtealth.

* The immenſe increaſe and improvement of Scottiſh and Iriſh linens ſince Child's time have rendered the uſe of foreign linens unneceſſary: but the other arguments remain valid even to the preſent times. *A.*

In the revolutions of trade and manufactures, linens are now (1798) likely to be ſuperſeded by home-made calicoes, which, by means of the great ſaving of labour in the ſpinning engines, are now made much cheaper than them. *M.*

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2) In our remote out ports and creeks, the like is often true even of more bulky wares.

3) The true quantities and qualities are not in many caſes exactly entered; more eſpecially with reſpect to woollen goods exported; becauſe many traders, to get a great name, and perhaps ſometimes for worſe reaſons, do enter greater quantities than they really export; they paying little or no duty.

4) As the rates of the cuſtoms are in no kind proportionable on exportations; ſome of our own commodities being rated very low, as our drapery, ſilk-wares, haberdaſhery, and iron-ware; others high, as lead and tin; and fiſh, in Engliſh ſhips, nothing at all: and the rates of foreign commodities imported are yet more unequal: beſides, that foreign commodities, imported in Engliſh ſhips, ſhould be valued only at prime coſt and charges till onboard; and thoſe in foreign ſhips with the addition of the homeward freight.

Moreover, by accidents in trade, ſuch as loſſes at ſea, bad markets, bankruptcies beyond ſea, ſeizures, &c. the original ſtock may be leſſened, and the value of the commodities imported in return may be conſiderably leſs than the value of the commodities exported, and yet may be the full returns; and ſo the nation no gainer, though the exports were more in value than the imports. On the other hand, it may chance that the ſtock exported may meet with a very lucky ſale, whereby the returns may be of a much greater value, though really but the bare returns of the exports; and ſo the nation no loſer, but in fact a gainer thereby, although the imports may exceed the exports.

Sir Joſiah Child alleges the examples of Ireland, Virginia, and Barbados, to ſhew the great uncertainty, in ſome caſes, of the notion of truely ſtating the general balance of a nation's commerce: 'For (ſays 'he) thoſe three countries do, without doubt, export annually a far 'greater value of the commodities of their native growth, than is im- 'ported to them from hence, or from any foreign country, and yet 'they are not ſuch great gainers, but continue poor.' With reſpect to Virginia and Barbados, it may be remarked on this able author, that even in his time thoſe plantations, and eſpecially the later, were growing rich; for even then we find ſome of their overgrown planters coming home to ſettle with their fortunes. As to Ireland, it has been entirely the people's own fault in not being rich then, through the lazineſs and ſloth of the poorer ſort, and the luxury of their landed gentry, who affect to indulge themſelves with foreign wines, manufactures, &c. and many of them ſpend their incomes out of their own country; yet, notwithſtanding, Ireland in our days is well known to be more rich and proſperous than ever before; and has much more commerce and manufactures than formerly, more eſpecially that immenſely-increaſed one of the linen and cambric manufacture; giving jealouſy not only to Scot-

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land, its great rival therein, but to Holland and Germany, in a very great degree.

Moreover, the rule of judging of the general balance of trade from a nation's exports and imports, is very exceptionable when applied to particular trades. Seeing it may happen, that although we may really import much more in value from ſome certain countries than we export thither, yet the trade to thoſe very countries may be ſuch an one, as either in its own nature we cannot be without, or elſe, in its conſequences, is really productive of greater profit by the re-exportation of its merchandize firſt imported hither.

Let us, for inſtance, ſuppoſe, what will readily be granted, that naval ſtores, Spaniſh wool, and ſaltpetre, are three commodities which we cannot be without: the firſt, for our whole navigation and commerce; the ſecond, for our fine woollen cloth trade; and the third, for gunpowder. Then, we ſay, we ſhould be neceſſitated to carry on a trade with the countries which furniſh thoſe three commodities, let the balance be ever ſo much againſt us; or, in other words, let our imports from thence ever ſo much exceed our exports thither. As to the firſt, viz. naval ſtores, the balance is greatly againſt us; Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, from whence we have the moſt of our timber, taking off but very few of our merchandize in compariſon with the quantity we take of their timber, maſts, deals, and tar, beſides ſtockfiſh, &c.; and the like may be ſaid of the other countries within the Sound, from whence our other kinds of naval ſtores come; as hemp, from Livonia and Ruſſia; oak-plank, from Pruſſia, &c. Yet, until we can bring our own North-American plantations into a method of ſupplying us entirely with naval ſtores, there is no remedy. The like might be ſaid of the other two commodities, even though the balance ſhould be againſt us; neither of which however is the caſe.

The ſecond rule to judge of the general balance of our trade, is, to obſerve carefully the courſe of exchange between us and foreign countries. And if that be generally found againſt us, that is to ſay, if it be generally above the intrinſic value or par of the coins of thoſe foreign countries, we certainly loſe by the general courſe of our foreign commerce: or, in other words, they certainly ſend us more of their merchandize than they take of ours. And certainly (ſays Sir Joſiah Child) when once the exchange comes to be five or ſix per cent above the true value or par of foreign monies, our treaſure will be carried out, whatever laws we may make to prevent it. On the contrary, we ſhould be gainers if the exchange were ſo much in our favour; which is our caſe with Portugal, and alſo with ſome other countries, though perhaps not in quite ſo great a degree; from whence we actually import much of their coin, by means of the balance being in our favour.

Yet even this rule, drawn from exchanges, though a very plauſible

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one (and the diligent obſervance whereof may be very uſeful and neceſſary in many reſpects), is likewiſe liable to great variations on ſundry accounts, occaſioned from the accidents which frequently happen in the public concerns of nations, by wars, famines, revolutions, &c. Moreover, there is no eſtabliſhed and direct courſe of exchange with ſundry countries to which we trade: ſuch as Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Ruſſia, Turkey, Barbary, Sicily, the Canaries, &c. For theſe reaſons, this ſcience of exchanges, though a very ingenious inquiry, and which, when applied to this or that particular country, may often be extremely uſeful, will not, however, fully anſwer the character of an adequate rule to judge of the nation's profit or loſs by our general trade.

The third, laſt, and ſureſt, rule to judge of the general balance, i. e. of the loſs or gain of the trade of any nation, is, by the increaſe or decreaſe of its general commerce and ſhipping. Yet even then we muſt not frame our judgment raſhly, or for a few years only: for nations, like private merchants, may make a great ſtir in ſhipping, exportations, and importations, and may ſeem to have a mighty gainful commerce, when perhaps in a few years longer all this ſeeming gainful buſineſs may prove a conſuming trade, and a viſible decay may ſoon follow in the whole body politic. Our ſhips may lie unemployed; our ſailors may be gone into foreign ſervice; our manufacturers and artificers out of buſineſs; our goods uncalled for; our cuſtoms falling ſhort; our poors' rates increaſed, &c. Theſe are the ſad and ſure ſigns to a nation of a declining commerce. But on the contrary, if a nation has for a long ſeries of years been increaſing in all the above particulars; if the number of our merchant ſhips (and conſequently of our mariners) be viſibly increaſed, and ſtill increaſing; if there be a greater general appearance of wealth and ſplendour than in former times, viz. in plate, jewels, houſehold furniture, equipages, apparel, libraries, paintings, medals, &c. which, inſtead of being only confined to a few of the great ones, as in old times, are become diffuſed amongſt the middling gentry and merchants, and even amongſt the middling claſs of traders and manufacturers; if the prices of lands keep up and increaſe; and there is a greater appearance of money everywhere than formerly; then we may undoubtedly pronounce that nation to be in a thriving condition. And that this is the preſent happy caſe of Great Britain, and even of Ireland, whilſt we are now writing, is clearly demonſtrable and obvious.

Neither do the complaints of our increaſing luxury at all militate againſt this poſition; ſince luxury, more or leſs, is, and always will be, the concomitant of increaſing wealth and commerce. Nor will it be of any ſolid weight to object that ſome particular branches of trade are decaying, if we increaſe at leaſt as much, or more, in ſome other branches. If we have, for inſtance, long ſince loſt the market of France, and perhaps partly of Italy and Turkey, for woollen goods, how much more

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have we increaſed in the exportation of them to other parts of Europe, but more eſpecially to our American plantations? which, according to Sir Joſiah Child, in his chapter on plantations, 'did (even in the year '1670) employ near two thirds of all our Engliſh ſhipping, and there-'by gave conſtant ſuſtenance, it may be, to 200,000 perſons here at 'home.' How greatly are our manufactures of ſilk, iron, glaſs, linen, &c. increaſed of late years; and of fine toys of gold, ſilver, ſteel, and ivory, and alſo watches, &c. in the memory even of many thouſands ſtill living? Our cities and port-towns generally much increaſed in buildings and ſhipping; not only in England, but in Scotland and Ireland.

Though one of Sir Joſiah Child's principal aims was to point out the increaſing commerce of Holland, yet in the cloſe of his preface he obſerves, that the French and Swedes were as induſtrious and careful in promoting their commerce as even the Dutch themſelves: for beſides the many impoſitions of the French on our ſhips and goods, ſo high, particularly on our woollen cloths, as 50 or 60 per cent, the Swedes have laid ſuch high impoſitions on their own merchandize, unleſs they be carried in Swediſh bottoms, as amounts to almoſt a navigation-act in Sweden.

We have at this time, from De Witt's Intereſt of Holland, a ſummary account of the ſhipping employed in their fiſheries by the ſingle province of Holland alone, viz. 'the herring and cod fiſheries employ 'above a thouſand buſſes, from twenty-four to thirty laſts each; and 'above one hundred and ſeventy ſmaller ones, that fiſh at the mouth of 'the Texel. And ſince the Greenland monopolizing company was an-'nulled, that whale-fiſhery is increaſed from one to ten. So (ſays he) 'when we conſider that all theſe fiſhing veſſels are built at home, and 'the ropes, ſails, nets, and caſks, made here, as well as the ſalt furniſh-'ed from hence, we may eaſily imagine there muſt be an incredible 'number of people who live thereby; eſpecially when we add that all 'thoſe people muſt have food, clothes, and houſing, and that the fiſh, 'when caught, are tranſported by the Hollanders in their own veſſels 'throughout the world. And indeed if * that be true, which Sir Wal-'ter Raleigh affirms (who made diligent inquiry thereinto in the year '1618 †, to inform King James of it), that the Hollanders fiſhed on 'the coaſts of Great Britain with no fewer than 3000 ſhips and 50,000 'men; and that they employed and ſet to ſea, to tranſport, and ſell the 'fiſh ſo taken, and to make returns thereof, 9000 ſhips more and '150,000 men; and if we hereunto add what he ſaith farther, viz. 'that 20 buſſes do, one way or other, maintain 8000 people ‡, and that 'the Hollanders had in all, no leſs than 20,000 ſhips at ſea. And, as

* The dubitative conjunction *if*, wherewith De Witt uſhers in a foreigner's exaggerated account of what he ought to have known better himſelf, gives reaſon to believe that he took it up as moſt convenient for his purpoſe. *M.*

† The date ought to be 1603. *M.*

‡ Is there no miſtake in this number? *M.*

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'he alſo thinks, that their fiſhing, navigation, and traffic by ſea with 'their dependencies ſince Raleigh's time to the year 1667,' (when he was reviſing his work for its new and complete publication) 'is increaſed 'to one third more, we may then eaſily conclude, that the ſea is a ſpe-'cial means of Holland's ſubſiſtence, ſeeing Holland, by this means 'alone, yields, through its own induſtry, above 300,000 laſts of ſalt 'fiſh. And if to this we add the whale fins and whale oil, and our 'Holland manufactures, with that which our own rivers afford us, it 'muſt be confeſſed, that no country in the world can make ſo many 'ſhips lading of merchandize by their own induſtry, as the province of 'Holland alone can do.'

Under the year 1642, we have given Sir Joſiah Child's reaſons why the Dutch have never been very ſucceſsful in planting and cultivating foreign colonies. What he ſays of the French he was certainly miſtaken in, viz. 'that they are not much to be feared on the account of 'planting:' for, ſince his time, what fine improvements have they not made on the iſlands of Martinico and Guadaloupe, and their other Caribbee iſlands, as well as on the weſt end of the great iſland of Hiſpaniola, whereby, in our own days, they have been able to underſell and ſupplant us in the ſugar trade, and have thereby reduced our exports of that commodity to a very low ebb; beſides the quantities of indigo, cotton, ginger, and coffee, raiſed by them in thoſe iſlands, and their great improvements in the iſle of Bourbon near Madagaſcar, and in Cayenne on the coaſt of Guiana, as well as on the continent of North-America, to our great loſs and coſt. It is indeed allowed, that thoſe improvements were little thought of by the French till the time of Colbert's miniſtry, but they have ever ſince been ſteadily proſecuted.

What Sir Joſiah Child ſays in relation to Spain, has hitherto proved true, viz. that ſhe can never equal England in the improvement of her American plantations; by reaſon of their high freight for their ſhipping, which he ſays is four times that of ours, occaſioned chiefly by their high intereſt of 12 per cent in Spain, and alſo by their application principally to their mines of gold and ſilver, whereby they loſe infinite numbers of people, eſpecially of ſlaves, neglecting the cultivation of the earth, and the production of commodities which might employ many ſhips and people *; and laſtly, by the multitude of friars and nuns prohibited from marriage; and the like bad government in America which they have in Europe.

Laſtly, with regard to the Portugueſe, although he allows that they have been great planters in the Braſils and other parts, yet he adds, 'that if they do not alter their politics, (which he thinks impoſſible

* Is it not at leaſt doubtful, whether, if England had ſuch pretious mines, ſhe might not fall too much into the like neglect of agriculture at home?—*A.*

Then let Britons be thankful to God, who has withheld from them thoſe mines of indolence and ruin, and has beſtowed upon them ample mines of induſtry and opulence. *M.*

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'they ſhould do) they can never bear up with us, and much leſs pre-
'judice our plantations. As we have already,' in my time, continues
he, 'beat their muſcovada and paneal ſugars quite out of England,
'and their whites we have brought down in all theſe parts of Europe,
'in price, from L7 and L8 per cwt. to 50/ and L3. And we have alſo
'much leſſened their quantities, for whereas formerly their Braſil fleets
'brought 100 to 120,000 cheſts of ſugar, they are now reduced to
'about 30,000 cheſts ſince the great increaſe of Barbados.'

The great decay of England's Newfoundland fiſhery, from 250 ſhips in the year 1605 to 80 in 1670, Sir Joſiah Child thinks owing principally to the increaſing liberty, which is everywhere more and more uſed in Romiſh countries, as well as in others, of eating fleſh in lent and on fiſh days. Secondly, to the abuſe of allowing private boat-keepers, who can doubtleſs afford their fiſh cheaper than the ſhips from England can, becauſe the former reſide on the place, and are generally old fiſhers. Thirdly, the great increaſe of the French fiſhery at Placentia there. And he is of opinion, that the diſplanting and diſpeopling of Newfoundland would be an advantage to our fiſhing there, becauſe the charge of a government there is a burden on the fiſhing: and the proviſions, clothing, &c. which the planters, or rather inhabitants, conſume, are ſupplied them from New England and Ireland; and they have their wine, oil, and linen from the ſalt ſhips of France and Spain. Beſides, if the planters of Newfoundland ſhould be permitted to increaſe, it would happen to us in a few years in that country, as it hath done with regard to the fiſhery at New-England, which many years ſince was managed by Engliſh ſhips from our weſtern ports, as the Newfoundland fiſhery at preſent chiefly is; but as the plantations in New-England increaſed, that fiſhery fell entirely to the people there. Upon the whole, as fiſhing ſhips have ever been the breeders of ſeamen, it is our great intereſt to increaſe the number of them, who beſides, ſupport multitudes of Engliſh tradeſmen and artificers of various kinds.

Of New-England he remarks, that by means of their cod and mackrel fiſheries that people are more proper for building ſhips and producing ſeamen than our other American colonies: and he adds, that nothing is more prejudicial to any mother-country than the increaſe of ſhipping in its colonies; that it, producing the ſame commodities as England, is therefor the leaſt profitable to us. Yet he owns, that what they took from England amounted to ten times what we took from them. Of the other continental colonies he ſays nothing. Thoſe ſtatements, though true in his time, have ſince, in ſundry reſpects, undergone conſiderable alterations with reſpect to our American colonies.

King Charles this year coined what was called crown gold, of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats allay, into L44: 10 per pound weight, by tale, in pieces of 10, 20, and 40/, and L5; and a pound weight of ſilver,

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old ſtandard of 11 ounces 2 pennyweight fine, and 18 pennyweight allay, into 62ſ by tale, viz. into crowns, half-crowns, ſhillings, ſixpences, groats, threepences, twopences, and pence, fine milled money.

The king's couſin, Prince Rupert, and ſeventeen other perſons of quality and diſtinction, having, in the year 1669, ſent out Captain Newland to Hudſon's bay, where he ſettled at Port-Nelſon; and Captain Gillam alſo returning, with ſome ſucceſs, in his proſpect of a trade with the ſavages in that bay, thoſe noble adventurers obtained from the king an incorporating charter, dated May 2, 1670, reciting, in ſubſtance, 'that thoſe adventurers had, at their own great coſt, undertaken an expedition to Hudſon's bay, in order to diſcover a new paſſage into the South ſea, and to find a trade for furs, minerals, &c. and having already made ſuch diſcoveries as encourage them to proceed farther in their deſign, by means whereof there may probably ariſe great advantage to us and our kingdoms: and we being deſirous to promote all endeavours for the public good, do, by theſe preſents, grant for us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, unto them, and ſuch others as ſhall be hereafter admitted into the ſaid ſociety, to be for ever one body-corporate and politic, by the name of The governor and company of adventurers of England trading into Hudſon's bay, with perpetual ſucceſſion, and to be capable of holding, receiving, and poſſeſſing, lands, rents, &c.' (without limiting the value or extent thereof) 'and to alienate the ſame at pleaſure. They may alſo ſue and be ſued, have a common ſeal, ſhall have a governor and ſeven other perſons, to be called committees, to be annually elected out of the proprietors, the deputy-governor to be elected out of the ſaid ſeven committees: a governor and any three of the committees for the time being, ſhall have the direction of the voyages, and the proviſion of the merchandize and ſhipping, and of the ſales of the returns, as likewiſe of all other buſineſs of this company: and they ſhall take the uſual oath of fidelity, as ſhall alſo all perſons admitted to trade as freemen of this company, who are to have the ſole trade and commerce of and to all the ſeas, bays, ſtraits, creeks, lakes, rivers, and ſounds, in whatſoever latitude they ſhall be *, that lye within the entrance of the ſtrait commonly called Hudſon's ſtraits, together with all the lands, countries, and territories upon the coaſts and confines of the ſaid ſeas, ſtraits, bays, &c. which are not now actually poſſeſſed by any of our ſubjects, or by the ſubjects of any other chriſtian prince or ſtate: together with the fiſhing of all ſorts of fiſh, of whales, ſturgeons, and all other royal fiſhes, in the ſaid ſeas, bays, &c. together with the royalty of the ſea within their limits aforeſaid; as alſo all mines-royal of gold, ſilver, gems, and pretious ſtones, and that the

* The king, uncertain of the poſition of places within this bay, prudently declines the ſpecification of any particular longitudes and latitudes in this charter. *A.*

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'land be from henceforward reckoned and reputed as one of our plan-
'tations or colonies in America, and to be called Rupert's land; the
'company to be deemed the true and abſolute lords and proprietors of
'the ſame territories *; ſaving always the faith, allegiance, and ſove-
'reign dominion, to us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, to be holden as of our
'manor of Eaſt Greenwich, in free and common ſoccage: yielding
'and paying yearly to us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, for the ſame, two
'elks, and two black beavers, whenſoever and as often as we, our heirs,
'and ſucceſſors, ſhall happen to enter into the ſaid countries, &c. here-
'by granted. The company may make bye laws, &c. for the good go-
'vernment of their forts, plantations, and factors, and may impoſe
'fines, &c. on offenders, not repugnant to the laws of the kingdom,
'without accounting to the crown for the ſame. This company may
'not only enjoy the whole trade, &c. within the limits aforeſaid, but
'likewiſe the ſole traffic to and from all havens, bays, creeks, rivers,
'lakes, and ſeas, into which they ſhall find entrance or paſſage by water
'or land, out of the territories, limits, and places, aforeſaid, and to and
'with all the natives and people within the territories aforeſaid, and
'with all other nations inhabiting any the coaſts adjacent to the ſaid
'territories and limits aforeſaid which are not already poſſeſſed as afore-
'ſaid by any chriſtian potentate, or whereof the ſole liberty or privi-
'lege of trade and traffic is not granted to any other of our ſubjects †.
'None other than this company and their agents and aſſigns, ſhall di-
'rectly viſit, haunt, or frequent, traffic, or adventure, by way of mer-
'chandize, into the ſaid limits, unleſs by licence of this company, on
'pain of forfeiting ſhips and merchandize, half to the crown and half
'to the company. Every perſon having L100 ſtock, is entitled to one
'vote in general courts of elections. The company may ſend ſhips of
'war, ammunition, &c. and may erect forts in their territories as well
'as towns; may make peace and war with any prince or people not
'chriſtian: alſo may make repriſals on any others interrupting or
'wronging them; may ſeize on and ſend home all ſuch Engliſh or
'other ſubjects ſailing into Hudſon's bay without their licence; and
'their governors, &c. may fine or otherwiſe puniſh offenders, and may
'adminiſter an oath for the diſcovery of offenders, &c. Laſtly, all ad-
'mirals, &c. are to be aiding to the company in the execution of the
'above powers and privileges.'

This charter is a very ample one: and if our laws and free conſtitu-
tion, and particularly that moſt excellent ſtatute made in the ſecond
ſeſſion of the firſt year of King William and Queen Mary, entitled An
act declaring the rights and liberties of the ſubject, and ſettling the ſuc-

* This is alſo the ſtile of the Carolina charters. *A.*

† This is a ſaving clauſe in behalf of the Eaſt-India company's charter, in caſe this company ſhould find the ſuppoſed paſſage from thence into the South ſea. *A.*

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ceſſion of the crown, had not limited the prerogative in the caſe of excluſive charters of privileges, this company would doubtleſs be abſolute in thoſe immenſe territories: but the caſe, to our great happineſs, is now quite otherwiſe; and ſince that great eſtabliſhment of our liberties, neither the Hudſon's-bay, nor any other company, not confirmed by act of parliament, has any excluſive rights at all: wherefor any Britiſh ſubjects may ſail into Hudſon's bay, fiſh, and traffic with the native Indians there, may travel into, and make diſcoveries therein, either by land or water, as freely as that company can do, as has ſince been practiſed frequently in our own days. All the advantage, that the company has over other adventurers thither, is purely the benefit of their own forts, ſuch as they are, whereby their agents can reſide in ſo inhoſpitable a country during the winter, preparatory to their trading with the ſavages againſt the arrival of their ſhips in the ſummer; and that thereby they have not only more ſafety and protection, but alſo have more experience in trading with the native Indians thereabout than any private adventurers can have, whoſe ſhips cannot with ſafety remain in that vaſt bay above a part only of our ſummer, leſt they be ſhut in by the ice, which fills the bay with heaps of it like mountains. And indeed, even theſe advantages alone on the company's ſide are ſo conſiderable, that they are not like to be ſucceſsfully rivalled in haſte by any private adventurers. Their capital of about L.10,000, is confined to a ſmall number of proprietors, who have three or four forts in different parts of Hudſon's bay, in which they have in all about 120 perſons, who, for nine months of the year, live in a manner ſhut up within their forts, in low houſes calculated to defend them from the piercing cold, ſnow, and rains. In ſummer they go out and ſhoot, hunt, and fiſh, and meet with deer and wild-fowl; and they have ſome few wild fruits, as ſtrawberries, dewberries, and gooſeberries. From England they receive annually three or four ſhips laden with coarſe woollen goods, guns, powder and ſhot, ſpirits, edge-tools, and ſundry other utenſils: in return for which the natives ſell them all kinds of furs or peltry, gooſe quills, caſtorum, whale fins and oil, bed feathers, &c. and they make handſome annual dividends to their proprietors.

'Mr. Bailey, the company's firſt governor of their factories and ſettlements in that bay, entertained a friendly correſpondence, by letters and otherwiſe, with Mr. Frontenac then governor of Canada, who, in ſeveral years, made no complaint of any injury done to France by the company's ſettling a trade and building forts in Hudſon's bay, nor did France pretend any right to that bay, or to the countries bordering on it, till long after this time,' as will be ſeen in its place.

The country around Hudſon's bay is ſo inhoſpitable, that even in the moſt ſoutherly part of the bay, in the latitude of but 51 degrees, it is exceſſively cold for about nine months of the year. In ſo wretched a

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country, therefor, there can be no plantations, properly ſo called, and much leſs any towns or villages. Our people therefor muſt be ſupplied from England with bread, beef, pork, flour, peas, and other neceſſaries*. With the poor ſavages of the country there can be no other commerce but by barter: thus, for inſtance, the company for one beaver's ſkin give half a pound of gunpowder, four pound weight of lead-ſhot, two hatchets, half a pound of glaſs beads, one pound weight of tobacco, eight ſmall or ſix large knives, one large and two ſmall powder horns: for twelve good winter beaver ſkins, a gun of the beſt ſort; for eight ditto, the ſmalleſt gun; for ſix ditto, a good laced coat; for five ditto, a plain red coat; for four ditto, a woman's coat; and ſo in proportion for kettles, looking-glaſſes, combs, &c. Arthur Dobbs, Eſq. (ſince governor of North Carolina) in his account of this country, (4to, 1744) gives us the particulars of one ſale in the year 1740, wherein were 17,780 beaver ſkins, and 49,600 ſkins of all kinds, 2360 pound weight of bed feathers, 160 caſtorum, 610 whale fins, and 120 gallons of whale oil. And, as he ſays, there are two ſales every year, and that this company reſerves three fifths of their beaver ſkins for their ſecond ſale, but no other ſkins, then the ſecond ſale muſt have 26,670 beaver ſkins, and both the ſales muſt have had 44,450 beaver ſkins, &c.

Although the French at Canada did not at firſt pretend to a property in the countries about Hudſon's bay, yet in a few years after the company was eſtabliſhed, (viz. in 1674) they began to be jealous, and very troubleſome to our people there, and they built a fort within eight days journey of our ſettlement on Prince Rupert's river. They alſo endeavoured, by underſelling us in their barter with the Indians, to ruin our trade and intereſt with thoſe ſavages: for the neareſt parts of Canada are not 150 miles diſtant from Rupert's river.

Carolina ſoon ſurmounted the uſual difficulties and diſcouragements attending new plantations, and gradually became a very conſiderable colony. Mr. John Lawſon, who had been ſurveyor-general of North-Carolina, and publiſhed the Hiſtory of Carolina (4to, 1718), has made ſome good remarks on the excellency and fertility of its climate, and of its happy ſituation. He obſerves, that the beſt ſilver mines of the Spaniards lie directly weſt from Carolina, and although none of that ſort be hitherto diſcovered in that province; yet there is ſtill a probability that ſuch hereafter may be found, when the hilly parts weſtward ſhall be more frequented and planted; that none of our continental plantations are to be compared to Carolina for its vaſt quantities of naval ſtores, ſuch as pitch, tar, turpentine, roſin, maſts, yards, planks, boards, timber of many ſorts, and fit for many uſes, pipe-ſtaves, lumber, hemp, flax, all ſorts of Engliſh grain, and alſo Indian corn †. Their ſtocks of

* Some ſay that barley, oats, and peas, have been ſowed there with ſome degree of ſucceſs. *A.*

† Rice, now its grand ſtaple, was not then introduced, or only juſt attempted. *A.*

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cattle are incredibly large, and feed in their rank ſavannas or meadows, and they need no dry fodder in their mild winters: an advantage which our more northerly colonies want. South-Carolina produces conſiderable quantities of ſilk, and grapes in plenty, though not ſo fine as in ſome parts of Europe, for want of a good and more general cultivation: ſo that he doubted not but Carolina would in time become a wine country. North-Carolina is a ſeparate government, and of a ſmaller compaſs than the other, partaking more of the nature of its adjoining neighbour Virginia, both as to ſoil, climate, and produce, making therein conſiderable quantities of tobacco, their lands being generally richer than thoſe in Virginia. In fine, all the experiments that have been made in Carolina have exceeded expectation, and it affords ſome commodities, which other places in the ſame latitude do not. It has rich and delightful paſtures, fine hills and rivers, and a moſt wholeſome air. It will, continues he, doubtleſs in time increaſe the number of its productions, and afford us thoſe rich commodities which India, China, the Straits, Turkey, &c. ſupply us with at preſent, ſuch as tea, coffee, drugs of various kinds, dates, almonds, &c.: which prediction has ſince, in a great degree, proved true in fact. And though all that Mr. Lawſon has ſaid of the improvements of this excellent province were not completed ſo early as this year 1670, yet as many of them were then pretty far advanced, and as we ſhall ſcarcely have occaſion to treat again of that colony during the remainder of this century, we thought it beſt to throw all the above particulars together at this time.

By an act of parliament, [22 *Car. II, c.* 13] it was enacted, that when wheat was not above L2 : 13 : 4 per quarter, it ſhould, upon exportation, pay cuſtom and poundage per quarter, viz.

	Lo	16	o
From that price to L4 per quarter	o	8	o
Rye at about L2 to pay	o	16	o
Barley and malt, not above L1 : 12, to pay	o	16	o
Oats at 16/ per quarter, to pay	o	5	4
Peas and beans at L2, to pay	o	16	o

This ſtatute permits the exportation of any ſort of live cattle but ſheep; as alſo of beef, pork, butter, cheeſe, &c.

About this time, or perhaps a little later, the linen manufacture began to be encouraged in Ireland. It began among the Scots in the north of Ireland, where it has to this day flouriſhed more than in any other part. It has, eſpecially within the laſt forty years, grown to ſo vaſt an extent, as to ſurpriſe all men, and to alarm all the linen countries beyond ſea, ſo as not a little to affect the general balance of trade with thoſe countries. The vaſt quantities of linen, which England takes of the Iriſh, enables them to pay for almoſt every kind of our product and manufacture which we ſupply them with. Before they made much linen cloth, the people in the north of Ireland ſent their linen yarn to

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England. Ireland is really a mine of treaſure to Great Britain, and is ſo perhaps in a much greater degree than ſome of our American plantations, ſince much of what is gained in Ireland centers at length in Britain. And the ingenious author of a tract, entitled the Queriſt, publiſhed ſome few years ago, rightly obſerves, that every ſevere ſtep taken by us with regard to Ireland, has been leſs injurious to it than advantageous to our foreign rivals. It is now clearly ſeen, that the prohibition of live cattle from Ireland, in order to raiſe the price of our own lands, was not well judged. Even the reſtrictive laws relating to the woollen manufactures of Ireland forced the Iriſh workmen to ſettle in France, and thereby laid the foundation for the great woollen manufacture in that kingdom, although we muſt confeſs this laſt point to be extremely delicate on both ſides of the queſtion.

About this time the duke of Buckingham procured makers, grinders, and poliſhers, of glaſs from Venice, to ſettle in England. The manufacture has ſince been brought to ſuch perfection, that the very fineſt glaſs is now ſent from this country to all parts of the globe, even Venice itſelf not excepted.

1671.—The Engliſh Eaſt-India company entered into an agreement with the king of Golconda to pay him a certain annuity of 1260 pagodas for ever, inſtead of the cuſtoms hitherto paid to him at Madras, or Fort St. George, which is ſaid to have ſince then proved a great benefit to the company's increaſing commerce at that place.

1672.—The exportation of our produce and manufactures was encouraged by an act of parliament, [25 *Car. II, c.* 6] for taking off aliens duty upon all the native commodities, coals only excepted, and manufactures of England exported by foreigners: thereby putting them on a level with Engliſh ſubjects: whereas by the 11th of Henry VII, *c.* 14, and the tonnage and poundage act of the 12th (confirmed by one of the 13th) year of the preſent king, they were to pay double duties. By this law aliens were to pay only the ſame duty for fiſh caught by Engliſhmen, and exported in Engliſh ſhipping, navigated as the navigation act directs, as the natives pay.

It was in January 1671 (now 1672) that King Charles II was ſo ill adviſed by Sir Thomas Clifford, (for which he was created a peer and lord high treaſurer) as to ſhut up the exchequer, on which occaſion he made a declaration in council, that it ſhould be but for one year only. Thereby all the money which the London goldſmiths and bankers had lent to the king at 8 per cent intereſt, beſides certain conſiderable advantages in the manner of paying them the money weekly, as it came into the exchequer, &c. was made uſe of by him for his intended war againſt Holland. The cruel and unjuſt ſeizure of this money, amounting to L1,328,526, and not even paying the intereſt due on it, made a very great clamour among the creditors of the bankers; and it was

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ſaid, that near 10,000 families were greatly hurt, and many of them entirely ruined. It was now ſaid, and even publiſhed, that a ſtop of this kind, which ſo much leſſened the credit of the exchequer and the reputation of the crown, could proceed from nothing leſs than a reſolution of the court to borrow no more hereafter but to take. The king, in his printed declaration, declared, that, although, contrary to his inclination, he had been obliged to cauſe a ſtop to be made as to the principal money, he would punctually pay it hereafter, and till then 6 per cent intereſt for the ſame: at the ſame time directing the treaſury to fit out his fleet with that money. His main purpoſes for ſuch preparations were, the ruin of the Dutch, the introduction of popery, and the eſtabliſhment of deſpotic power, without the control of a parliament, for which ends he had entered into a ſecret league with France, by means of the interview he had at Dover with his ſiſter the ducheſs of Orleans, jointly to attack the Dutch by ſea, while France, the elector of Cologne, and the biſhop of Munſter, ſhould invade them in different places by land at the ſame time. But as King Charles had already laviſhed away L2,500,000 given him by parliament, and L700,000 given him by France, his cabal adviſed him to this unjuſt ſeizure of the bankers money, without which he could not ſend out his fleet. As the payments were always wont to come weekly from the exchequer to the bankers, they were thereby enabled to anſwer the intereſt and other demands of their creditors: which now failing, they could neither pay the principal nor intereſt to the crowds of creditors by whom they were dayly beſieged. But the king's miniſters paid no regard to thoſe ruined people's lamentations; and the exchequer long remained ſhut, to the great detriment of trade and buſineſs. Yet, if poſſible, to quiet thoſe clamours, the king found himſelf neceſſitated to grant them his patent to pay the ſaid 6 per cent intereſt out of his hereditary exciſe; but he never paid the principal: for although, after ſome years, the exchequer was indeed opened, yet it was to no purpoſe for the bankers principal money. That we may here complete this account of the bankers debt altogether, we ſhall farther obſerve, that, although it was not a parliamentary debt, the parliament by an act of the 12th year of King William, [*c.* 12] after providing for a large arrear of intereſt on it, ſettled an intereſt of 3 per cent on it for the future; but this debt was thereby made redeemable on paying one moiety of the principal ſum, being L664,263, farther confirmed by an act of the 2d and 3d year of Queen Anne, [*c.* 15] which moiety was now therefor become the proper debt of the public; and, being reduced from 6 to 5 per cent at michaelmas 1717, it was finally ſubſcribed into the South ſea capital ſtock in the year 1720.

Upon this ſubject Sir William Temple, in his Miſcellanies, makes the following remark: 'The credit of our exchequer is irrecoverably loſt

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'by the laſt breach with the bankers; for credit is gained by cuſtom, 'and ſeldom recovers a ſtrain. I have heard a great example given of 'this, that happened upon the late King Charles I's ſeizing L200,000 'in the mint in 1638 *, which had then the credit of a bank, and for 'ſeveral years had been the treaſury of all the vaſt payments tranſmit-'ted from Spain to Flanders: but after this invaſion of it, although the 'king paid back the money in a few months, the mint has never ſince 'recovered its credit among foreign merchants.'

Even ſo late as this time, according to the anonymous author, who has ſo judiciouſly tranſmitted the curious hiſtory of our London bankers, the receiving and paying of money from morning till night in an open ſhop was ſo new, that our author himſelf ſeemed to think it a ſtrange ſort of a thing; and was by no means a friend to that kind of trade.

Sir Joſiah Child alſo ſeems to be equally prepoſſeſſed againſt it; and freely attacks the bankers in ſeveral parts of his Diſcourſes on trade. He accuſes the bankers of his time, of being the main cauſe of keeping the intereſt of money at leaſt 2 per cent higher than otherwiſe it would be; for (ſays he) they give 6 per cent to private perſons for the money, which they lend the king at 10 and 12 per cent, and ſometimes more. He inveighs againſt what he calls this innovated practice of bankers, or this new invention of caſhiering, as productive of many evils, which has made us ſuſpect, that he himſelf might have been the author of the ſmall tract on the Myſtery of the new-faſhioned goldſmiths, of which we have made good uſe under the year 1645, &c.: 'for, by allowing their cre-'ditors, at this time, ſo high an intereſt as 6 per cent, (whereas, till the 'king's wants increaſed his demands on them, they allowed but 4 per 'cent) they make monied men ſit down lazily with ſo high an intereſt, 'and not puſh into commerce with their money, as they certainly would 'do were it at 4 or 3 per cent, as in Holland. This high intereſt alſo 'keeps the price of land ſo low as 15 years purchaſe, which would 'otherwiſe be at 20 years purchaſe. It alſo makes money ſcarce in the 'country; ſeeing the trade of banking being only in London, it very 'much drains the ready money from all other parts of the kingdom.'

Upon the whole, whatever might in thoſe days be ſaid, with truth, of the practices of bankers, the caſe is at preſent quite otherwiſe; and the diſpatch given by our modern London bankers to merchants, and other dealers, is found ſo convenient, that they are glad to lodge their main caſh with them, to be drawn out from time to time as they want it, without receiving or expecting any intereſt whatever; and the bankers generally get great fortunes, by prudently inveſting a certain proportion of their caſh in our national funds, and lending it on private pledges,

* This compulſory loan we have placed in the year 1640. *A.*

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&c. What is ſaid on this ſubject, it is hoped, may ſuffice for a general hiſtory of private banking in London, even down to our days.

Although the Greenland, or more properly the Spitzbergen, whale fiſhing had been early practiſed by the Engliſh, yet it had been laid aſide towards the later end of the reign of King James I, though confeſſedly beneficial for the employment of great numbers of ſhips and ſeamen, and the conſumption of much of our proviſions, &c. and ſince our leaving it off, we were obliged to pay large ſums to the Dutch, and to the Hanſe towns, for the oil and whale-fins which we had need of. Therefor an act of parliament paſſed, [25 *Car. II, c.* 7] for encouraging the Greenland and Eaſtland trades; and for the better ſecuring the plantation trade; in ſubſtance, viz.

I) That, whereas Engliſh harpooners could not now be got, the act of navigation was hereby ſo far diſpenſed with, for ten years to come, provided the ſhip be Engliſh-built, and the maſter and half the crew be Engliſh, the other half might be foreigners in the ſaid fiſhery. This, it is true, produced ſome private attempts for reviving that fiſhery, which, however, in ſeven years after, fell to nothing again, although neither the oil nor the whale-bone were to pay any duty; but our plantation ſhipping ſhould pay 6*ſ* for every ton of oil, and L2 : 10 for every ton of whale-fins, imported in their own ſhipping; and half ſo much if imported in Engliſh ſhipping. If oil be imported in foreign ſhipping, the ton of oil ſhall pay L9, and the ton of fins L18. In the firſt ſeſſion of the 2d year of William and Mary, [*c.* 4] anno 1690, this act for the whale fiſhing at Greenland was continued for four years longer; but not ſo much as a ſingle ſhip was fitted out in conſequence thereof.

II) Ships trading from England to our plantations, and returning back laden with ſugars, tobacco, ginger, indigo, logwood, fuſtick, cotton, cocoa nuts, &c. and not giving bond to land them in England, were to pay ſundry duties, needleſs here to be ſpecified.

III) For the encouragement of the Eaſtland trade, it is hereby enacted, that all perſons, natives or foreigners, may, from the 1ſt of May 1673, have free liberty to trade into Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; any thing in the Eaſtland company's charter to the contrary notwithſtanding.

IV) Whoever (if an Engliſhman) ſhall henceforth deſire to be admitted into the fellowſhip of the ſaid Eaſtland company, ſhall pay 40*ſ*, and no more.

Theſe two clauſes proved a mortal blow to the Eaſtland company; for hereby all the north ſide of the Baltic ſea was laid open to all, and the freedom for trading to the ſouth ſide of it, was open to all for 40*ſ*! Sir Joſiah Child was of opinion, that the Eaſtland company, by excluding others (not free of their company) from the trade, had enabled the Dutch to ſupply all parts within the Baltic with moſt of the merchan-

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dize uſually ſent thither, viz. oil, wine, ſugar, fruits, &c. And that the Dutch (who have no Eaſtland company) had then ten times the trade thither that we had. And alſo to Ruſſia and Greenland, where we have companies, and they have none, they have forty times the trade that we have. Laſtly, to Italy, Spain, and Portugal, where we have no companies, we have yet left full as much, if not more, trade than the Dutch.

This year King Charles declared war againſt the Dutch, purſuant to his ſecret agreement with France, for which his miniſters were greatly puzzled to find any juſt pretext whatſoever. The author of Colbert's life alleges, 'that by that ſecret treaty the United Netherlands were to 'be divided between thoſe two kings; but that Charles withdrew from 'the league, growing at length jealous of Louis's vaſt ſucceſs, who in '40 days time conquered four of the ſeven provinces, and took 40 ci-'ties.' Such was Louis's inſolence, and ſo much was he alſo at a loſs for any juſt reaſon for invading the Dutch, that in his declaration of war he only ſaid, 'that he could not, without the dimunition of his 'glory, any longer diſſemble his indignation againſt the ſtates-general!' without alleging ſo much as one ſingle fact for the ground of his invaſion. The bare-faced violence and injuſtice of both thoſe kings are however foreign to our purpoſe to enlarge on. It is enough to remark, that D'Etrees, with 40 French ſhips of war, joined the Engliſh fleet at Portſmouth, and entertained our king on board his admiral-ſhip; for, by this time, Colbert had conſiderably augmented the number and goodneſs of the French royal navy, though it was not brought to its utmoſt perfection till ſix years later. King Charles alſo, to ſecond the rapid conqueſts of Louis, ſent over the duke of Monmouth with 6000 Engliſh troops to join the French in the Netherlands. In this ſame ſummer De Ruyter, with above 100 Dutch ſhips of war, attacked the combined fleets of England and France, commanded by the duke of York, on the coaſt of Suffolk, and, after a moſt terrible ſlaughter of gallant men, from morning till night, and the deſtruction of ſeveral great ſhips, the Dutch retired to their own coaſt. In this horrible conflict the Dutch admiral Van Ghent and the French rear-admiral De la Robiniere were ſlain. Our admiral, the earl of Sandwich, diſdaining to quit his ſhip when on fire, was blown up in her. What pity ſo gallant a man did not die in a better cauſe! In the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes, the Orange party in Holland prevailed ſo far as to get Prince William * declared ſtadtholder, and the two brothers De Witts were deſtroyed.

The earl of Sandwich was ſucceeded, as preſident of the council of trade, by the earl of Shafteſbury, lord chancellor. The preamble to this new commiſſion, which has never yet been in print that we know of, it

* Afterwards king of Great Britain.

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having been communicated to the author by a private friend, ſets forth, that, 'whereas, by the goodneſs of Almighty God, our dominions have 'of late years been conſiderably enlarged by the occaſion of many 'great colonies and plantations in America, and elſewhere; and both 'our cuſtoms and revenues, as well as the trade and wealth of our good 'ſubjects at home and abroad, much increaſed by the mutual commerce 'and traffic between theſe our kingdoms and our ſaid colonies and 'plantations. And whereas ſeveral other colonies and plantations may 'hereafter accrue to us, and many other great improvements may juſt-'ly be expected, if ſufficient care be taken for the encouragement, pro-'tection, and defence, of our ſaid colonies and plantations, and of all our 'good ſubjects in their reſpective trades and commerce, and a due regu-'lation be made therein. We have thought fit to erect and eſtabliſh a 'ſelect council, whoſe employment ſhall be to take care of the welfare 'of our colonies and plantations, and alſo of the trade and navigation 'of theſe our kingdoms; and to give us a true and faithful account 'thereof, from time to time, with their opinions and advice thereupon. 'To that end know ye, that we, repoſing eſpecial truſt and confidence 'in your abilities, &c. have conſtituted, &c. (here the whole board is 'named) to be a ſtanding council to us for all the affairs which do, or 'may any way, concern the navigation, commerce, and trade, as well 'domeſtic as foreign, of theſe our kingdoms, (Tangier only excepted) 'whether immediately held by us, or by any others, in virtue of our 'charters, already made or granted, or hereafter to be ſo made or 'granted *. And for the better aſſiſtance of our ſaid council in all 'their debates and conſultations, it ſhall be lawful for our moſt dear 'brother James duke of York, our high admiral, our moſt dear couſin 'Prince Rupert, (and ſeveral other great perſonages therein named) to 'be preſent at their debates and reſolutions,' &c. Yet, in a few years time, all theſe fine words came juſt to nothing, the commiſſion being entirely dropped; his luxury, and his ſchemes for the advancement of popery and lawleſs power, not permitting him to be long at ſo much annual expenſe for ſo good a purpoſe. This commiſſion was ſaid to have been principally promoted by the chancellor Shafteſbury.

The court of France (or rather Colbert) obſerving, that all the moſt conſiderable European nations trading to Eaſt-India ſaw it extremely needful to have a ſettlement near the ſouth end of Africa, for the conveniency of their ſhips in thoſe voyages, now made a ſettlement on the iſle then called Maſcaregnas, which they have ſince named Bourbon, which is about 370 miles eaſt of the great iſland of Madagaſcar, and about 40 leagues in compaſs. There their ſhips meet with proper refreſhments, the iſland being well watered, and abounding in many

* This clauſe refers to the Engliſh incorporated companies. *A.*

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ſorts of trees, plants, and fruits, with horned cattle, hogs, and goats, (brought originally thither from Europe by the Portugueſe) alſo with wild fowl, turtles, &c. and of late years yielding coffee, and ſundry other improvements *.

Voltaire (though in many things not abſolutely to be relied on, yet in theſe matters may be better liſtened to) obſerves, in his *Age of Louis XIV*, how greatly he had improved, fortified, and adorned France: 'It 'was (ſays he) wonderful to behold the ſea-ports, which before were 'deſerted and in ruins, now ſurrounded by works, at once both their 'ornament and defence, covered alſo with ſhips and mariners, and con- 'taining already near 60 large ſhips of war. New colonies, under the 'protection of his flag, were ſent from all parts into America, Eaſt-In- 'dia, and Africa: a wonderful change this in ſix year's time. More- 'over, every year of Colbert's miniſtry, from 1663 to this year 1672, 'was diſtinguiſhed by the eſtabliſhment of ſome new manufacture, ſuch 'as fine woollen cloth, ſilk, and glaſſes (with which, till this time, Ve- 'nice had ſupplied all Europe). He alſo procured from England the ſe- 'cret of the ſtocking-frame, of Engliſh invention, by which ſtockings 'are made ten times quicker than by the knitting needles; the manu- 'factures of carpets alſo, and of fine tapeſtries, were introduced; alſo 'wrought-iron ware, ſteel, fine earthen ware, Morocco leather,' &c.

'While ſuch vaſt improvements were making at home, Louis in this 'ſummer kept his court at Utrecht, and his troops were making excur- 'ſions within one league of Amſterdam itſelf. Thus was the greateſt 'mercantile ſtate that ever exiſted upon the very brink of utter deſtruc- 'tion. A moment's diligence would have put that king in poſſeſſion of 'Amſterdam. The richeſt families, and thoſe who were moſt deſirous 'of liberty, prepared to embark for Batavia, and fly even to the extre- 'mities of the world. The ſhips capable to make this voyage were 'numbered, and it was found that 50,000 families might be embark- 'ed. The Dutch would no longer have exiſted but in the moſt diſtant 'part of the Eaſt-Indies: and theſe European provinces, which ſubſiſt 'only by their Aſian riches, their commerce, and (if a Frenchman may 'ſay ſo) by their liberty, would on a ſudden have been ruined and de- 'populated. Amſterdam, the warehouſe and magazine of Europe, 'wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by 300,000 people, 'would have preſently become only one vaſt lake; and the adjacent 'lands, which require an immenſe expenſe to raiſe and maintain their 'banks, would probably at once have wanted both the ſupport of men 'and money, and would at length have been overwhelmed by the ſea, 'leaving Louis XIV only the wretched glory of having deſtroyed one

* The firſt ſettlement of the French at Bourbon is dated in 1655, and the more effectual one in 1671, by Viſcount De Vaux, in his Hiſtory of Mauritius, publiſhed in 1801. *M.*

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'of the fineſt and moſt extraordinary monuments of human induſtry. 'Four deputies, came to the king's camp to implore his clemency for a 'republic, which ſix months before had thought herſelf the arbitrator 'between kings. Thoſe ſuppliants were received with haughtineſs, and 'even with inſults and raillery, by Louvois the miniſter, and were made 'to return ſeveral times. At length the king ordered his determina-'tion to be declared to them, viz. 1ſt, the ſtates to deliver up all they 'poſſeſſed on the other ſide the Rhine, with Nimeguen, and ſeveral 'other towns and forts in the heart of their territories: 2dly, to pay 'the king 20 millions: 3dly, that France for the future ſhould be maſ-'ter of all the great roads of Holland, both by land and water, with-'out paying any tolls: 4thly, that the catholic religion ſhould be every-'where reſtored: 5thly, that the republic ſhould annually ſend an am-'baſſador extraordinary to the French court with a gold medal, where-'on ſhould be engraved an acknowlegment that they held their liber-'ties of Louis XIV: 6thly, and finally, that they ſhould alſo make ſa-'tisfaction to the king of England and the princes of the empire, par-'ticularly thoſe of Cologne and Munſter, by whom Holland ſtill conti-'nued to be ravaged.

'Theſe conditions,' (continues Voltaire) 'which approached ſo near 'to ſlavery, appeared intolerable; and the rigour of the conqueror in-'ſpired the vanquiſhed with a deſperate courage. They determined, 'therefor, to die in defence of their liberty. Their hearts and hopes 'were all turned upon the prince of Orange, and their fury, againſt the 'grand penſionary John de Witt and his brother Cornelius, both of 'whom were maſſacred by the mob at the Hague. They immediately 'cut the dikes which kept out the ſea, whereupon the country houſes, 'which are innumerable round Amſterdam, alſo the villages and neigh-'bouring towns, ſuch as Leyden, Delft, &c. were overwhelmed; and 'yet the country people did not repine at ſeeing their herds of cattle 'drowned in the fields. Amſterdam itſelf appeared like a vaſt fortreſs 'in the midſt of the ſea, ſurrounded with ſhips of war, which now had 'depth of water ſufficient to make them be ſtationed round the city, 'where freſh water was now ſold at ſix ſtivers per pint. What will be 'moſt wondered at by poſterity is, that Holland, whilſt thus over-'whelmed on the land, was yet formidable on the ocean under De 'Ruyter, who, with 100 ſhips of war and 50 fire-ſhips, gave battle to 'the united fleets of England and France at Solebay, and afterwards 'brought their Eaſt-India fleet ſafe into the Texel; thereby defending 'and enriching his country on one ſide, whilſt Louis was deſtroying it 'on the other. In brief, the emperor Leopold, the great elector of 'Brandenburg, Frederick William, the governor of the Spaniſh Ne-'therlands, all flew to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch; and as no more 'conqueſts could be made in a country overwhelmed with water, Louis

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'found it beſt to return home, and leave his army, which being weak-
'ened by its own ſucceſs in garriſoning the numerous conquered towns,
'was obliged to retreat; and the prince of Orange, now ſtadtholder,
'was by the above ſuccours enabled quickly to recover all that Louis
'had conquered. In the midſt of thoſe diſorders and devaſtations,'
(ſays Voltaire) 'the magiſtrates of Amſterdam (to their eternal honour)
'manifeſted virtues which are ſeldom ſeen but in a republic. For as
'thoſe people who were poſſeſſed of bank-notes * ran in crowds to the
'bank, where it was to be apprehended they would lay violent hands
'on the public treaſure, every one being eager to get his money out
'of the little which they ſuppoſed ſtill to remain there, the magiſtrates
'opened the places where the treaſure was depoſited, and it was found
'entire, juſt as it had been firſt depoſited ſixty years before; and the
'ſilver was even ſtill black from the effects of the fire by which the old
'ſtadthouſe had been conſumed long before. The bank-notes,' (credit)
'till now had been conſtantly negotiated, and this treaſure never touch-
'ed, till now, that thoſe who inſiſted on having their money were paid
'out of it. Such diſtinguiſhed good faith, and ſuch great reſources, were
'then ſo much the more admirable, as Charles II king of England, to
'defray the expenſe of his pleaſures and of this war againſt the Hol-
'landers, had juſt at that time become a bankrupt to his ſubjects; and
'it was as diſhonourable in this king thus to violate the public faith,
'as it was glorious in the magiſtrates of Amſterdam to preſerve it at a
'time when a failure might have appeared pardonable †.'

This account of Holland's condition is ſo finely told by Voltaire, that, though ſomewhat prolix, it cannot, we imagine, fail to be entertaining to every curious reader who has not read his work.

Spain having aſſiſted the Dutch in this war with France, as their own Netherlands muſt inevitably have been loſt had the Dutch been ruined, Louis made that a pretence to ſeize on the Franche Compté of Burgundy, and on many places in the Spaniſh Netherlands; and although by the ſucceeding peace of Nimeguen ſome of the Netherland towns were reſtored to Spain, France nevertheleſs has retained the county of Burgundy to this day.

We have ſeen the three former Engliſh African companies ruined by war, miſconduct, and ſtruggles with the interlopers. In this year the fourth and laſt excluſive company was erected, after the third company had ſurrendered their charter, for the above reaſons. To this

* He means bank credit—*comptes en banque*. *A.*

† This noble ſtruggle of free merchants againſt haughty conquerors recalls to the mind of the reader the noble ſtands made by Tyre againſt Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander, and by the Carthaginians againſt the Romans. Though, like thoſe antient *heroes*, Louis was almoſt deified by the adulation of baſe flatterers, the event was more favourable to the citizens of Amſterdam than to their predeceſſors, the merchants of antiquity. *M.*

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fourth company the king and the duke of York ſubſcribed, as well as many perſons of rank and quality; and the whole capital of L111,000 was completed in nine months. In this new ſubſcription the late company was allowed L34,000 for their three forts, viz. Cape-coaſt caſtle, Sierra Leone, and James-fort in the river Gambia. The new company ſoon improved their trade and increaſed their forts: and whereas all former companies were obliged to ſend to Holland to make up their aſſortments of goods, they now introduced into England the making of ſundry kinds of woollen goods, &c. not formerly known. They alſo imported quantities of gold, out of which 50,000 guineas * were firſt coined in one year (1673). They alſo imported redwood for dyers, elephants teeth, wax, honey, &c.; and they exported to the value of L70,000 annually in Engliſh goods for ſeveral years: but at the revolution the Weſt-India planters joined the interlopers in aſſerting, that they were always beſt ſerved with ſlaves when the trade was open to all. And the petition and declaration of right, as that act of parliament [*1mo Gulielmi et Mariæ*] is commonly called, effectually debarring it and all other pretended excluſive companies not authorized by parliament, the trade became open, though the company ſtill perſiſted in ſeizing the ſeparate traders, which occaſioned much clamour and no ſmall obſtruction to the negro trade. Their great diſputes with the ſeparate traders are contained in many large pamphlets, but the ſubject is long ſince become ſo obſolete, that it would tire our readers to very little purpoſe to give a detail of it.

Copper halfpence and farthings were coined this year by King Charles, having on one ſide *Carolus a Carolo*, and on the reverſe Britannia. 'There was,' ſays Mr. Tindal in his Notes on Rapin's hiſtory, 'another farthing coined of rare copper, having on the reverſe *Quatuor Maria vindico*; but theſe were called in to pleaſe the French king.' And this coinage now effectually ſuppreſſed the private coins called tokens.

This year the Turks, with an army of 150,000 men, invaded Poland, took the ſtrong fortreſs of Caminiec, and alſo brought the Poles ſo low as to ſubmit to an annual tribute, in order to obtain peace of the Porte, which, however, in the very next year was renounced, when King John Sobieſki gave the Turks a great overthrow, and thereby made better and more honourable terms of peace for Poland in the year 1676.

At the cloſe of this memorable year Sir Tobias Bridges, with ſix ſhips from Barbados, took from the Dutch the iſland of Tobago in the Weſt-Indies, and alſo St. Euſtatia; which later the Dutch admiral Evertz retook the ſame year. On the other hand, the Dutch took St. Helena from England, which was recovered next year by ſurpriſing the Dutch

* So named from the country which produced the gold whereof they were made. *A.*

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garriſon at a place where only two perſons abreaſt could climb up the rock. Three rich Dutch India ſhips were taken with the iſland. The narrow paſs was afterwards ſtrongly fortified; and as the reſt of the iſland is entirely a ſteep rock, the Engliſh colony, ſaid to conſiſt of about 200 families, live in perfect ſecurity.

1673.—The whole buſineſs of the colony of St. Helena is to ſupply freſh proviſions and water for our homeward-bound Eaſt-India ſhips, in return for which the planters are ſupplied out of the company's warehouſes there with brandy, wine, arrack, beer, malt, ſugar, tea, &c. alſo with clothing from England and India; ſo that this otherwiſe barren and rocky ſpot is, by its happy ſituation, of ſingular benefit to our ſhipping, and to thoſe alſo of other nations in amity with us. The Portugueſe diſcovered it in the year 1501, when it was quite uninhabited. They ſtocked it with hogs, poultry, &c. and alſo with lemons, oranges, figs, &c. which throve very much, and rendered it an uſeful refreſhing place, where they often left their ſick men till their next return: but that nation poſſeſſing ſo many ports afterwards along the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of Africa, ſuch as Sofala, Membaza, Melinda, Magadoxa, Moſambique, &c. for refreſhing their ſhips on their Eaſt-India voyages, they abandoned St. Helena, which lay long after deſolate, until the Dutch ſettled on it for the like conveniency: but finding the Cape of Good Hope ſtill more convenient, they alſo abandoned St. Helena about the year 1651; whereupon our Eaſt-India company ſettled on it; and it now abounds with cattle, poultry, greens, fruits, &c. there being ſome good ſpots here and there between the rocks, affording herbage, paſture, &c. By King Charles's charter, in the year 1661, the iſland was confirmed to the Eaſt-India company; but the Dutch having ſeized on it in 1665, it was retaken in 1672, as we have juſt ſeen. The Dutch maſtered it again: and the king's ſhips having now finally recovered it (1673), it became veſted in the crown; wherefor, in the ſame year, the king by his charter regranted it to the Eaſt-India company forever, as abſolute lords-proprietors of it, with all royal mines, &c.; in whoſe poſſeſſion it remains to this day.

In the ſummer of the year 1673 there were in two months ſpace three ſeveral and terrible ſea-fights between the fleets of England and Holland, though not ſo bloody as that in the preceding year. In the laſt of them, under Prince Rupert, the French ſquadron are ſaid to have ſtood neuter all the later part of the day. The Engliſh and French joint fleet conſiſted of 110 ſhips; the Dutch of 100, under De Ruyter and Van Tromp. Both ſides claimed the victory in all the three engagements, and both Engliſh and Dutch by their gallant conduct merited it. In February [N. S.] this year, the earl of Shafteſbury, chancellor, in a ſpeech in the houſe of peers, inveighed with much acrimony againſt the Dutch, whom he called 'England's conſtant foes, both by intereſt and

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'inclination;' wherefor he concluded with the elder Cato's words, 'de-'lenda eſt Carthago,' i. e. the Dutch muſt be extirpated.

During this ſhort but hot war the Engliſh Eaſt-India company was obliged to raiſe no fewer than ſix thouſand men for the ſecurity of Bombay againſt the attempts of the Dutch.

At this time the manufactured commodities of India annually imported into Europe, and more particularly into England, were become ſo conſiderable, as to occaſion loud complaints againſt our Engliſh Eaſt-India company, as deſtroyers, or at leaſt great leſſeners, of the conſumption of our own Engliſh manufactures; whereby alſo, it was obſerved, our annual exportation of bullion to India, which formerly did not often exceed L40,000, was greatly increaſed. Theſe complaints continued without intermiſſion, or rather increaſed, until long after, that the legiſlature found it neceſſary to enact a total and abſolute prohibition of the wear of all ſuch in England, muſlins only excepted.

This year a fleet of French ſhips of war ſailed to attack the Dutch forts on the coaſt of Ceylon, with a view to poſſeſs the cinnamon trade; and they actually took the important fort of Trincomalee. But a fleet of ſixteen large ſhips from Batavia with land forces arriving, the French fleet retired to Surat, and the Dutch ſoon recovered it. The French ſailed from Surat, and took the fortreſs of St. Thomas, which the Dutch had taken from the Portugueſe a few years before; which was alſo ſoon loſt again to the Dutch; and in the end not a ſingle ſhip ever returned home to France. This then was the laſt attempt during the 17th century for diſturbing the commerce of the Dutch Eaſt-India company.

1674.—The French, after being driven from St. Thomas, retired in the year 1674 to Pondicherry, which, by permiſſion of the viceroy of the king of Viſapour, they fortified, the ſituation being very proper for the trade of piece-goods, then in great demand in Europe. This place the French have ſo much improved, that it was to our days their capital reſidence for all their Eaſt-India trade. It was, however, taken by the Dutch in the year 1693, but reſtored to France by the peace of Ryſwick in 1697; after which it was ſtill farther ſtrengthened and improved, ſo as to be deemed at length one of the moſt conſiderable of the European ſettlements in India, having a large town, with many thouſands of Indians in it, beſides the French company's people and traders; and being lately farther enlarged, and the ſuburbs walled in, it is by ſome ſaid to be four leagues in circumference, and to contain 120,000 inhabitants, chriſtians, Moors, and Gentoos.

The univerſal clamour of the people of England on account of the increaſing power of France, ſo dangerous to us and to all Europe, obliged King Charles, in the beginning of the year 1674, to come into terms of peace, by the mediation of Spain, with the ſtates of Holland,

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on much the ſame footing as in that of Breda in the year 1667; with this advantage, however, on his ſide, that by the 10th article the ſtates agreed to pay our king 800,000 patacoons (being near L200,000 ſterling) towards the expenſe of this war; which money came very ſeaſonably to him, who had laviſhed away in a ſhameful manner the greateſt part of the money given by parliament for the war.

By the fourth article it was ſtipulated, that all Dutch ſhips, whether ſhips of war or others, whether in ſquadrons or ſingle ſhips, which ſhall happen to meet any ſhips or veſſels whatſoever belonging to the king of Great Britain, whether one or more, carrying that king's flag called the jack, in any of the ſeas from Cape Finiſterre to the middle point of the land Van Staten in Norway, ſhall ſtrike their topſail, and take down their flag, in the ſame manner, and with the like teſtimony of reſpect, as has been uſually paid at any time or place heretofore by the Dutch ſhips to thoſe of the king or his anceſtors.

V) And whereas the agreement of the year 1667, for the ſurrender of the colony of Surinam by King Charles's governor thereof to the ſtates-general, has occaſioned many quarrels and diſputes, and has contributed greatly to the miſunderſtanding lately ariſen between the king and the ſtates, the ſtates-general now ſtipulate that thoſe articles ſhall be fully executed; and that the king may ſend commiſſioners to examine the condition of his ſubjects remaining there; and may ſend thither two or three ſhips to bring away his ſubjects, with their effects and ſlaves; and till then that they be treated equitably in the ſale of their lands, payment of debts, and barter of goods.

VI) 'All lands, iſlands, towns, forts, &c. taken on both ſides ſince 'the commencement of this war, ſhall be reſtored by either party in 'the ſame condition they then were.

IX) 'Within three months after the proclamation of this treaty the 'ſtates-general agree to ſend to London a number of commiſſioners 'equal to thoſe of the king, to treat of the freedom of navigation and 'commerce, more eſpecially in the Eaſt-Indies; and in caſe they ſhall 'not agree within three months, then the diſputes ſhall be referred to 'the arbitration of the queen-regent of Spain.'

Done at Weſtminſter, 9th of February [N. S.] 1674.

Another marine treaty was concluded on the 1ſt of December 1674: and,

By an explanatory declaration of both the marine treaties above-named, and by another, ſigned by Sir William Temple on one ſide, at the Hague, and by the ſtates-deputies on the other, on the 30th of December 1675, it is declared, 'that the true meaning and intention of 'the ſaid articles is, and ought to be, that ſhips and veſſels belonging to 'the ſubjects of either of the parties can and might, from the time that 'the ſaid articles were concluded, not only paſs, traffic, and trade, from

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'a neutral port or place to a place in enmity with the other party, or 'from a place in enmity to a neutral place; but alſo from a port or 'place in enmity to a port or place in enmity with the other party, 'whether the ſaid places belong to one and the ſame prince or ſtate, or 'to ſeveral princes and ſtates, with whom the other party is in war: 'and we declare that this is the true and genuine ſenſe and meaning 'of the ſaid articles: and we do promiſe that the ſaid declaration ſhall 'be ratified by his ſaid majeſty and by the ſaid ſtates-general *.

Part of the ſecret article of the foregoing treaty of peace is as follows, viz. 'neither of the ſaid parties ſhall give leave, nor conſent, that 'their ſubjects or inhabitants ſhall give any aid, favour, or counſel, di-'rectly or indirectly, by land or ſea, nor ſhall furniſh, nor permit their 'ſubjects or inhabitants to furniſh, any ſhips, ſoldiers, ſeamen, victuals, 'money, inſtruments of war, &c. to the enemies of either party.'

The old ill-judged affair of prohibiting new buildings in London was once more revived, an order of council being publiſhed for proſecuting all ſuch as had erected houſes on new foundations in the ſuburbs and vicinity of London: by which, all that was probably intended, was to bring ſome money into the impoveriſhed and bankrupt exchequer.

So vaſt was our commerce with Holland at this time, that after a great froſt, in this year 1674, when the waters were open, there ſailed out of the harbour of Rotterdam 300 ſail of Engliſh, Scottiſh, and Iriſh, ſhips, all at once, with an eaſterly wind. [*Ker of Kerſland's Memoirs, V.* ii.]

The Dutch Weſt-India company's excluſive grant now expiring, the ſtates-general renewed the ſame, excluſive of all other Dutch inhabitants, to trade to Africa and the Weſt-Indies, any otherwiſe than in the name of that company, whoſe limits were defined to be from the tropic of Cancer to the ſouth latitude of 33 degrees, including all the iſlands within thoſe boundaries, both on or near the African and American coaſts. Provided, however, that if the Eaſt-India company ſhall occupy the iſlands ſituated within thoſe limits between Africa and America, from Aſcenſion ſouthward, before this company ſhall ſo do, then the Eaſt-India company ſhall have an excluſive patent for thoſe iſlands, &c.

And it ſeems, the Dutch Weſt-India company do to this day grant licences to private adventurers to trade within thoſe limits, from which emoluments they are partly enabled to make a ſmall dividend to the partners.

* This declaration has given riſe to all the complaints of the Dutch, on account of our making prize of their ſhips laden with French property in the years 1757-8-9, which thoſe Dutch ſhips were intended to convey ſafe to and from France, and to protect them from our cruiſers. The Britiſh court and the Dutch differ widely in their explanations of this explanatory declaration, which requires a freſh treaty to explain it. *A.*

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1675.—The Engliſh houſe of commons being much out of humour with the conduct of their king and his miniſters, acting ſo much in favour of France, and ſo diametrically oppoſite to England's true intereſts, and obſerving the immenſe conſumption of French wares of all kinds in England, and, on the other hand, how little of Engliſh merchandize was taken off by France, now ardently purſuing the improvement of her own woollen, ſilk, and linen, manufactures, that houſe entered into an examination of the general balance of trade between England and France, and found that England was annually, for ſome time paſt, loſing above one million ſterling by her trade with France.

Imported into England from France, annually, about - - - -	L1,500,000	0	0
Exported from England to France, annually, about - - - -	170,000	0	0
Annual balance againſt England -	L1,330,000	0	0

Beſide about L600,000 value of French wines, ſilks, embroideries, and other fripperies, annually run in or ſmuggled upon us: 'ſo that all our 'grave laws againſt ſending money in ſpecie out of England, when the 'balance of trade is againſt us, is but hedging in the cuckow.' Coffee-houſes in London were at this time much frequented by perſons of rank and ſubſtance, who, ſuitable to our native genius, uſed very much freedom therein, with reſpect to the court's proceedings in theſe and the like points, ſo contrary to the voice of the people. Whereupon the king iſſued a proclamation in this ſame year, 'for ſuppreſſing all 'coffeehouſes in London,' (which alſo was like hedging in the cuckow) 'as being places where the diſaffected met, and ſpread ſcandalous re-'ports concerning the conduct of his majeſty and his miniſters.' But the dealers in coffee, tea, and chocolate, having hereupon remonſtrated to the court, that the ſaid proclamation would greatly leſſen his majeſty's revenue, the king, a few days after, iſſued another proclamation for ſuſpending the former.

The navigation laws being ſometimes violated, King Charles now iſſued a proclamation for prohibiting the importation into his American plantations of any European merchandize but what ſhould be laden in England, and for putting other branches of thoſe acts into ſtrict execution relating to America.

In September, a ſudden fire having burnt down the greateſt part of the town of Northampton, it was, by an act of parliament of the 27th year of King Charles II, directed to be rebuilt, and was accordingly ſo done, in a more beautiful and commodious manner than it had formerly been, as appears by the only public act of this year, 1675.

About 1200 people, including ſlaves, who had left Surinam in conſequence of the fifth article of the peace with Holland, were carried to

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Jamaica, where they had lands aſſigned to them in the pariſh of St. Elizabeth.

It is ſaid that the Dutch, after obtaining poſſeſſion of Surinam, rendered it much more healthy than formerly, by clearing the woods and draining the marſhes. From the mouth of the river Surinam, ſituated in ſix degrees north latitude, plantations, extending above 100 miles up the river, are cultivated by above 800 families, many of whom are French proteſtant refugees. Beſides the capital, now called Surinam, they have New-Zealand, New-Middelburg, and other towns. The produce is ſugar in great quantities, coffee, eſteemed ſuperior to that of Martinico and Jamaica, gums, dying woods, cotton, ginger, flax, ſkins, tobacco, &c. Surinam, which is the only colony poſſeſſed by the Dutch on the continent of America, is ſaid to be the joint property of their Weſt-India company, the city of Amſterdam, and the lord of Somelſdyk.

In this ſame year a commercial treaty was concluded at Adrianople, by Sir John Finch, between King Charles and the ſultan Mahomet IV, whereby all former treaties, from Queen Elizabeth's time downward, were confirmed, and certain new capitulations were ſuperadded, ſuch as freedom for all Engliſh ſubjects to reſide in, and trade to, Turkey; to have conſuls of their own appointing in the ſea-ports; to enjoy all the privileges and immunities which either the French, or the Venetians, or any chriſtian nation, enjoyed, and to pay no higher duties than they do; that the Dutch merchants of Holland, Zeeland, Friſeland, and Gelderland, trading to Turkey, ſhall always come thither under the colours of England, and ſhall pay the dues to the Engliſh ambaſſador and conſuls, in the ſame manner as the Engliſh merchants do; and the merchants of Spain, Portugal, Ancona, Florence, ſhall alſo come under the flag of England, and pay the ſame dues as the Dutch. The Engliſh merchants, and all others who are now to come under the colours of England, may, with all poſſible ſecurity, trade, ſell, and buy, all ſorts of merchandize, not prohibited, not only in Turkey, but they may likewiſe trade to Muſcovy by ſea or land, and may bring their merchandize from thence to Turkey; and the like liberty is now allowed the Engliſh with reſpect to Perſia, &c.

The buſineſs of the protection of the flag had occaſioned much conteſt between the ambaſſadors of England and thoſe of France at the Porte, the later having alſo ſometimes got it inſerted in their treaties and capitulations, that the Dutch and the other nations, who as yet had concluded no commercial treaties with the Ottoman Porte, ſhould come and trade under the flag and protection of France: but now, in this treaty, that privilege is aſcertained to England alone. The caſe is much altered ſince the time we are now treating of; the Dutch, particularly, having long ſince had the privilege of ambaſſadors and conſuls of their own reſiding conſtantly in Turkey. There are in this treaty 67 arti-

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cles in all, to which, after Sir John Finch's arrival, were added the following explanations, viz.

I) What duty the Engliſh ſhips paid for their merchandize coming to Scanderoon, and afterwards to Aleppo.

II) For all merchandize which the Engliſh merchants ſhall import or export, they ſhall pay only 3 per cent; and woollen cloths from London ſhall pay 144 aſpers per piece, whether fine or coarſe, of the manufacture of England; (80 aſpers being worth a Spaniſh piece of eight). But the woollen cloths of Holland, &c. which are not of the manufacture of England, ſhall hereafter pay the duties as formerly have been cuſtomary, &c.

III, IV, V, VI, and VII, contain only certain regulations concerning cauſes to be tried relating to the Engliſh, and the anchorage duty on our ſhips arriving at Conſtantinople, Scanderoon, Smyrna, Cyprus, &c. and other matters relating to duties and debts.

VIII) Two ſhip loads of figs and currants are annually allowed to be exported from Smyrna, Salonichi, &c. for the uſe of the king of Great Britain's kitchen, provided there be no ſcarcity of thoſe fruits, paying only 3 per cent cuſtom for the ſame. And the ninth article is only a very ambiguous and vague ſtipulation concerning the duty on all ſilk which the Engliſh buy at Smyrna. [*General collection of treaties, V.* iii, *p.* 282.]

The anonymous author of a ſpirited treatiſe, entitled Britannia languens, (8vo, 1680) written chiefly with a view to evince that the commerce of England had been for ſome years in a conſumptive way *, exhibits an account of all the gold and ſilver coined in England from the 1ſt of October 1599 to November in this year 1675, being 76 years, which he has divided into four periods; ſhewing how our coinage increaſed in the three firſt periods, proportionably to the increaſe of our trade and navigation, and how much the coinage had decreaſed in the fourth period, taken, he ſays, from a printed account of the ſaid year 1675, viz.

1ſt period, 19½ years from October 1599 to March 1619, coined in gold and ſilver, - - -	L4,779,314 13 4
2d period, 19 years from March 1619 to March 1638, - - - - -	6,900,042 11 1
3d period, 19 years from March 1638 to May 1657,	7,733,521 13 4¼
4th period, 18½ years from May 1657 to November 1675, - - -	2,238,997 16 0¾
(About one million of which laſt ſum was harp and croſs money, and broad gold, &c. recoined.)	
In 76 years, total coined in England is -	L21,651,876 13 10

* Doctor D'Avenant, and ſeveral other writers, fix on that very year 1680, as the time when England was in the zenith of commercial proſperity. *A.*

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So, ſays this author, our coinage yearly increaſed from the firſt to the ſecond period, and from the ſecond to the third, but annually decreaſed from the third to the fourth, period; and from thence he inferred, that we were decayed and overbalanced in our foreign trade, and that our coin was exported to make good that balance. This poſition is doubtleſs overſtretched; for although it may be, and certainly was true, that in the three firſt periods England poſſeſſed, almoſt alone, all the trade of the woollen drapery with the north and weſt parts of Europe, until between the third and fourth periods, that the Dutch gained much of it from us, and that towards the cloſe of the fourth period, France alſo puſhed into it, yet it ſurely by no means follows, that, becauſe we did not coin ſo much between the third and fourth periods as formerly, we therefor were loſers by the general balance of our annual commerce within that time: it has, however, been already noted, under the year 1664, by Dr. D'Avenant's account, that we were greatly loſers in the general balance for the year 1662, too much, if not wholely, owing to our immenſe importations from France: yet upon this famous topic we muſt, after all, agree with Sir Joſiah Child, as we have obſerved under the year 1670, that it is extremely difficult to fix with preciſion the general balance of a nation's commerce, any other way than by his judicious third poſition. This indeed is, in good part, confirmed even by this author, who, however, (in *p.* 157 *et ſeq.*) obſerves, 'that the Dutch, 'long after they became independent ſtates, were ignorant of our new 'drapery, viz. of bayes, ſayes, &c. which we had learned from the 'Flemings, driven out by Alva's perſecution, and we ſupplied the 'Dutch with vaſt quantities of cloth alſo, though moſtly white, which 'they dyed and dreſſed, and exported to Germany and many other 'parts. We had alſo formerly the ſole trade to Denmark, Norway, 'Sweden, Livonia, Poland, and Pruſſia, by our Eaſtland company, 'formerly very flouriſhing, and called the royal company*: our exports 'to all which northern countries are greatly leſſened by the Dutch having ſet up mighty woollen manufactures, and the Flemings renewing 'theirs. We had formerly the ſole trade of woollen clothing to France, 'to the value of L600,000 yearly, but now none at all; alſo the ſole 'trade to Turkey, though of late the Dutch are become our competi'tors therein, and the French have been long nibbling at this trade†; 'and in the Spaniſh trade both the French and Dutch ſhare largely with 'us. What is yet more grievous, we import much fine cloth from the 'Dutch yearly ‡, and till of late we imported to the value of L150,000 'yearly in ſtuffs and druggets. Formerly,' continues our author, 'we

* I have not met with this appellation anywhere elſe. *A.*

† In our days they are far from being *nibblers* at it. *A.*

‡ This was owing then to the ſuperiority of the Dutch in finiſhing their cloths. The effect has long ago ceaſed with the cauſe. *A.*

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'had the ſole trade to Portugal, but now the French and Dutch are our 'competitors, as they are alſo to Italy, where we formerly ſupplied all. 'The Venetians alſo ſupply and vend much cloth there. We kept the 'monopoly of the woollen manufacture to moſt parts of the trading 'world during all the reign of King James I, and the greateſt part of 'that of King Charles I. This was our principal jewel: and as, at the 'ſame time our imports were leſs than of late, no wonder our coin-'age was ſo great.'

Thus we receive not a little light into the hiſtory of our woollen manufacture from this able author, whoſe work, though written with ſome ſeeming exaggeration here and there, is ſtill worth peruſal even at this day *.

The Dutch Eaſt-India company at this time got the town of St. Thomas on the Coromandel coaſt into their hands by aſſiſting the king of Golconda to recover it from the French, to whom he had given it ſome years before, the French having then taken it from the Portugueſe.

This year the Engliſh parliament granted L300,000 for building twenty large ſhips of war, viz. one firſt rate ſhip of 1400 tons, eight ſecond rate ſhips of each 1100 tons, and eleven third rates of each 700 tons. Such as know the ſtate of the navy in our days know, that ſhips of the above rates are ſeveral hundred tons larger than theſe were: and alſo that they could not be now built for conſiderably more than the above ſum. At the ſame time the parliament reſolved for the future to apply the tonnage and poundage duty abſolutely for the benefit of the navy, which was no ſmall mortification to the king, who was farther diſpleaſed at their refuſing him money for taking off the anticipations on his own proper revenues, and it was on that occaſion openly obſerved, that the parliament, or the public, was nowiſe obliged to pay the king's private debts, ſince that would prove a very dangerous precedent hereafter. This was a wiſe and gallant ſtep towards our preſent moſt happy parliamentary conſtitution, when every ſum granted by parliament is appropriated ſpecifically, or elſe in certain extraordinary caſes, is granted upon account, i. e. to be accounted for by the crown officers in the ſucceeding ſeſſion of parliament.

1676.—It was in or about the year 1676, that the printing of calicoes was firſt ſet on foot in London: as was alſo brought into uſe from Holland to London, the weaver's loom-engine, then called the Dutch loom-engine. Thus all nations mutually gain the benefit from each other of new inventions and improvements, none of which can, for any length of time, be abſolutely engroſſed by any particular firſt diſcoverer.

In a manuſcript account of Newfoundland, in the author's poſſeſſion,

* A judicious and candid reader will eaſily excuſe the repetition, which we cannot avoid, of ſome points in ſuch ſubjects as theſe, coming from different authors. *A.*

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written in the year 1677, we find, that in the preceding year, 1676, there went thither from England 102 ſhips for the cod fiſhery there, each ſhip having 20 guns, and carrying 18 boats, and for each boat five men, in all 9180 men. Their convoy was two ſhips of war. And the total value of the fiſh and oil, they made there in that year, was computed at L386,400. How great a nurſery then is this fiſhery for Engliſh ſailors, and how beneficial for the employment of ſhip-building, &c.

In October 1676, King Charles granted his fourth charter to the Eaſt-India company, confirming all his former ones, notwithſtanding any miſuſer, nonuſer, or abuſer, whatſoever of their former rights, liberties, &c. by the company, or their ſervants. What induced the company to obtain this charter was a great clamour raiſed againſt them at this time, on account of their many excluſive privileges; and their enemies went ſo far as to publiſh their opinions, that their charters were actually void; becauſe, ſaid they, the crown could not legally grant excluſive privileges and powers, without the concurrence of parliament. This was boldly ſaid for thoſe times, previous to the ever-famous act of the firſt year of William and Mary, called the declaration of rights. The company's enemies alſo alleged, 'that their bond debts amounted to 'L600,000; and as they ſeldom had much above that ſum in value, at 'any one time, both in their factories in India and upon the ſeas, they 'thence inferred, that they traded wholely with their creditors money, 'of which the company made 40 per cent, whilſt they allowed their 'bond creditors but ſix per cent.' So that, ſhould their factories and goods be deſtroyed by war, &c. how could they ſecure and maintain the preſent nominal value of their capital ſtock, and, at the ſame time, fully ſatisfy their creditors *.

That company, having now made a very conſiderable profit by their trade, decreed in a general court, that the profits, inſtead of making a dividend thereof to their proprietors, ſhould be added to their principal, or capital ſtock, ſo as juſt to double the ſame; for whereas their whole capital was, till now, only L369,891 : 5; every ſhare of L50 was now made L100, whereby their new capital was made up to L739,782 : 10.

A great part of the wealthy and extenſive burgh of Southwark was deſtroyed this year by a ſudden fire, the houſes having then been moſtly built of timber, lath, and plaſter. The legiſlature thereupon appointed commiſſioners, by an act [29 *Car. II. c.* 4] for rebuilding the ſame, which was done all of brick walls, in a more ſubſtantial, regular, and beautiful, manner, than before, as it ſtill appears at this day, from London bridge to St. Margaret's hill, and beyond it.

In this year Sir William Petty wrote his treatiſe of Political arith-

* This objection holds equally true againſt all traders, whether on a great or a ſmall ſcale. *A.*

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metic. Perhaps all his computations and inferences are not quite unexceptionable, yet, as he was well verſed in the theory of commerce, we may ſafely avail ourſelves of ſome of his uſeful remarks on its increaſe in England, from the year 1636, to the year 1676, viz.

That in that ſpace the taxes and public levies in our three kingdoms have been much greater than at any time before, and yet the ſaid kingdoms have gradually increaſed in wealth and ſtrength.

1. With reſpect to houſing, the ſtreets of London ſhew it to be double the value of what it was 40 years before. And they have alſo increaſed therein at Newcaſtle, Yarmouth, Norwich, Exeter, Portſmouth, and Cowes. In Ireland alſo, at Dublin, Kingſale, Colerain, and Londonderry.

2. With reſpect to ſhipping, the navy is now triple or quadruple of what it was 40 years ago, and before the Sovereign was built. The ſhipping of Newcaſtle is now about 80,000 tons, and could not then be above a quarter of that quantity; firſt, becauſe London is doubled in people; ſecondly, becauſe the uſe of coals is at leaſt doubled, they being heretofore ſeldom uſed in chambers, as now they are; nor were there ſo many bricks burnt with them as of late; nor did the country on both ſides the Thames make uſe of them as now.

Above 40,000 ton of ſhipping are employed in the Guinea and American trade, which trade in thoſe days was inconſiderable. The quantity of wines imported was not then near ſo great as now. And, in ſhort, the cuſtoms did not then yield one third of the preſent value.

3. The number and ſplendour of coaches, equipages, and houſehold-furniture, have much increaſed ſince that period.

4. The poſtage of letters is increaſed from one to twenty *.

5. And his majeſty's revenue is now tripled.

6. The money coined during the uſurpation, being called in after the reſtoration, was found to be about one ſeventh part of the whole caſh of the nation; and as it amounted to L800,000, and ſome hoarded money was not brought in at all, the whole caſh of England may be eſtimated at ſix millions.

Another attempt was now made to diſcover a north-eaſt paſſage. The duke of York, who was on all occaſions a zealous friend to commerce and navigation, obtained the uſe of a king's ſhip, which he, Lord

* This ſurely is exaggerated. *A.*

Sir William Petty [*p.* 13, *ed.* 1690] ſays, 'the very poſtage of letters coſt the people, *perhaps*, L50,000 per annum, though farmed at much leſs.'

The following calculation of the ſhipping of Europe, made by Sir William, [*p.* 5] ought not to be omitted in this work.

England, (perhaps he includes Scotland and Ireland) - -	500,000 tons.
The United provinces, -	900,000
France, - - -	100,000
Hamburgh, Denmark, Sweden, Dantzick, -	250,000
Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c.	250,000
Total ſhipping of Europe,	2,000,000 tons. *M.*

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Berkley, Sir Joſeph Williamſon, Sir John Banks, and others, fitted out, together with another ſhip bought by them, under the command of Captain Wood. The hope of effecting a diſcovery was revived by new reports and arguments circulated at this time, ſome of which had little or no foundation, as, 1ſt, whales had been found on the coaſt of Corea, near Japan, with Engliſh and Dutch harpoons ſticking in them *; 2d, 20 years before, ſome Dutchmen had ſailed within one degree of the north pole, and found it temperate weather there; and therefor William Barents, the Dutch navigator, who wintered at Nova Zembla, in 1596, ſhould have ſailed farther to the north before turning eaſtward, in which caſe ſaid they he would not have found ſo much obſtruction from the ice; 3d, two Dutch ſhips had lately ſailed 300 leagues to the eaſtward of Nova Zembla; but their Eaſt-India company had ſtifled that deſign, as againſt their intereſt. The veſſels doubled the North cape, and came among much ice and drift-wood, in 76 degrees of latitude, ſteering to the coaſt of Nova Zembla, where the king's ſhip ſtruck upon the rocks, and was ſoon beat to pieces; and Captain Wood, in the other ſhip, returned home, with an opinion, that ſuch a paſſage was utterly impracticable, and that Nova Zembla is a part of the continent of Greenland.

1677.—The people and parliament of England, being juſtly alarmed at the great progreſs of the French conqueſts in the Spaniſh Netherlands, the houſe of commons requeſted the king to make alliances, in order to ſecure the Spaniſh Netherlands, in the preſervation of which they told him, in the beginning of the year 1677, both his and their intereſts were highly concerned. They addreſſed him twice again on this ſame account; and although his ſecret engagements with the French king, for the worſt of purpoſes, (viz. to eſtabliſh an abſolute power over his people, and the popiſh religion) were too ſtrong to incline him ſeriouſly to break with him, yet the cries of his people made him, in part, outwardly comply with thoſe repeated addreſſes; and the parliament now granted him L584,000 for building 30 ſhips of war, in order to provide for the nation's ſafety. In the mean time, whilſt he was plunged in pleaſures, and remained quite unconcerned, Louis (who knew his indolence) took the cities of Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer, whereby the reſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands was left open on all ſides. The king was again requeſted to enter into an offenſive alliance with the Dutch, and to declare war againſt France, which he flatly re-

* This is no infallible proof that ſhips could get thither by a north-eaſt paſſage, although whales might. *A.*

The late improvements in geography have ſhewn that the paſſage between Aſia and America is nowhere obſtructed by land. But though every part of the north coaſt of Europe and Aſia has been navigated, or ſurveyed, it is now perfectly well known, that no one veſſel can ever be expected to make a clear paſſage along the whole coaſt, and into the Pacific ocean. See *Coxe's Account of the Ruſſian diſcoveries between Aſia and America*, and *Pallas's New northern collections*. *M.*

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fuſed, and therefor adjourned them till winter, and afterwards till April 1678.

In February 1667, (N. S.) King Charles concluded a treaty of commerce with France, the ſubſtance whereof follows.

Articles I and II) Both nations may reciprocally traffic to all countries with whom they ſhall reſpectively be at peace; and in caſe one of the contracting parties ſhall be at war with another nation, that ſhall not hinder the other party from trading to that other country with the ſame merchandize as they might do in time of peace, contraband goods excepted.

III) Contraband merchandize are defined to be all implements for war, and alſo ſaltpetre, horſes, and their harneſs.

IV) But not only every thing for the ſupport and conveniency of life, but gold and ſilver, coined or uncoined, are declared not to be contraband; and alſo (which was ſtill kinder for France) hemp, flax, pitch, cordage, ſails, anchors, maſts, boards, and wood, wrought of all ſorts of trees, and that ſerve for building of ſhips, or the repair of them, ſhall remain free, in ſuch ſort, that the ſubjects of France may not only tranſport the ſame from any neutral place to any other neutral place, or even to any place at enmity with the king of Great Britain; or from a place that is an enemy to a place that is neutral; or, laſtly, from a place belonging to the enemies of the ſaid king to another alſo belonging to his enemies, whether thoſe ports be under the obedience of one prince or ſtate, or of ſeveral, with one or all of which the king of Great Britain may be at war. And the like on the ſide of the moſt chriſtian king; excepting, however, towns actually beſieged or inveſted.

V) French ſhips coming into the ports of Great Britain, and intending to go thence elſewhere, ſhall be detained no longer than to exhibit their paſſports. And if the French ſhips be met in open ſea by Britiſh ſhips of war, the later, keeping at a diſtance, may ſend a boat on board the French ſhips, and put only two or three men on board, to the end that the maſter or owner may exhibit to them his paſſport, after which they ſhall freely proceed on their voyage; and the like for the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain.

VI) French ſhips paſſing to a country at enmity with Great Britain, meeting with a Britiſh ſhip of war in their paſſage; and, in like manner, the ſhips of Britiſh ſubjects meeting a French ſhip of war, when they are going to a place at enmity with France, muſt not only ſhew their paſſports, but alſo their authentic certificates, to the end it may be known, whether there are any contraband goods therein, &c.

VII) Yet if there ſhould be found any ſuch therein, conſigned to an enemy's port, the ſearchers are not to go under deck, nor to open or break into any cheſts, bales, caſks, &c. nor to take any thing out of the ſhip, till ſhe is brought into port, and a juſt inventory taken, in the pre-

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ſence of the cuſtom-houſe officers. Much leſs ſhall the goods be ſold or bartered, till after a fair trial, and a ſentence pronounced for confiſcation; in which confiſcation the hull of the veſſel, and the lawful merchandize found therein, ſhall not be compriſed.

VIII) French merchandize, found in ſhips of the enemies of Great Britain, ſhall be liable to forfeiture, though not contraband. And on the contrary, the merchandize of the enemies of the king of Great Britain are not to be forfeited, if found in French ſhips, although the ſaid merchandize make up the beſt part of the lading of ſuch ſhips, but ſtill with an exception of contraband goods, which, when taken, are to be diſpoſed of as in the preceding article. In like ſort, Britiſh merchandize found in ſhips of the enemies of France, ſhall be liable to confiſcation, though not contraband; and, on the contrary, the merchandize of the enemies of France ſhall not be confiſcated, if found in Britiſh ſhips, although they be the greateſt part of the lading, contraband goods ſtill excepted. And, in order to prevent a new war that may happen, from injuring the ſubjects of that crown that ſhall be at peace, it is agreed, that the ſhips of the new enemies, laden with merchandize belonging to the crown that ſhall be at peace, ſhall not be forfeited, if laden therewith before the end of the term of ſix weeks after the declaration of the war, between the Soundings and the Naze of Norway; two months between the Soundings and Tangier; two months and an half in the Mediterranean; and eight months in all other parts of the world. In like ſort, French goods taken in the ſhips of the new enemies of Great Britain ſhall not be confiſcated under this pretence, but ſhall be reſtored to the owners, unleſs they had been put on board after the end of the terms above noted. However, contraband goods muſt not be carried into the enemy's ports: and, reciprocally, Britiſh effects, found in ſhips of the new enemies of France, ſhall not be forfeited under that pretence, but ſhall be forthwith reſtored to the owners, unleſs put on-board after the end of the terms before ſpecified; contraband goods, as before, excepted.

IX, X) Ships of war ſhall do no injury to merchant ſhips; and the commanders of privateers ſhall, for this end, give ſecurity to the amount of L.1500 ſterling, or 33,000 livres.

XI, XII) Both kings agree to do juſtice in reſpect of prizes; and when their miniſters complain of unjuſt ſentences pronounced concerning prizes, a re-examination thereof ſhall be had within one month, and a freſh ſentence ſhall be pronounced in three months after.

XIII) When a ſuit is commenced between the captors of a prize and the reclaimers, if ſentence be pronounced in favour of the reclaimers, it ſhall be immediately put in execution, upon giving ſecurity, although an appeal to an higher court be made: but this ſhall not be done againſt the re-claimers.

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XIV, XV) Captors of prizes ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed who treat the maſters, &c. of thoſe prizes with any kind of cruelty, as ſhall thoſe alſo be, who ſhall take commiſſions from the enemies of either king, in order to take prizes from his ſubjects *.

A new company, under the pompous title of *The company of the royal fiſhery of England*, was incorporated this year. The duke of York, the earl of Danby, lord treaſurer, and many other lords, gentlemen, and merchants, were partners. The king beſtowed on them in perpetuity all the privileges enjoyed by any former company, with power to purchaſe lands, and a premium, to be continued for ſeven years, of L20 for every dogger or buſs they ſhould build and fit out, to be paid out of the cuſtoms of the port of London. The ſtock at firſt was L10,980, to which there was added L.1600. But this ſmall capital was exhauſted in the purchaſe and equipment of ſeven buſſes, ſome of which, with their cargoes, were taken by the French: and the company, having run conſiderably in debt, found themſelves obliged to diſpoſe of their remaining buſſes and ſtores in the year 1680. Yet in the year 1683 Sir Edward Abney and ſeveral others joined in a new ſubſcription, under the privileges and immunities of this company's charter. But their attempt alſo came ſoon after to nothing. It being perſeverance alone that is ever likely to bring a general fiſhery in England to a ſtate of perfection, much time and patience will be required, and many loſſes and diſappointments muſt be born with; which ſeems not to be the caſe of all, or any, of our attempts for eſtabliſhing a general fiſhery.

There having been many doubts and objections ſtarted about this time againſt the Eaſt-India company of England, and particularly a famous printed anſwer in the year 1676, from a barriſter of the Temple, to a country gentleman's ſuppoſed letter to him on this ſubject, diſuading him from longer truſting his children's fortunes in Eaſt-India bonds; becauſe as they were not an excluſive company by act of parliament, they could not legally act as ſuch, and were therefor liable to be overturned, or annihilated, &c. A very judicious anſwer came out to this in the year 1677, intitled, 'the Eaſt-India trade a moſt profitable trade 'to the kingdom; and beſt ſecured and improved in a company and a 'joint ſtock: repreſented in a letter, written upon the occaſion of two

* The peruſal of this treaty of commerce, and of that with the Dutch under the year 1668, together with other ſubſequent ones, ſufficiently indicates the importance of them, as well as the expediency of commanders in the royal navy, and thoſe of merchant ſhips, and of higher people alſo, being well acquainted with ſuch treaties, which we have abridged as much as poſſible, conſiſtent with retaining the entire ſenſe and import of every article thereof. Yet, after all, we muſt here ſpecially remark, that the tranſcribing of many old treaties of this kind does but ſwell our work without much inſtructing the reader, when, perhaps, the very lateſt treaty with a nation, (as France for inſtance) with whom we have had frequent wars, ſhall, in moſt caſes, eſſentially repeal all preceding ones, which we here mention, to prevent an objection which ſome might ſtart, to our not tranſcribing (as Savary, Poſtlethwayte, &c. have done) all thoſe obſolete treaties injudiciouſly. *A.*

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' letters, lately publiſhed, inſinuating the contrary.' (Poſſibly by Sir Joſiah Child.)

His general poſitions are,

That the Eaſt-India trade takes off a conſiderable quantity of our native commodities and manufactures.

It ſupplies us cheaply with the moſt neceſſary commodities for our own conſumption.

It brings us ſome commodities for our further manufacture]

It furniſhes large quantities of goods for foreign markets.

It employs a great number of Engliſh ſhipping.

It occaſions the building of more ſhips of burden and force, fit for warlike ſervice and defence of the kingdom, than any other trade whatever.

It brings in a conſiderable revenue to the king's cuſtoms, and the greateſt addition to the kingdom's ſtock.

Thus evinced.

It employs, in a direct courſe, to and from India 30 to 35 ſhips from 300 to 600 tons burthen; and in ſeven years paſt there have been built, new from the ſtocks, 26 to 28 ſhips from 350 to 600 tons each: whereby there is a very large addition of ſtrength for defence of the kingdom, as thoſe ſhips, equipped in a warlike manner, will carry from 40 to 60, and 70 guns each *.

The exports of the company in one year (viz. part of 1674 and and 1675) may be about L430,000, whereof about L320,000 in bullion, and about L110,000 value in cloth and other goods.

The returns from India for that adventure are calico, pepper, ſaltpetre, indigo, ſilk (raw and wrought), drugs, &c.; which, on ſale in England, produce at leaſt L860,000, and often as much more.

The amount of cuſtoms, freight, and all other charges, of officers, warehouſes, carts, lighters, porters, &c. is altogether as much the kingdom's ſtock as the clear profit added to the company's ſtock is.

So that there is, in a plain and direct way, added to the ſtock of the kingdom by the company's trade in one year, if no accident intervene, L430,000, deducting, however, about L60,000, being the charges in India for the maintenance of factors, factories, forts, garriſons, negotiations with princes, &c.

The private trade, allowed by the company to owners of ſhips, commanders, and ſeamen, as well as to their factors, &c. for diamonds, pearls, muſk, ambergris, &c.; for which there may be annually exported, in goods, about L40,000 or L50,000, and in bullion from L80,000 to L100,000, yields at home in returns L250,000 to L300,000. So

* It appears that the very largeſt of the India ſhips at that time were ſmaller than any India ſhip is at preſent. *M.*

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here is L130,000 farther addition to the ſtock of the kingdom. Both together making L500,000, annually added to the nation's ſtock by the Eaſt-India commerce, beſides all the conſequences depending farther thereupon, which come next to be conſidered.

For illuſtration hereof, let us conſider the ſtate of our Eaſt-India trade in the conſequences depending thereupon, viz.

In reference to the exports, principally of ſo great a quantity of gold and ſilver; what is very obvious, is, that if in any foreign trade L100,000 exported in bullion brings back as much merchandize, as being re-exported to other foreign parts brings home L200,000 or L250,000, that muſt be a gainful commerce to the nation.

The goods annually exported, amounting to L110,000, conſiſt of L60,000 or L70,000 in Engliſh goods, as drapery, tin, and lead, and the reſt is in foreign commodities. Our lead, it is true, might be taken off by other European nations, although we had no trade to India ourſelves; but the drapery and tin, amounting to L50,000 (which now gains L50,000 to the nation), would not be taken off at all; for no other nation carries Engliſh cloth to India; and for tin, there are great quantities of it in ſome parts of India.

There may be annually conſumed in England nearly to the value of L200,000, L230,000, or L240,000, in India goods, viz. about L6000 in pepper, L30,000 in ſaltpetre, L30,000 in ſilks, raw and manufactured, L160,000 in calicoes, and about L10,000 to L15,000 in indigo and other drugs*. All the reſt of the returns above mentioned, amounting to L630,000 value, are tranſported to foreign markets, as is alſo moſt part of the private trade. The pepper I reckon at 8*d* per pound weight (ſo neceſſary a ſpice for all people), which formerly coſt us 3/4 per pound, being nowhere to be had but in India; and were we obliged to have it from the Dutch, they would probably raiſe it as high as they do their other ſpices: yet, ſuppoſing it ſo low as 1/4 per pound, it would be a farther annual expenſe of L6000 to the nation.

Saltpetre is of that abſolute neceſſity, that without it we ſhould be without the means of defending ourſelves. Poſſibly, even if we had no Indian trade, we might in time of peace purchaſe it, though it would coſt us double what it now does. But, in caſe of war, where could we have ſufficient? not ſurely from our enemies. Or, would our gentlemen, citizens, and farmers, be willing to have their cellars and rooms dug up (as in King Charles I's reign), and be deprived of freedom in their own houſes, expoſed and laid open to ſaltpetre men? which method would be, beſides, far ſhort of entirely ſupplying us.

Raw ſilk we might poſſibly be ſupplied with from other parts, though

* There is here no mention of tea or coffee. The company had not yet ſettled a trade to China for the former, and the later was imported only by the Turkey company. *A.*

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not ſo cheap as from India. And India-wrought ſilks ſerve us inſtead of ſo much Italian and French ſilks, which would coſt us almoſt triple the price of Indian ſilks; to the kingdom's loſs of above L20,000 yearly.

Calicoes ſerve inſtead of the like quantity of French, Dutch, and Flemiſh, linen, which would coſt thrice as much: hereby 2 or L300,000 is yearly ſaved to the nation. And if the linen manufacture were ſettled in Ireland ſo as to ſupply England, our calicoes might be tranſported to foreign markets *.

Indigo is neceſſary for dying and perfecting our own manufactures. And the other drugs, &c. brought from India, are inconſiderable.

The value of L630,000 in India goods of the company's, and L200,000 value of private traders, are tranſported yearly to France, Holland, Spain, Italy, Turkey, &c. whereby thoſe trades are the better carried on by the Engliſh to a farther advantage of the kingdom, and cannot be calculated to yield leſs than ten per cent clear profit, being L83,000 yearly: yet, as ſome part may be exported by ſtrangers, I ſhall eſtimate the net profit at only L60,000, being ſo much farther addition to the nation's ſtock. And here, by the way, it may be obſerved, that the kingdom hath a greater advantage, when the trade is driven by the Engliſh merchant, than when it is carried on by ſtrangers, ſeeing all the profit ariſing by the trade of the one is brought back to England; whereas the profits of the others remain abroad. This I note for rectifying the miſtake of ſome, who ſay, it is all one to the kingdom, ſo the trade be carried on, whether it be by the Engliſh or by ſtrangers; as alſo to evince, that it is the nation's intereſt to encourage the king's ſubjects in their trade preferably to ſtrangers.

The India goods are exported in Engliſh ſhipping, whereby much employment is given to our own ſhips; the very freight of which, being about 5000 tons, cannot amount to leſs than L20,000, being ſo much farther addition to the kingdom's ſtock.

From all theſe conſiderations there will ariſe a full and clear anſwer to the objection made againſt this trade, becauſe of the quantities of gold and ſilver exported to India. And thus the ſending out of our treaſure increaſeth it: whereas to coop it up would render it wholely uſeleſs. Had we all the gold and ſilver in the world, if it were abſolutely kept and confined within this kingdom, it would neither increaſe our trade, nor render us more formidable in ſtrength and power. If ſome other foreign trades do waſte and conſume our treaſure, let us find out expedients to prevent it. But, in the meantime, it would be deſtructive to ſtop the current of our real ſupplies of it, by breaking in upon, or obſtructing, the courſe of the Eaſt-India trade, by which, if

* This is now in our time happily verified and effected. *A.*

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the kingdom had not been ſupplied, all its treaſure might, ere this, have been exhauſted.

Next, that the Eaſt-India trade cannot ſo well be ſecured and improved, for the benefit and advantage of the kingdom, in any other way, as by a company in a joint ſtock; let it be conſidered,

That no other nation trades thither otherwiſe than by a joint ſtock, except the Portugueſe, who are now almoſt beaten out of the trade.

It is well known that preſents are to be made to kings, princes, and governors, of India, for obtaining licence to traffic there: and there is alſo a neceſſity of hiring ſome great houſe for ſecuring their perſons and goods there, at each reſpective place.

Our company has been at vaſt charges and hazards for obtaining freedom of trade, and many great privileges and immunities, both from the great mogul, and very many other kings, princes, and governors; and likewiſe for the ſecurity of their factors, eſtates, and trade; alſo to purchaſe, build, and maintain, great houſes and ſtorehouſes in all the places of their reſidences, called factories; and in ſome places, as at Fort St. George, Bombay, and St. Helena, to make conſiderable fortifications, and to keep large garriſons.

If therefor this trade ſhould be left entirely open, ſo as every one might trade thither as he pleaſed, would not all the privileges and immunities purchaſed at great expenſe by our company be either loſt, or elſe rendered void and inſignificant? and when every man minds only his own particular concern, the national honour and intereſt would decline. Would not the kings and governors in India, and the European nations, our competitors there, take all opportunities to make their advantages, and to put hardſhips and injuries upon the Engliſh, wanting united counſels and ſtrength to right themſelves? would not every one ſtrive to ſupplant another, and thereby enable the Indians to raiſe the prices of their commodities, and lower the prices of Engliſh goods? of which there hath already been too ſad experience in three or four years of open trade, from the year 1653 to 1657; in which time the Engliſh began to loſe their antient honour and eſteem, and many indignities and wrongs were put upon them by the kings and governors there, forcing the Engliſh to ſell their goods, and to take others at ſuch prices as they pleaſed. Engliſh commanders have been put to death, and their ſhips and goods ſeized, without means of redreſs. Private traders, by outvying and underſelling one another in thoſe four years, brought the trade to be often a loſing one, and at beſt but ſeldom a ſaving one. It was from the conſideration of theſe and many other diſorders in the open trade, that in the year 1657 it was agreed to lay aſide all private trade, and to open books for ſubſcribing to a new joint ſtock.

In or about the year 1665 the company took a perfect account and balance of all their ſtock, adventures, and debts; when it appeared that

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the ſtock was really worth 130 per cent; though ſuch were then the humours and fancies of people, that it was actually ſold at about 70 per cent. Yet ſince then the value of the ſtock has advanced to 245 per cent.

From this ſhort view of things (ſays our author), I leave it to the conſideration of all judicious perſons, whether it be not inconſiſtent with the kingdom's intereſt, and irrational and unjuſt, to lay open the Eaſt-India trade. Inconſiſtent with the public intereſt, to part with or hazard the loſs of all thoſe places of ſtrength, and thoſe privileges the company enjoys, but which cannot be maintained in an open trade! Irrational, to make a ſecond trial, after ſo many inconveniences experienced by the firſt! and unjuſt, to deprive the preſent ſubſcribers in the Eaſt-India ſtock of their future advantages, who have run ſo many hazards, and been at ſuch vaſt expenſes, for promoting and ſecuring the trade!

With reſpect to what the barriſter's letter alleges, viz. that the Eaſt-India trade ſhould be managed by what is called a regulated company, as our Turkey trade is; it certainly cannot be ſo well ſecured and improved for the kingdom's advantage by a regulated, as by a joint-ſtock, company; for the following reaſons:

1ſt, Almoſt every place in India is under a diſtinct raja or king: and conſidering that other European nations are ſtill watching all opportunities of inſtilling into thoſe rajas contemptuous thoughts of the Engliſh for their own ends, this renders it abſolutely neceſſary to have frequent applications to, and treaties with, thoſe kings; and that the Engliſh ſhould appear to them with ſome port and grandeur, as being able to carry on a conſiderable trade with them, and to force them to a performance of their treaties and agreements. The ſtate of affairs in Turkey is far otherwiſe, where there is but one prince with abſolute dominion: ſo that, by one ambaſſador at court, and two or three conſuls at reſidences of commerce to hold correſpondence with him, all matters for the ſecurity of the trade may be tranſacted.

All which being duely premiſed, all well-wiſhers to England, it is preſumed, would deſire to have the forts, factories, and privileges, in India, which, by the preſent joint ſtock of the Eaſt-India company have been obtained, purchaſed, and ſettled, at the expenſe of perhaps L300,000 (and whereof the proprietors of the ſaid joint ſtock are at preſent the owners and poſſeſſors), to be maintained and preſerved to our nation; as alſo, that the ſaid places of ſtrength, houſes, and privileges, being juſtly the property of the ſaid joint ſtock, they ought not to be diveſted thereof without an equitable compenſation, even as much as if it were within the kingdom of England. And that the ſucceeding trade to India ſhould both give ſuch compenſation and maintain the growing charge. And as the preſent deſign of ſome is, that the

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now joint ſtock ſhould ceaſe and determine, after getting in what goods and debts they have abroad; and that the trade, for the future, ſhould be carried on by particular perſons, according as every one ſhould think good to adventure, without limitation, either in quantity, quality, or in the prices of goods ſent out, or returned home: yet, that there ſhould be a company legally eſtabliſhed, to be empowered to raiſe impoſitions on the trade, for maintaining the ſaid forts, factories, and privileges, for the equal benefit of all Engliſh people trading to India; alſo to make treaties with kings and governors in India as formerly; and alſo, out of ſuch impoſitions, to allot a proportion, probably not leſs than L10,000 per annum, for the loan of the ſaid places and privileges; and the reſt of the money to be employed for the charge of the future government, and for treaties, &c. upon the plan of the Turkey company.

Now, let it be conſidered, how inſufficient this propoſed method is for ſecuring this trade to the Engliſh nation, in compariſon of the preſent one, wherein there is a fund of at leaſt a million ſterling conſtantly engaged for the neceſſary defence of the trade. And it will ſurely be found difficult to know what proportion to lay, by way of impoſition, as depending arbitrarily on the humour of particular perſons, whether they will trade or not, and for what value. Inſomuch that there will be a certain expenſe, and an uncertain revenue. And it may frequently happen, that the former may be the greater, and the later the leaſt: and this too, perhaps, in a time of war; when, there being little trade, there will be little to be raiſed by way of impoſitions; becauſe, when hazards are great, few will care to adventure; whereby all may fall into the enemy's hands.

The barriſter inſinuates, in the cloſe of his letter, that the Eaſt-India trade might be ſo managed, under a regulation, that five times the trade might be gained, and the prices of our own manufactures of cloth, &c. advanced by the multitude and freedom of buyers; and the price of goods imported much leſſened to the Engliſh, and much more trade gained with India commodities to other parts of the world!

But I am of a contrary opinion;

For, 1ſt, how probable is it, that private traders in a regulated company ſhould gain ſo much as (and far leſs five times more than) a joint-ſtock company? Thoſe ſuppoſed trades to be gained are chiefly the trades to China and Japan; where indeed our trade, once well ſettled, might take off more of our woollen manufactures, and might return gold, ſilver, and copper, in ſome meaſure to ſupply the trade to other parts of India, without exporting ſo much treaſure from Europe. But thoſe trades are not ſo eaſily gained as ſome may fancy *; and leaſt of all by the ſtocks of private perſons. As the preſent Eaſt-India compa-

* This ſhews that we had as yet no trade with China. *A.*

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ny, even with ſo great a joint ſtock, have in vain made frequent trials to gain thoſe trades: yet, with China, the company, after many attempts and expenſes, are in hopes to ſucceed; but, with reſpect to Japan, only one undertaking for the gaining the trade to it proved ineffectual, with the loſs of no leſs than L50,000, which great ſum would have undone private adventurers. As to what our barriſter ſuggeſts, that a regulated company would advance the price of our manufactures by the multitude and freedom of buyers, and alſo leſſen the price of goods imported to the Engliſh, &c. upon a due and ſerious examination, it will be found, according to the true maxims of trade, and dictates of reaſon, to be quite otherwiſe. For, who is there that hath in any competent degree ſtudied and conſidered trade in reference to the kingdom's intereſt, but knows that all buying and ſelling at home from one to another is but a mere changing of hands, neither adding to, nor diminiſhing, the nation's ſtock or wealth. It is dear ſelling, or rather the ſelling of great quantities of our native commodities and manufactures, in foreign parts, and our cheap purchaſing of commodities in foreign countries, whereby our kingdom is enriched. For if we do but conſider the conſequence of this barriſter's poſition, it will clearly appear, that particular Engliſhmen, traders to India, vying upon one another in the buying of cloth, &c. in England, may for a year or two raiſe the prices in England; and, on the other hand, they may lower the prices and underſell one another, to get off their goods in India, and make returns; ſome, perhaps, ſelling cheaper than the prime coſt, whilſt others may not be able to put off their goods, and ſo perhaps let their ſhips return dead freighted, &c. What probability is there then of their continuing to ſend any thereafter, or that the exportation of our Engliſh manufactures ſhould increaſe? whereas the preſent joint-ſtock company have ſo well managed their trade, that from one hundred to four hundred cloths at moſt, formerly exported, they now annually export four thouſand whole broad cloths and upwards. And with reſpect to goods imported from India; the multitude of buyers in India raiſing the prices there, and of ſellers in England leſſening the prices here, cannot but be very contrary to the kingdom's intereſt. Becauſe not above one fourth part of the India goods imported are conſumed in England, the other three fourth parts being exported to foreign parts. Now, if the prices of what is conſumed in England be lowered, the like muſt inevitably follow for the other three fourths exported: ſo that the nation really loſes by the cheap ſelling of India commodities in England, and our real intereſt is to buy cheap in India, and ſell dear in Europe. With reſpect to the building of ſhips of great burden, ſo much for the public intereſt, it cannot be imagined that private perſons can effect the ſame in proportion to what the joint-ſtock company has done.

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The joint-ſtock company is moreover far more national, with reſpect to the number of perſons who have benefit thereby, than poſſibly it could be under a regulation: for then, none could trade to India but merchants who underſtand trade, and only ſuch as have great eſtates, and are able to lie two years at leaſt out of their money. So that the trade would be confined into a few hands (100 or 150 at moſt.) Whereas in the joint-ſtock, noblemen, clergymen, gentlemen, widows, orphans, ſhop-keepers, and all others, may have ſtocks there, and reap equal benefit thereby.

There are at this day about 600 perſons, who appear on the company's books to be intereſted in the Eaſt-India ſtock, and under them, it may be, many more.

This author alleges, that the true ground of the preſent company's many enemies proceeds from their not having ſubſcribed at the beginning, nor yet afterwards, when the books were laid open, but are ſince filled with envy at the company's proſperity.

But whatever may have been the cauſes of the diſcontents againſt that company, this advocate for them has ſaid ſo much in favour of an excluſive joint ſtock company to Eaſt-India, as ſeems not eaſy to be refuted. We are moreover indebted to this able author's 27 quarto pages for ſundry very important hiſtorical facts, which otherwiſe we ſhould not perhaps have ſo well known at this diſtance of time: which may well apologize for the length of what we may fairly denominate a complete ſyſtem of the Eaſt-India company's trade and conduct at that time, and alſo of the general theory of the commerce to India, which may be ſaid to be ſuitable to all times and ſeaſons: and we cannot but remark, that, as far as we are able to judge, whatever has ſince this time been written and publiſhed, even down to our own days, on the Eaſt-India trade, contains nothing materially new, or which may not be found to be comprehended in this very diſſertation; although all that has been ſince that time publiſhed for and againſt the trade, and alſo againſt an excluſive joint ſtock, would fill up a large folio, were they all put together.

1678.—The act for burying the dead in woollen [18 *Car. II, c.* 4] not being duely obſerved, it was repealed: and a new act [30 *Car. II, c.* 3] directed that a regiſter ſhould be kept in every pariſh by the incumbent, or his ſubſtitute, certifying that every thing about the corpſe of the deceaſed was made of ſheep's wool; of which an affidavit ſhall be made by the relation of the deceaſed, and lodged with the incumbent, under the penalty of L5, a moiety whereof to go to the poor of the pariſh, the other to the informer. Nevertheleſs, ſuch ſtill is the vanity of many of the rich and great, that they continue to pay the penalty, rather than not adorn their deceaſed friend's corpſe with fine linen, lace, &c. though ſo contrary to our true national intereſt.

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While we were wantonly, and without meaſure, importing and uſing the product and manufactures of France, the wiſer French miniſtry were from time to time laying heavier duties upon the Engliſh manufactures and product; ſo as thereby gradually to drive out of France the conſumption of almoſt all Engliſh merchandize, as well as all other foreign commodities, by their tarifs of the years 1664, 1667, &c. Hereby the Engliſh foreign trade in general languiſhed, rents fell, and all ranks began ſenſibly to feel its bad effects. Yet they at firſt imputed this misfortune to a wrong cauſe; which made the merchants and traders petition the parliament againſt the Eaſt-India and Levant companies. Having at laſt diſcovered the true cauſe, they made ſuch earneſt application to the parliament, as influenced the houſe of commons to come to a vote, 'that the trade with France was detrimental to the 'kingdom.' The Engliſh were alſo at this time ſo juſtly incenſed againſt the French king's invaſion and encroachments from time to time on the Spaniſh Netherlands (and indeed, as far as he could, on all his other neighbours), that the parliament, in the beginning of this year 1678, paſſed an act [30 *Car. II, c.* 1] 'for raiſing money by a poll, &c. to enable his majeſty 'to enter into an actual war againſt the French king; and for prohi-'biting, for three years to come, and to the end of the ſubſequent ſeſ-'ſion of parliament, the importation into England of all French com-'modities whatever.' It was indeed more than time for England to interpoſe, and ſave the almoſt expiring liberties of Europe; whilſt at the ſame time ſhe put ſome ſtop to an inundation of French wines, brandies, ſilks, linen, paper, ſalt, and an innumerable variety of frippery, millinery, and haberdaſhery wares, toys, &c. This prohibition, and that of the wear of Eaſt-India manufactures, brought the general balance greatly in our favour in twenty years time. The authors of this time ſay, that, till after this prohibition, the annual exports of England, on an average, did not exceed three millions ſterling; but that in about twenty years after, the exports gradually increaſed to near ſeven millions yearly; which vaſt increaſe was principally occaſioned by the great increaſe and exportation of our own woollen, ſilk, linen, iron, and other manufactures, ſince the prohibition of commerce with France; and partly alſo by the prohibition, ſome years after enacted, of the wear of Eaſt-India manufactures in England, and likewiſe in part by the enlarged demand from our own American colonies of all ſorts of manufactures and neceſſaries.

In July an alliance was concluded between England and Holland, for compelling the French king (in conſequence of a treaty at this time held at Nimeguen, between them, the emperor, and Spain) to reſtore to Spain the towns and forts of Charleroy, Aeth, Oudenard, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Guiſlain, Binch, and the duchy of Limburg, &c. as alſo, all that had been taken from the emperor and

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and empire; to reſtore alſo Lorrain to the duke of that name. The king of Great Britain, for thoſe ends, ſtipulated to furniſh one third more of naval force than the ſtates-general, and the ſtates to furniſh one third more of land-forces in the Netherlands than King Charles.

In Auguſt was concluded a treaty, at Nimeguen, between France and the ſtates-general, under the king of Great Britain's mediation; concerning which all that is needful to be recited is as follows.

Article VIII) The town and chatellanie of Maeſtrecht ſhall be reſtored to the ſtates-general of the United provinces.

XIII) The ſtates-general engage to guarantee the preſent peace and engagements which Spain is now making with France. And by a ſeparate article, France was to reſtore to the prince of Orange his principality of that name, and his other dominions in France.

On the ſame day was alſo concluded, at Nimeguen, a treaty of commerce, navigation, and marine, between France and the ſtates-general, in ſubſtance as follows.

Article VII) The ſubjects on both ſides ſhall pay no higher duties than the natives in general.

IX) No refuge ſhall be given in the ports of either party to ſuch as ſhall have taken any prizes from the other party; but if driven thither by ſtreſs of weather, they ſhall depart as ſoon as poſſible.

XI) The loaded ſhips of either party, driven by ſtorm or otherwiſe into any port of the other party, ſhall not be compelled to unload or ſell their merchandize there.

XIII, XIV, XV) The ſhips of either party may freely traffic with the enemies of either of them, excepting with contraband merchandize, defined to be all implements of war, ſaltpetre, horſes, and their harneſs.

XVI, XVII) But the following ſhall not be deemed contraband goods; viz. corn and grain, beans, oil, wine, ſalt, and other things for the ſuſtenance of life; all which may be freely carried to an enemy; unleſs to a place inveſted or beſieged. And ſuch ſhips deſigned for an enemy's port, and putting into any of the ports of either party, ſhall only be obliged to ſhew their paſſports, without being ſearched or detained.

The articles XX, XXI, XXII, are the ſame as in the commercial treaty of the year 1677, between England and France, relating to merchant ſhips met at ſea by ſhips of war of the other party, and wherein contraband goods may be found.

XXX) Either party may build, buy, or freight, in each other's dominions, any number of ſhips for war, or for merchandize, and alſo ſuch ammunition as they ſhall want.

XXXI) Ships of either party, driven on the coaſts of the other party, ſhall be treated with juſtice and humanity.

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XXXII) Pirates and exiles to meet with no protection on either ſide.

XXXIII, XXXIV) Merchants may make uſe of ſuch advocates in each other's country as they ſhall think fit; and may keep their books of accounts in what language they ſhall think beſt: and may alſo mutually ſettle conſuls therein.

XXXV) Neither party ſhall ſuffer any ſhip of war of another power to come and make prize, within their ports, havens, or rivers, upon the ſubjects of the other.

XXXVIII) This treaty ſhall be in force for twenty-five years to come.

A ſeparate article relates to the 50 ſols per ton upon ſtrangers ſhips ſailing out of the ports of France, viz. that this duty ſhall not derogate from the equality, which in other reſpects is by the 7th article of this treaty eſtabliſhed on both ſides; but that Dutch ſhips ſhall pay the 50 ſols per ton as other nations do: but this ſubſidy ſhall be only paid by Dutch ſhips at going out of the French ports, but not at their coming in. And if loaded with ſalt, they ſhall pay but half that duty. And the ſtates may, if they pleaſe, lay a like proportional impoſition on French ſhips going out of their ports.

On the 17th of September peace was ſigned at Nimeguen between Louis XIV of France and Charles II of Spain: but much ſhort of what was ſtipulated to be obtained for Spain in the treaty between England and the ſtates-general: for, only Charleroy, Binch, Aeth, Oudenard, Courtray, St. Guiſlain, and the duchy of Limburg, were reſtored to Spain, together with Ghent and its citadel; and in Catalonia the city of Puicerda. On the other hand, Spain was obliged to cede to France, Valenciennes, Cambray, Condé, Bouchain, Aire, St. Omer, Ypres, Warwick, Warneton, Poperingen, Bailleul, Caſſel, Bavay, and Maubeuge, with their dependencies; alſo the county of Burgundy, with the city of Beſançon. Thus declining Spain, by every treaty with France ſince 1659, was obliged to reſign many noble and ſtrong cities, and extenſive territories, being deſerted by King Charles of England, whoſe higheſt intereſt and glory it would have been to ſupport Spain againſt the greatly increaſing power of France. Soon after this unhappy peace, Louis, taking advantage of the very feeble ſtate of Spain, ſeized the ſtrong city of Luxemburgh; and, moreover, he continually haraſſed the remainder of the Spaniſh Netherlands by pretended re-unions, contributions, &c.

The peace at Nimeguen, between the emperor and empire and France, was not formally ſigned till the 3d of February 1679 (N. S.): yet, as it was ſtill a part of the ſame treaty of Nimeguen continued, we here give its ſubſtance briefly.

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Article II) The peace of Munſter, or Weſtphalia, in the year 1648 is declared to be the baſis of this treaty.

IV, V) France yields Philipſburgh to the empire, and the emperor Leopold yields Friburg to France.

XII, XIII, XIV, XV) The country of Lorrain to be reſtored to its duke; only Nancy, its capital, ſhall remain for ever united to France; which ſhall alſo have ways half a league in breadth, to be ſet out by the French king and the duke, for the more eaſy paſſage of the French troops through Lorrain to the city of Nancy, and from Nancy to Alſace, alſo from Nancy to Beſançon, in Franche Compté. Whereby that unfortunate prince, for having ſided with the emperor againſt France, was deſpoiled of his capital city, and the reſt of his duchy now laid quite open to the armies of France at pleaſure, in an unheard-of manner.

It was alſo to be free for the French king to keep garriſons in the towns of Chaſſelette, Huy, Verviers, Aix-la-Chapelle, Dueren, Linnick, Nuys, and Zons, until peace ſhould be concluded between him and Sweden, Denmark, Brandenburg, the biſhop of Munſter, and the princes of Lunenburg; when they were to be reſtored to the empire.

And thus alſo France gradually gained ground on the German empire, of which Lorrain, as well as Alſace, formerly were parts, to the ſtill farther deſtroying of the equilibrium of power in Europe.

The French excluſive Senegal company was now erected, for the trade of gold duſt, leather, wax, gums, &c. and it was confirmed in the year 1681 by the name of the royal Senegal company. But, being unable to pay their debts, they were diſſolved in the year 1696.

So rapid were the naval and commercial improvements of France at this time, according to the ingenious author of the work entitled *Britannia languens*, that there were now forty French trading veſſels for every one that there was twenty or thirty years before. The king of France alſo eſtabliſhed a fiſhery to the great prejudice of ours.

1679.—The ſame author aſſerts, that the Dutch herring and cod fiſhery employed 8000 veſſels and 200,000 ſailors and fiſhers, whereby they annually gained five millions ſterling; beſides their Iceland, Greenland, and Newfoundland, fiſheries, and the multitude of trades and people employed by them at home.

1680.—The Dutch Eaſt-India company having aſſiſted the king of Materan, who ſtiled himſelf emperor of Java, againſt two of his rebellious ſons, he thereupon yielded up to the Dutch the towns of Cheriban and Tarpa.

This year ſeems to have been remarkable for new projects in England, which were patronized by Prince Rupert duke of Cumberland, more eſpecially ſuch as related to mechanics. We have a yellow metal much reſembling gold, which in our days is ſtill named prince's metal,

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as taking its name from him: and a water-mill was thereupon erected on Hackney river for caſting cannon of that metal, which is known at this day by the name of Temple-mill.

Another project was for a floating machine worked by horſes, for towing great ſhips againſt wind and tide.

A third was a machine for raiſing ballaſt, which was found ineffectual.

A fourth was a diving machine or engine, by the help of which, and good luck, Sir William Phipps brought home from the Weſt-Indies near L200,000 ſterling in pieces of eight, which he fiſhed up out of the ſea, where part of a Spaniſh plate fleet had been loſt.

We have a ſtate of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's trade in this year, from a judicious anonymous work, entitled a Treatiſe wherein is demonſtrated that the Eaſt-India trade is the moſt national of all foreign trades, &c. (London, 1681)* occaſioned by the clamours ſtill raiſed againſt that company, in order to have the trade laid open, viz. 'laſt 'year' (i. e. in 1680) 'the company ſent out for the coaſt of Coro-'mandel and the bay of Bengal, four three-deck ſhips, viz. one of 530 'tons and 118 ſeamen, one of 600 tons and 120 ſeamen, one of 530 'tons and 106 ſeamen, and one of 550 tons and 110 ſeamen. For 'Surat and the coaſt of India, three ſhips more of 550, 530, and 450. 'tons. For Bantam, two ſhips of 600 tons each. For the South ſeas † 'and China, two ſhips of 430 and 350 tons: in all eleven ſhips, in 'which there was a ſtock of L479,946: 15: 6. And for the year 1681 'they are ſending out five ſhips for Coaſt and Bay, three for Surat and 'the coaſt of India, three for Bantam, and one great ſhip for the South 'ſea and China: in all which there will be a ſtock of above L600,000, 'beſides both which years exportations not yet returned, the company 'has always a conſiderable ſtock left in the country to make and pro-'vide goods beforehand: beſides likewiſe the value of their iſlands, 'towns, garriſons, houſes, buildings, ammunition, &c. And they may 'have what money they will at 3 per cent, which will be the worſt 'news of all in Holland.' This is the firſt time we find mention of the company ſending a ſhip to China.

The author adds, 'that the quick ſtock of our Eaſt-India company,' by which he means their conſtant exportations and importations, 'was 'then more than that of the Dutch company, though the ſtock of the 'later ſells at 450 per cent, while ours ſells not above 300 per cent.'

On the other ſide, the ſilk weavers of London had this year unſucceſsfully petitioned the houſe of commons againſt the wear of Eaſt-India ſilks, Bengals, &c. Mr. Polexfen, in his ſpeech, aſſerted, 'that we at this

* From the ſtile and ſcope of the work Sir Joſiah Child ſeems to have been the author. *A.*

† By the *South ſeas* muſt be underſtood the ſeas about Macaſſar, Borneo, Java, &c. *A.*

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'time consumed to the value of L300,000 yearly in those East-India 'manufactured goods, including printed and painted calicoes, for 'clothes, beds, hangings, &c: that the company annually export from 'L200,000 to L600,000 in bullion: that their trade is now increased 'to near one quarter part of the whole trade of the nation: that the 'company find it more for their particular advantage to take up from '6 to L700,000 on their common seal for carrying on their trade, than 'to enlarge their capital stock, thereby reaping to themselves, not only 'the gains which they make on their own money, but likewise of the 'treasure of the nation, allowing to the lenders 4 or 5 per cent *, and 'dividing amongst themselves what they please, which now, within 'these last twelve or fifteen months has been 90 per cent. And up- 'on an exact inquiry, it will be found that this stock is so engrossed, 'that about ten or twelve men have the absolute management, and that 'about forty persons divide the major part of the gains, which this last 'year has been to some one man L20,000, to others L10,000 apiece.'

The Turkey company also preferred their usual complaint against their importation of raw silk: so between those two, the India company was neither to import raw nor wrought silks; yet the grand committee for trade, to whom that house referred it, did nothing material at that time.

We have shewn, under the year 1676, that its capital stock, by doubling, was then made up to L739,782: 10. Thus we may see how hard it is to come at the real truth in disputes of any kind, and most of all where property or interest is affected.

This year gave rise to the noble English colony of Pennsylvania in North America. Sir William Penn, an admiral, had obtained a promise from King Charles II of a grant of this country; but he dying soon after, his son William Penn, an eminent quaker, and a gentleman of great knowlege and true philosophy, had it granted to him at this time, his charter being dated on the 28th of February 1680; and he designed it for a retreat for the people of his religious persuasion, then made uneasy at home through the bigotry of spiritual courts, &c. Mr. Penn, therefor, carried thither with him a large embarkation of those quakers, and was afterwards from time to time joined by many more from Britain and Ireland. At his first arrival there, he found many English families, and considerable numbers of Dutch and Swedes, who all readily submitted to his wise and excellent regulations, which highly merit to be known by all persons who would apply to colonizing. The true wisdom, as well as equity of his unlimited toleration of all religious persuasions, as well as his kind, just, and prudent, treatment of

* This differs from the assertion of the preceding author, that they could have what money they pleased at 3 per cent. *A.*

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the native Indians; alſo his laws, policy, and government, ſo endeared him to the planters, and ſo widely ſpread the fame of his whole economy, that his colony, though ſo lately planted, is thought at this day to have more white people in it than any other on all the continent of Britiſh America, New-England alone excepted *. And Penn, who was a favourite of the duke of York, afterwards King James II, two years after (1682) had a grant from his royal highneſs of the town and tract of Newcaſtle, and the two lower counties on the great river Delaware, part of his province of New-York: theſe are now called the counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, and are no inconſiderable addition to his province of Pennſylvania. Mr. Penn's beautiful and ſuperb plan of his capital city of Philadelphia, ſtill ſtrictly followed to this day †, and drawing conſtantly nearer to perfection, may ſerve for a pattern to the richeſt country on earth. At that city they conſtantly build and employ many good ſhips, thoſe of even 500 tons may lie cloſe to their wharfs. They trade to our ſugar-colonies with their corn, peas, flour, biſket, beef, pork, fiſh, ſtaves, peltry, lumber, horſes, &c. in exchange for ſugar, rum, melaſſes, ginger, pimento, and foreign ſilver, &c. So greatly does this colony increaſe in people, that it is thought already nearly to equal New-England, and that it will very ſoon ſurpaſs it. It ſeems the landed gentlemen of many parts of Ireland, and particularly in the north of it, had raiſed their rents ſo high, that many of the tenants threw up their farms and withdrew to Pennſylvania, ſo that about the year 1729 ſome thouſands of them went thither, and Engliſh, Welſh, and Scots, and alſo many German proteſtants, have at various times gone thither, who are generally well ſettled, and are much employed in raiſing hemp, flax, and other materials for our Britiſh manufactures, as drugs for dyers, &c. iron, and copper. They even carry their corn, fiſh, ſtaves, &c. as far as Italy, and returning to Britain, they there take in woollen, ſilk, and linen, for clothing, houſehold-furniture, hard-ware, and every thing elſe that is wanted for that colony. They get ſilver alſo by their clandeſtine trade with the Spaniſh main; and their trade in logwood, which they import into England, helps to pay for what they bring back. Thus the great evil of perſecution and reſtraint, for innocent conſcientious opinions, has once more proved the accidental occaſion of peopling and improving one of the fineſt provinces of Britiſh America.

* It ought to be obſerved, that Penn, though poſſeſſed of a grant from his ſovereign, did not, like ſome other founders of colonies, begin by exterminating the native proprietors of the country, but honeſtly bought the territory from them for a ſatisfactory price. The conſequence was, that his colony lived in harmony, and enjoyed peace and a mutual intercourſe of trade and good offices, with the natives. *M.*

† By the original plan the city was to extend from the great river Delaware weſt to the ſmaller river Skuylkil. But the buildings have long ago extended far beyond the plan on the ſide of the Delaware, which is of ſuch a depth, that the greateſt merchant ſhips can lay their ſides to the wharfs; while they have ſcarcely extended half way to the Skuylkil, which is navigable only by ſmall craft, and but for a few miles. *M.*

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Tangier being beſieged by the king of Morocco, King Charles ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons to recommend its preſervation and its importance to the Engliſh commerce in the Mediterranean, and that the two millions already expended on it would be entirely thrown away, unleſs ſpeedy and effectual ſupplies were granted for its relief. But the commons in an addreſs to the king, inſtead of granting this, repreſented, *inter alia*, that Tangier had been ſeveral times under the command of popiſh governors, and its garriſon in a great degree made up of popiſh officers and ſoldiers, as alſo that the money given for it had been miſapplied, wherefor they could not grant a ſupply for Tangier, unleſs they might be aſſured, that thereby they did not augment the ſtrength of their popiſh adverſaries. Thus the jealouſy entertained by the parliament and nation, that the king intended this place for a curb on their religion and liberties, prevented its being duely ſupplied, and occaſioned, as we ſhall ſee, its being abandoned ſoon after.

1681.—At a parliament at Oxford, which ſat but ſeven days, the houſe of commons firſt reſolved to print their votes, which has been continued ever ſince, very much to the benefit and ſatisfaction of the public, and particularly beneficial in commercial affairs.

As far back as about the year 1670, the Engliſh Levant, or Turkey, company began to complain of the Eaſt-India company, on account of the great quantities of raw ſilk they imported from India, which had formerly been imported ſolely from Turkey. And in the year 1681 the Turkey company made a formal complaint to the king's council, whereupon a hearing enſued. The ſubſtance of that company's allegations, and the Eaſt-India company's anſwers, being printed this year, are as follow, viz.

I) The Turkey company have, for near an hundred years paſt, exported thither great quantities of woollen manufactures and other Engliſh wares, to the great enriching of this nation, and do now more eſpecially carry out thither to the value of about L500,000 ſterling yearly: in return for which, the goods imported are raw ſilks, galls, grogram-yarn, drugs, cotton, &c. all which being manufactured in England, afford bread to the poor of the kingdom.

On the other hand, ſay they, the Eaſt-India company export immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver, with an inconſiderable quantity of cloth; in return for which, their chief commodities are calicoes, pepper, wrought ſilks, and a deceitful ſort of raw ſilk. The calicoes and wrought ſilks being wrought in India, are an evident damage to the poor of England, and the raw ſilks are an infallible deſtruction to the Turkey trade, for, as Turkey does not yield a ſufficient quantity of other merchandize, to return for one fourth part of our manufactures carried thither, the remaining three fourths is wholely paid for by raw ſilk. If that is ſup-

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planted by India ſilk, the moſt conſiderable part of the Turkey importations, and conſequently the cloth-trade of England, muſt fail.

II) The conſtitution of the Turkey company, as being a regulated one, and not driven by a joint ſtock, is open and comprehenſive, admitting any that are bred merchants. The ſons and apprentices of freemen challenge their freedom by ſeven years ſervice, and others are admitted to be free for L25 if under 27 years of age, and if above that age for L50; each freeman to trade for as much as he is able. By ſuch open trading the company is increaſed from 70 perſons, who, 40 years ago, wholely drove the trade, to at leaſt 500 traders.

On the other hand, the Eaſt-India company's trade is managed by an excluſive joint ſtock, which is ſo engroſſed, that about twelve perſons have the abſolute management of the whole trade, and about forty perſons divide the major part of the gains, and alſo appropriate to themſelves a greater profit in a ſeparate trade, in muſk, ambergris, &c. and, till of late, in diamonds alſo: neither can they breed up any perſon under the notion of an Eaſt-India merchant, becauſe any one may purchaſe a ſhare of their trade and joint ſtock for money.

III) The Turkey company's ſtock is really greater than the trade will bear, under their preſent diſcouragements and checks from the Eaſt-India company; and if any damage befalls this ſtock, every particular member bears the loſs of his own adventure, with no damage to the public.

On the other hand, the Eaſt-India company having a fixed joint ſtock of but about L370,000,* they find it more for their advantage to trade with money at intereſt than to enlarge their ſtock, and they have therefor borrowed at leaſt L650,000 on their common ſeal, at the inconſiderable intereſt of 3 or 4 per cent, thereby trading with the treaſure of the nation, and dividing to themſelves what ſums they pleaſe, not only out of the profit, but alſo out of the principal, as laſt year, when they divided L260,000, though at the ſame time they owed above L600,000 a-intereſt.

One George White, a writer againſt this company, in this ſame year, ſays, that in the compaſs of five years (1676-1681) they divided L741,647, and in two months afterwards they doubled their ſtock: this, ſays he, was in all L1,111,647 produced from a capital of L370,000 only, by which extravagant dividends, together with above L300,000, for money borrowed at intereſt, with preſents to courtiers, and their quarrel with the mogul, they were brought into great difficulties, ſo that they, in a ſhort time, were forced to ſtop payment for ſome months, yet they recovered a little again: although by ſeizing many of the mo-

* How is this aſſertion to be reconciled with the duplication of the India company's ſtock in the year 1676? *A.*

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gul's ſhips trading to Arabia, Perſia, &c. that quarrel coſt the company in all about L800,000.

Upon the whole, it is humbly hoped, that for relief of the now-languiſhing, though moſt uſeful and neceſſary, Turkey trade, his majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to permit to the Turkey company the exerciſe of trade in the Red ſea, and all other the dominions of the grand ſignior, (i. e. Arabia and part of Africa) according to the large extent of their charter, and acceſs thereunto, by the moſt convenient paſſages, i. e. round by the Cape of Good Hope.

More reaſons againſt the management of the Eaſt-India trade, under the preſent joint ſtock.

I) The continuance of the ſtock, which has now laſted 24 years, (i. e. from 1657) is againſt their firſt propoſal in their preamble, whereby it is agreed, that at ſeven years end, the ſtock ſhould be balanced and divided, and a new ſubſcription made: and that any perſons, at the ſaid ſeven years end, might go out or come in upon a valuation then to be made known: though no ſuch thing be hitherto done.

II) They have ſent over to India, throwſters, weavers, and dyers, and have actually ſet up there a manufacture of ſilk, which, by inſtructing the Indians in theſe manufactures, and by importing them ſo made into England, is an unſpeakable impoveriſhment of the working people of this kingdom.

III) Though many of the firſt ſubſcribers have died off, yet there is no liberty for young merchants to come in on a new ſubſcription.

IV) The ſo long continuance of the ſtock is alſo a reaſon that its whole management is fallen into ſo few hands.

V) They export great quantities of bullion, and a ſmall quantity of cloth.

VI) Of the 550 who are members of the company, not above one fifth are merchants, and as theſe laſt are always of the committee, hence it comes to paſs that many of the choiceſt goods are ſent home on their private account, but ſeldom on account of the joint ſtock.

VII, VIII) As their preſent ſtock is too ſcanty, ſo new ſubſcriptions for two or three millions would bring in more merchants, as well as more money to be employed, and alſo more ſhips and mariners. At preſent they trade not at all to Perſia, Japan, Arrachan, Acheen, Sumatra, Pegu, Madagaſcar, and many other places within the limits of their charter, though ſuch places, if traded to, would not only take off much of our Engliſh commodities, but likewiſe by trading there from one port to another, would vend a large proportion of Indian commodities, and the profit and bullion ariſing thereby would, in a great meaſure, if not totally, prevent the exportation of bullion out of England.

IX) Laſtly, the lenders of ſo large a dead ſtock as above, L600,000, at ſo low an intereſt as 3 per cent, venture the hazard of their princi

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pal merely for that low intereſt, whilſt the company makes 50 per cent of it, without any hazard at all. Thoſe lenders, in caſe of loſſes, captures, &c. have only the company's common ſeal to depend on, which in ſuch caſe is no ſecurity at all: for no one member is obliged to make ſatisfaction, as has been evident by ſeveral late examples of the like nature.

The Eaſt-India company's anſwer, before the privy council, was to the following effect.

I) Articles 1ſt, 2d, and 3d. The cloth exported by the Eaſt-India company is finer and more valuable than what is exported by the Turkey company: and, if we are rightly informed, the medium of cloths exported by that company in the laſt three years is only about 19,000 cloths yearly; a greater quantity than which (in value at leaſt) the Eaſt-India company may probably ſhip out this year, if their factory at Amoy in China be not ſurpriſed by the Tartars, of which there was a doubtful report laſt year. Yet it is admitted, that, before the Eaſt-India company had any entrance into the trade of China and Japan, the Turkey company's exportation of cloth did much exceed that of the Eaſt-India company. 4th, we alſo ſay, that it will be found by the entries at the cuſtom-houſe, that the Turkey company do ſend out yearly, beſides their cloth, great quantities of pieces of eight from England for the purchaſe of raw ſilk in Turkey, as well as great quantities of the like ſpecies of bullion from France, Spain, and Italy, which otherwiſe would come to England.

II) Concerning the compariſon between the conſtitution of the Turkey and Eaſt-India companies, we ſay, there hath been ſo much printed in moſt European languages, and ſo many conſultations and debates in the great councils of Europe, concerning joint ſtocks for the Eaſt-Indies, in all of which (except in Portugal) the reſult has been for a joint ſtock, that we think it would be impertinent to trouble your lordſhips with a long diſcourſe concerning it.

1. But it cannot be denied by any reaſonable man, that a joint ſtock is capable of a far greater extenſion, as to the number of traders and largeneſs of ſtock, than any regulated company can be; becauſe noblemen, gentlemen, ſhopkeepers, widows, orphans, and all other ſubjects, may be traders, and employ their capitals in a joint ſtock; whereas, in a regulated company, ſuch as the Turkey company is, none can be traders but ſuch as they call legitimate or bred merchants.

2. The conſequence whereof is, that, if the trade for India were laid open, the adventurers would be fewer by three quarters than they are now, becauſe thoſe who have ſkill would run away with the trade, as in fact they did between the years 1653 and 1657.

3 and 4. The number of the preſent Eaſt-India adventurers is at this time above ſix hundred: and with reſpect to the indulged or private

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trade, every adventurer hath as full a liberty, in proportion to his ſtock, as the governor, deputy, or any of the committees, the ſame being not to exceed one fifth part of his ſtock; and even that has been gradually reduced every year, though per ſaltum it cannot be done, *it not being the work of a year, nor even of an age or two, to build up an Eaſt-India trade to perfection, though it may be deſtroyed in a day.* This truth is moſt eminently viſible in the proceedings of the king of France, who ſpared no coſt to obtain the beſt advice in Europe, by immenſe rewards, premiums, &c. for the conſtitution of his Eaſt-India company; and yet we ſee, that company makes very little of it: and even our own company, although they had formerly a ſtock of L1,500,000 ſterling, advanced no farther in profits than 12½ per cent in fifteen years, i. e. from 1617 to 1632.

Though, inſtead of eighty votes alleged to be now poſſeſſed by ſome one ſingle perſon in the choice of the committees, we know of no one that has ſixty votes, yet it is moſt reaſonable, and has ever been practiſed both in ours and in the royal African company, and every other joint ſtock, that each adventurer ſhould vote according to his ſtock. Even ſince this complaint, which was firſt ſtarted about nine years ago, there have been more great ſhips built by the company than were in thirty years before, and alſo more woollen manufactures exported: and the Dutch Eaſt-India ſtock, which was at 580 per cent when ours was but at 60 per cent, has ſince ſtood ſtill, or rather declined, while ours has advanced, ſo as almoſt to equalize theirs in value: and his majeſty's cuſtoms are alſo more than doubled from our Eaſt-India trade. The company has alſo made many generous, chargeable, and ſucceſsful, attempts for obtaining a trade to Siam, Cochin-China, China, and Japan.

III) 1. Our Eaſt-India ſtock now in trade is at leaſt L1,700,000 clear of all our debts.

2. Our debt at intereſt is about L550,000, and has been reduced from 6 to 3 per cent: and ſuch is the company's credit, that they cannot perſuade their creditors to take their money.

3. And your lordſhips, in the houſe of peers, did formerly reſolve, that the abatement of intereſt tended to the increaſe of trade and the advancement of the value of the lands of England.

With reſpect to the Turkey company's objections againſt the Eaſt-India company's importations of raw ſilk, plain wrought ſilk, and wrought ſilks mixed with gold and ſilver, we ſay,

1. As for raw ſilk, it is ſo eſſential for the good of the kingdom, that it may well hold compariſon with our ſheeps wool and cotton wool.

2. Since our importation thereof our ſilk manufactures have increaſed from one to four.

3. With reſpect to the quality of our India raw ſilk, it is the ſame as with all other commodities on earth, ſome good, ſome bad, and ſome indifferent.

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4. Plain wrought ſilks from India are known to be the ſtrongeſt and moſt durable, as well as the cheapeſt that come from any part of the world, and are generally re-exported from England to foreign parts.

5. Wrought India ſilks, flowered and ſtriped, do, we confeſs, a little impede the growth of our own ſilk manufactures, but not to that degree, in any meaſure, as the raw ſilk imported from India doth advance it.

6. If they could be effectually forbidden from all parts, the Eaſt-India company would be glad to further an act of parliament for that purpoſe, and alſo for the ſuppreſſion of French ſilks, ſo much in wear in England, though againſt a law in being.

7. Wrought India ſilks, mixed with gold and ſilver, are not imported by us, but merely by our permiſſion; becauſe, if we ſhould not permit them, they would come in, as much as now, by ſtealth, and without paying the king's cuſtom *.

8. With reſpect to our ſending to India throwſters, weavers, and dyers, the whole is a miſtake, excepting only as to one or two dyers, uſually ſent to Bengal, and to no other part of India; and this for the nation's as well as the company's advantage, eſpecially as to plain black ſilks, generally exported again.

9. As to the Turkey company's requeſt to deſtroy what is eſteemed by all foreigners the glory of the trade of England, (i. e. by extending the Turkey company's trade to the Red ſea, &c.) we cannot help admiring the confidence of the propoſers.

Laſtly, our Eaſt-India company can prevent none by their charter from buying their ſtock, provided they will pay L5 for their admiſſion.

With relation to what the Turkey company adds, in the ſecond part of their allegations, concerning a valuation of their ſtock every ſeven years, our Eaſt-India company aver, that, purſuant to a general court in the year 1664, their ſtock was valued at the end of the firſt ſeven years at 130 per cent; and, within a year and a quarter after, there was 50 per cent divided; and a ſecond valuation was afterwards made in the ſame manner.

The Turkey company's other objections are indeed ſo trifling and inconcluſive, that the Eaſt-India company gives them ſhort anſwers, appealing at the ſame time to their lordſhips for their weight, &c.

From the allegations of theſe two rival companies we learn a great deal of their hiſtory; and although both ſides may have ſomewhat exaggerated in their own favour, it is nevertheleſs very eaſy for the reader to determine the truth in all the material points in queſtion between them. The Eaſt-India company, among their other allegations, made great complaints againſt the interloping ſhips for the laſt three years;

* The uſe of all ſuch manufactures has ſince been effectually prohibited. *A.*

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and that as they were at L100,000 annnual expenſe for forts, ſoldiers, &c. it would be impoſſible to carry on a profitable commerce if interlopers were tolerated. Yet the interlopers went on with their voyages to India; one of whom, however, named Captain Thomas Sands, going out with a cargo of L50,000 value, was, at the company's requeſt, ſtopped by the king; and, after a long and curious trial, a deciſion was made by the chief-juſtice Jeffreys in favour of the company; ſo that the ſhip and cargo were ſold off, to the proprietor's great loſs: notwithſtanding which the interlopers continued their voyages to India, being encouraged by the opinions of ſome of our greateſt lawyers, who freely declared, that the king could not legally obſtruct them by any charter whatever granted to the company, unleſs their excluſive powers had the ſanction of an act of parliament. Nevertheleſs, King Charles ſent a ſhip of war to India for the protection of the company from interlopers and pirates.

According to Voltaire, Louis XIV was at this time maſter of above 100 ſhips of the line, ſeveral of which carried 100 guns, and ſome more, and of 60,000 ſailors. He conſtructed and fortified the famous ports of Toulon and Breſt at a prodigious expenſe; and Rochefort alſo, in ſpite of nature, was made a place of trade and naval force.

So much had Colbert, the late prime miniſter of France, applied himſelf to the improvement of the naval affairs and commerce of France, that the author of his life ſays, that, in this year, the town of St. Malo alone ſet forth in one month 65 well-rigged ſhips for the Newfoundland fiſhery, beſides the ſhips employed to the Levant, to Spain, and to the Weſt-Indies, and had alſo ten ſhips on the ſtocks.

Puffendorff obſerves, that at this time the French king's revenue was computed at 150 millions of livres; whereas, he obſerves, that in the laſt age it did not amount to above nine or ten millions; in the time of Henry IV to 16 millions; and in the year 1639, to 77 millions, which vaſt difference is chiefly to be aſcribed to the different value of money ſince thoſe times, and partly alſo to the great taxes impoſed on the ſubjects.

Andrew Yarranton, in a work entitled *England's improvement by ſea and land*, (2 *V.* 4to) aſſerts, that tin plates, (i. e. iron plates tinned over) were now made in England through his means, he having been employed by ſome gentlemen to go to Bohemia, where he learned the manner of making them. When he returned home, he ſet proper perſons to work, who made better ones than any he had ſeen abroad, the metal being better, and the plates more pliable. But a patent being obtained by ſome great man at court, who had ſmelt out the ſcheme, for the ſole making of them, that manufacture was dropped by his employers, who had with ſo much charge made the diſcovery.

That manufacture remained for many years unpractiſed in England,

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inſomuch, that among the projects, called bubbles, of the year 1720, we ſhall ſee, that this was made one of them; yet, ſince that year the manufacture of tinned plates is brought to greater perfection in England than in any other part of the world.

The proteſtants in France being dayly more and more perſecuted by their moſt chriſtian monarch, King Charles was adviſed by his council to iſſue a proclamation, or order of council, promiſing to all proteſtants, who ſhould withdraw from France, ample privileges in England, whereupon conſiderable numbers of them came hither, even before the final revocation of the famous edict of Nantes, in the year 1685.

So great was the ſtrength and power of the Dutch in Eaſt-India, at this time, that Sir William Temple, who was well acquainted with their affairs, obſerves, that, beſides the eſtabliſhment or conqueſts of their company there, they had, in a manner, erected another ſubordinate commonwealth in thoſe parts, where, upon occaſion, they could bring to ſea 40 or 50 ſhips of war, and 30,000 landmen, by the loweſt computation.

1682.—After the Engliſh Hudſon's-bay company had, with much labour, and charge in factories and ſettlements, eſtabliſhed their trade with the natives, while they were building a fort at Port-Nelſon, in the ſouth part of that bay, the French from Canada came privately and ſuddenly, with two ſhips, into the river Nelſon, and ſurprized our company's men, diſpoſſeſſed them of that ſettlement, and carryed them priſoners to Canada. This was the firſt time that any French veſſel had ever ſailed into Hudſon's bay. But this piratical expedition was diſowned by the French king, who promiſed ſatisfaction to our company, though whether any adequate ſatisfaction was really made, does not appear. Our company there alſo erected a fort at Charleton iſle, whither all the peltry, &c. were to be brought from the other factories, for loading the ſhips for England. On Albany river, and on Hay's iſland, were forts and factories alſo ſettled; and the company ſent urgent inſtructions to their governors, by all means to endeavour to ſave the great expenſe they were put to in ſending annual ſupplies of proviſions from England, by trying to raiſe corn, &c. in that country. But this was ſoon found to be impracticable, by reaſon of the intenſeneſs of the cold, and long winters there, which ſoon deſtroys almoſt every thing ſowed or planted in it. They had by this time five ſettlements there, viz. Albany river, Hay's iſland, Rupert's river, Port Nelſon, and New Severn.

In this year the Engliſh Eaſt-India company loſt one of the beſt factories which they had ever poſſeſſed in all India, occaſioned by a quarrel between the old king of Bantam and his ſon. Our company took part with the father, as the Dutch company, on the contrary, ſided with the ſon, and ſent their forces to his aſſiſtance from Batavia, whereby the old king was vanquiſhed, and ſhut up in priſon. Hereupon the

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young king gave the Dutch poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Bantam, which commanded both the town and port, whereupon that company drove out the Engliſh company's factors and ſervants, and have ever ſince poſſeſſed the place. This is our company's account of that affair, concerning which they had many diſputes and conferences with the agents of the Dutch company; and the later publiſhed a pamphlet at London in 1688, for their vindication, the ſubſtance whereof is, that it was not the Dutch, but the young king, who drove the Engliſh from Bantam. On the other ſide, our company made it but too plainly evident, that the young king was purely the Dutch company's inſtrument for that violence, which enabled them to engroſs the entire commerce of Bantam; for which end, and at the ſame time, they got him to expel the French, Danes, and Portugueſe, as alſo the ſubjects of the mogul, and of all other Indian nations, although none of theſe had been parties in the quarrel with his father. Our company alleged, moreover, that the Dutch had formerly practiſed the like, in a ſimilar caſe, at Macaſſar, and were now actually doing the ſame, in a diſpute between two rajas on the Malabar coaſt. It would be almoſt endleſs, and alſo to very little purpoſe, to enlarge on the complaints of our company againſt the Dutch, for injuries done them in India, or the Dutch company's vindication in anſwer to thoſe complaints, and their accuſations, in their turn, of wrongs done them by the Engliſh company.

The Dutch, by obtaining the command of Bantam, became entirely maſters of the weſt end of the great iſland of Java; as Batavia had long before given them a large dominion on the north ſide of it. Yet, beſides the king of Materan on the ſouth ſide of Java, there are ſtill ſeveral other leſſer ſovereigns remaining unſubdued by the Dutch company.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company now began to fortify Bencoolen in the great iſland of Sumatra; by which important ſettlement they have preſerved to England the pepper trade, which otherwiſe would have been loſt to our company, after being driven from Bantam. This fort coſt our company for completing it, in about ten years time, no ſmaller a ſum than L250,000.

1683.—It was about this time that the uſeful conveyance of letters and parcels by the penny-poſt was firſt ſet up in London and its ſuburbs, by a private undertaker, named Murray, (an upholſterer by trade) who afterward aſſigned the ſame to one Dockwra, who carried it on ſucceſsfully for a number of years, till the government laid claim to that project, as connected, and partly interfering, with the general poſt-office, which was part of the crown revenue; it was therefor annexed to that revenue, in lieu of which Mr. Dockwra had a yearly penſion of L200 ſettled on him for life: but the firſt mention we find of this revenue in the ſtatute book was not till the year 1711, as will be ſeen under that year.

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It was in the year 1683 that moſt authors reckon France to have been in the meridian of power and glory; for at this time the produce of the ſeveral branches of her revenue was reckoned annually to amount to - Livres. 215,566,633

And, in the opinion of many who have made ſtrict inquiry into her revenue ſince that period, ſhe ſeems to have gradually ſunk in this reſpect, ſo that, according to a well-written piece, in Engliſh, publiſhed in 1742, entitled, an Enquiry into the revenue and trade of France, the annual revenue in 1733 did not amount to more than 140,278,473

Difference between the years 1683 and 1733, - 75,288,160

This is indeed a very great difference, and yet much of it may be accounted for from the unbounded ambition of Louis XIV in draining his kingdom of men and money for his wars, it being the opinion of ſome, that ever ſince his invaſion of Holland in 1672, his revenue gradually ſunk, and the price of French lands therewith alſo ſunk; and from, ſoon after this time, expelling a vaſt number of his moſt induſtrious proteſtant ſubjects, who, beſides the wealth of many of them, carried along with them their arts and induſtry, and taught the nations, who wiſely, as well as piouſly, received them, almoſt all kinds of French manufactures; hereby it was, that France ſoon began to feel a great abatement of her exports of manufactures, both to England and Holland.

1. With reſpect to England, France formerly ſupplied her with manufactured ſilks of all ſorts, to the value in ſterling money, of about - - - - - - L600,000 but now none at all.

2. With linen, ſail-cloth, and canvas, to about L700,000; but ſince the high duties we have laid on French goods, amounting to a prohibition, theſe are partly manufactured at home, and partly imported from Holland, Germany, and Ruſſia, (and more lately from Scotland and Ireland) who take off our own goods in return. Deducting, therefor, about L200,000 for French cambrics, which, in time of peace, are ſaid to come by way of Dunkirk, &c. the clear annual loſs to France, in this article, will be - 500,000

3. In beaver hats, in glaſs, watches, and clocks, - 220,000
(Since entirely our own manufactures, of which we alſo export a great quantity.)

4. In paper of all kinds, of which we now make much at home, and the reſt we take of Holland and Genoa, - 90,000

5. In iron ware, which we formerly had from Auvergne,

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bu- now make better and cheaper at Birmingham, Sheffield, &c. and of which alſo we export immenſe quantities to our plantations, as well as to ſundry parts of Europe, -

6. In ſhalloons, tammies, &c. from Picardy and Champaigne, now made better at home, of which alſo much is exported - - - - - 40,000

7. In French wines, inſtead of which we now take thoſe of Portugal in return for our own manufactures, - 150,000

8. In French brandies, 2000 tons, (which is leſs than formerly, owing to the great improvement of our own diſtillery, and to the much increaſed taſte for plantation rum) at L40 per ton, - - - - 200,000

Total loſs per annum to France, by England's great improvement in manufactures, and turning her imports into more profitable channels, - - - L1,880,000

With reſpect to the Dutch, they had formerly but few, and moſtly inconſiderable, manufactures of their own; they contented themſelves with being the common carriers of the manufactures of France and other parts of Europe from one country to another, and their immenſe fiſhery; but now they make vaſt quantities of rich ſilks and velvets, beſides their woollen, linen, and paper, manufactures, &c. So that (according to Mr Burriſh's *Account of the Dutch trade*) they do not, in our times, take off above half the quantity from France they formerly did, or about - - - - L600,000

2. In hats (moſt of their finer ones coming from England) they have abated about - - - - 217,000

3. The like in glaſs, clocks, watches, and houſehold furniture, (chiefly of late years from England) ſaved about - 160,000

4. The like of fringes, gloves, and paper, - - 260,000

5. Linen, canvas, and ſail-cloth, - - - 165,000

6. Saffron, ſoap, woad, honey, and woollen yarn, abated about - - - - 300,000

Total of the former Dutch imports leſſened yearly, - 1,702,000

Total decreaſe of Engliſh and Dutch imports from France yearly, ſince about the year 1683, - - L3,582,000

If ſo great a loſs could be exactly aſcertained, which is not here pretended to, though probably near the mark, and conſidering alſo all the other conduct of Louis XIV, we are not much to be ſurpriſed at the decreaſe of the French revenues, even after allowing much for the late great increaſe of the commerce of the French American colonies, and alſo of their territory by the addition of Lorrain.

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The Engliſh interlopers to Eaſt-India becoming ſo very numerous, our Eaſt-India company this year obtained a new charter from King Charles II, (being his fifth charter to them) whereby all former charters were confirmed, and they were empowered to ſeize the ſhips and merchandize of the interlopers, with the forfeiture of one half to the king, and the other half to the company, who were thereby empowered to raiſe, train, and muſter, ſuch military forces, as they ſhould judge requiſite; and at their forts, factories &c. to exerciſe martial law. Moreover, for redreſſing injuries and wrongs committed on the high ſeas within their limits, a court of judicature might be erected by the company, to conſiſt of one civilian and two merchants, who were to determine all caſes of forfeitures and ſeizures of ſhips and goods within their limits, and all maritime and mercantile bargains, policies of inſurance, bills, bonds, contracts, charter-parties, wages of mariners, treſpaſſes on the high ſeas, &c.

The people of the iſle of St. Helena being this year in a ſtate of rebellion and inſurrection, and the company being enabled by their new charter to reduce them to obedience, executed ſome perſons who tumultuouſly refuſed to pay certain taxes, which they alleged to be contrary to their contract with the company when they went to ſettle there: a great clamour was thereupon raiſed by their widows and relations, whoſe caſe being laid before the houſe of commons in the year 1685, that houſe voted what the company had thereby done to be arbitrary and illegal, which created the company many enemies. Their ſtock, however, at this time ſold from 360 to 500 per cent.

This year the Turks, inſtigated by Louis XIV of France, and by the Hungarian malcontents, and encouraged by the feebleneſs of the emperor Leopold, made their way through Hungary, and ſat down before Vienna with 150,000 men. The taking of this city would have opened a way for the Turks and French to conquer much, if not all Germany; the apprehenſion whereof made moſt part of Europe tremble, and England in particular, while her monarch cared for nothing but his pleaſures and arbitrary power. Providence, however, fruſtrated thoſe great enterpriſes, by the junction of John Sobieſky, king of Poland, with the duke of Lorrain and the imperial army, whereby the ſiege was raiſed, and the Turks forced to retreat precipitately through Hungary, with the loſs of all that they had conquered in that kingdom. The imperialiſts ſoon reduced all Tranſylvania, as the Venetians did all the Morea, the city and territory of Athens, and the iſle of Scio, which, however, they again loſt in the year following. Could they have held that iſland, it would in ſome meaſure have cut off the Turks from a maritime communication with their territories in the Archipelago, Aſia, and Egypt. Thus the Turks, who, for two centuries paſt, had extended their boundaries as far as, and in ſome parts farther than, the Roman

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empire in its meridian glory, northward, eaſtward, and ſouthward, now received a conſiderable check; but they have never yet been able to get ground weſtward, maugre all their bold efforts againſt the eaſtern ſhores of Italy, and alſo in this and the preceding renowned ſiege of Vienna.

This year, Dr. Hugh Chamberlain, a phyſician, and one Robert Murray, both great projectors, made a mighty ſtir with their ſcheme of a bank, for circulating bills of credit on merchandize to be pawned therein, and for lending money to the induſtrious poor on pawns, at ſix per cent intereſt: yet it came to nothing.

This year King Charles ſent Lord Dartmouth, attended by the able Mr. Pepys, ſecretary of the admiralty, with 20 ſhips of war, to demoliſh the town, caſtle, and mole, of Tangier, and to choke up its harbour. It was ſaid to be very ſtrong when the Portugueſe delivered it up to England in the year 1662, but King Charles rendered it almoſt impregnable. He, for the ſecurity of its haven and ſhipping, conſtructed a ſuperb mole, the extremities whereof run out 600 yards into the ſea; and its ſtones were as ſtrongly cemented together as if it had been one entire rock, inſomuch, that they were forced to drill it in many parts, and ſo to blow it up piece-meal, whereby it took up ſix months in its entire demolition. The mole had been made extremely commodious for our ſhipping and commerce, by reaſon of its ſituation on the African ſide of the Straits.

1684.—In April 1684 Lord Dartmouth returned to England with the garriſon, artillery, and ſtores. As ſundry towns on the ſame ſhore are ſtill held by Spain and Portugal, Tangier would probably, at this day, have been leſs an object of jealouſy to the other European powers than Gibraltar is on the oppoſite ſhore: but whether its harbour and ſituation on the ſouth ſhore, where the current is ſaid to run much ſtronger into the Straits than on the oppoſite ſhore, would have in all reſpects equally anſwered our commercial and political ends, is a point we will not preſume to determine. Yet we imagine it will ſcarcely be denied, that our retaining it, along with Gibraltar, would have been a conſiderable additional ſecurity to our commerce, and poſſibly alſo an augmentation of our naval power and influence, by keeping conſtantly a ſquadron of ſhips in ſo ſecure a port. Leaving this point, however, for ſtateſmen to determine, we ſhall only add what ſome hiſtorians farther relate, viz. that the rubbiſh of the demoliſhed mole, and of the walls of the town, being thrown into the harbour, has ſo effectually choked it up, that it can never hereafter be a commodious port, which, however, is at leaſt doubtful till a trial ſhall be attempted. Mr. Burchett, in his Naval hiſtory, relates, 'that by our king's direction there were 'buried amongſt the ruins a conſiderable number of milled crown 'pieces of his majeſty's coin, which, poſſibly many centuries hence

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'may declare to ſucceeding ages, that that place was once a member 'of the Britiſh empire.' And (let us juſt ſubjoin) who can tell but that hereafter it may be judged the intereſt of the Britiſh empire to reaſſume its right to that ports? More eſpecially, if what is ſaid by ſome be true, that the foundation of its demoliſhed mole, as well as of its walls, remain entire, and that it is very poſſible for its haven to be entirely cleared of the rubbiſh. Profeſſor Oakley, in his Account of ſouth-weſt Barbary, thinks it would be an enterpriſe worth attempting, and eaſily to be effected, to recover the place again. For, ſays he, if 2000 men were to go, with three men of war and two bomb-ketches, they might make themſelves maſters of it in twenty-four hours time: for upon the heaving of a ſcore of bombs, not one ſoul of the Moors would ſtay within the town, and then the ſoldiers might land at pleaſure, who would have nothing elſe to do but to plant their guns on the walls, and by night to empty a few places of the ditches that are filled.

The French hitherto miſmanaged their Eaſt-India company: for though they kept up the figure of a great ſociety, yet, upon a full ſtate of their circumſtances, it now plainly appeared they had actually run out half their capital, or about L300,000 ſterling. Whereupon it was reſolved to put that company upon a new bottom, laying aſide the method of chambers of directors in the ſea-ports, which had been ſet up in imitation of the Dutch company, and to place its entire management in twelve directors reſiding at Paris, with proper ſalaries. This company had, in the year 1670, ſurrendered their property of the iſland of Madagaſcar; and their king, in the year 1685, in confirming their new conſtitution, left them at liberty either to reſume Madagaſcar, or to leave it in his hands, and they choſe the later. There were ſundry cauſes of the company's misfortunes, as their war with Holland from 1672 to 1678, the mercenary management of their ſervants in India, and eſpecially their intermeddling ſo boldly, agreeably to the genius of their nation, in the affairs of the kingdom of Siam, whereby the king of Siam was murdered in his palace, and the French garriſon totally deſtroyed, after they had been at the expenſe of ſending thither a ſquadron of ſhips, with land-forces, for making that king more abſolute than the people liked him to be, and flattered themſelves with converting all Siam to their chriſtian religion. This was the ſtate of that company, when Pont-Chartrain ſucceeded Colbert as prime miniſter. He was far from being a friend to this company, as will briefly appear hereafter.

In this year we have the lord chief-juſtice Pollexfen's argument, as ſo termed, printed in a ſuit brought by the Eaſt-India company againſt Thomas Sands, who had fitted out a ſhip for India without being licenced by that company. 1ſt, Sands in his defence, pleaded a ſtatute [18 *Edw. III, c.* 3] whereby it is enacted, that the ſeas ſhall be open for all merchants to paſs with their merchandize wherever they pleaſe.

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2dly, The ſtatute [21 *Jac. I, c.* 3] declaring all monopolies to be againſt the common law. 3dly, That the grant of any ſole trade whatever is contrary to magna charta, [9 *Hen. III, c.* 30] and to divers other antient ſtatutes, as 25 *Edw. III, c.* 2, 2 *Ric. II, c.* 1, and 11 *Ric. II, c.* 7, both which enact, that all letters-patent and commands, to the contrary of the freedom of commerce, ſhall be void. Then he proceeds to ſhew, that the Eaſt-India company is a true monopoly, as deſcribed by our law books, and is not like the Turkey, Ruſſia, and Hamburgh companies, where there is no joint ſtock, but every member uſes his own trade, buys and ſells his own commodities, and has his own ſervants and factors. Theſe companies only order what ſhips ſhall go, but leave to every member to ſend his merchandize at his own will and pleaſure; and no man is refuſed to be free of their companies that has a mind, paying ſome ſmall ſum for his freedom. But this body-politic, the inviſible corporation, trades perhaps for a million ſterling yearly. The laſt three ſales that they made came to L1,800,000, and nobody hath theſe commodities but they. No man can vote in their company unleſs he has L500 ſtock, which coſts above L1500. In ſhort, his lordſhip laboured, not unſucceſsfully, to prove the company to be a true monopoly, and Sands to be innocent, as the company was not eſtabliſhed by any act of parliament. Yet the king's order for the ſhip not to ſail obliged Sands, after a year's ſuſpenſe, to ſell his ſhip and cargo with great loſs. The ſhips and goods of ſome other interlopers, as they were then ſtiled, were likewiſe ſeized and confiſcated in the following reign, in the years 1686 and 1687: but they took out no licence from the company. All which was decided directly againſt the ſpirit and maxims of our common law, purely for ſupporting a lawleſs prerogative in the crown, which, under another monarch, ſix years after this time, was agreed to be legally diſclaimed.

About this time, (according to Dr. D'Avenant's Eſſay upon ways and means of ſupplying the war, London, 1695) the poor-rate, or the expenſe of maintaining the poor of England, came to about L665,000 yearly: and, England, being certainly richer than it was then, it is the general opinion, that in our days it coſts the nation about a million of money. And it is much to be feared, with our author, that as this money is managed in moſt places, inſtead of relieving ſuch as are truely poor and impotent, which the laws deſign, it ſerves only to nouriſh and continue vice and ſloth in the nation. Such a patriot ſpirit may, it is to be hoped, ſome time or other ſtart up in the great council of the nation, as ſhall be able to deviſe an effectual means of obviating the too juſt objections againſt the preſent legal methods of providing for our poor, ſo as to ſave to the nation the greateſt part of the expenſe, and at the ſame time find uſeful employment for the greateſt part of the poor, now maintained in ſloth at the public expenſe.

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Louis XIV of France, in the plenitude of his power, delighted to exert his inſolent ſuperiority by heaping public diſgrace on feebler ſtates. Of this we have a pregnant inſtance in his treatment of the decayed republic of Genoa. He pretended, in the year 1682, that the republic had held certain ſecret practices with the Spaniſh governor of Milan, of which he accuſed and admoniſhed them by his ambaſſador St. Olon.

The duke of Mantua had made a treaty with Louis to take all the ſalt uſed in his country from France. St. Olon demanded of Genoa, not only a free paſſage for the ſalt through their territories, but alſo leave to erect magazines thereof at Savona. And he alſo demanded that the republic ſhould pay to the heirs of the count de Lavagne, formerly a rebel Genoeſe, who were then ſettled in France, the amount of the effects which that count's rebellion had made to be forfeited to the ſtate.

Both theſe modeſt demands were juſtly looked on with indignation by the Genoeſe, more eſpecially that of the ſalt, as interfering with their own commerce. The French author of the Hiſtory of Genoa nevertheleſs adds, that, though this demand might indeed ſeem ſomewhat uncommon, yet the republic on this occaſion ought to have yielded in favour of a prince, now looked upon by all the world as the arbiter of the fate of Europe.

There was yet a third inſtance of inſolence which exceeded both the former, viz. Louis's declaration, that in caſe Genoa ſhould ſend to ſea four new galleys they had juſt built, he would conſtrue it as an hoſtility againſt himſelf, and would in that caſe ſeize on all their ſhips and effects, wherever they could be found. In ſhort, Spain having broke with France, in the year 1684, and the Genoeſe refuſing to comply with the above arbitrary demands, and putting themſelves under the protection of Spain, Louis determined to bring down their pride, as he termed it, by bombarding their ſtately capital city, and laying it almoſt entirely in aſhes with his bombs and cannon, and thereby alſo deſtroying multitudes of their citizens. Not content with this cruel proof of his power and reſentment, he obliged the republic, by a treaty in the year 1685, to ſend the reigning doge, or head of their ſtate, in his ducal robes to Verſailles, with four of the principal ſenators, there ſolemnly to aſk pardon of the grand monarch in the moſt abject manner: they were thereby alſo bound to diſarm their new galleys, and to reduce their naval force to its former ſtate of ſix galleys only. So low was this ſtate now fallen, whoſe naval power had formerly been the terror of all the ſtates on both ſides of the Mediterranean. They were moreover obliged to diſcharge all the Spaniſh troops quartered on their territories, to renounce the league with Spain made ſince 1683, and finally, to pay 100,000 crowns to the heirs of their rebel ſubject, &c. After their

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humble compliance with these and such articles, Louis condescended to permit this miserably shattered people to exist as a free state. The unparalleled article of obliging the reigning doge of Genoa, who represents the majesty of the republic, to leave the seat of sovereignty, and in his robes of state to abase himself before the grand monarch, occasioned a well-known witty reply of that doge to a question of a French courtier, who asking him, which was the greatest rarity of all the fine things he had seen at Paris? (which, after his humiliation, Louis had commanded to be shewn to him) facetiously replied, that he thought himself the greatest rarity he had seen at Paris.

1685.—We are now come to the famous revocation of what was before deemed the perpetual and irrevocable edict of Nantes, by which the protestants in France enjoyed the free and public exercise of their religion; a revocation which, on one hand, proved very lamentable to many hundred thousands of honest and innocent people in that kingdom, more especially to such as by age and infirmities were disabled from seeking an asylum elsewhere: but which, on the other hand, was productive of much good to almost all the protestant countries of Europe, but more especially to the commerce of Holland and England, while it greatly diminished that of France, and deprived her of great sums of money carried away by those refugees into other countries.

It is neither our province nor intent to describe Louis's motives for setting on foot a cruel persecution of so many of his best and most industrious subjects, of which so much has been written and published in most European languages, our proper province being purely to shew its very considerable influence on the commerce and manufactures of the other nations of Europe. The people, whom Louis thus violently forced out of his kingdom, were, generally throughout all France, the best merchants, manufacturers, and artificers, of that kingdom. There are very various accounts of the total number of them: those who reckon up all who retired from France some time before, as well as immediately upon, and also some years after, this revocation, go so high as one million of men, women, and children. Possibly this may be somewhat over-reckoned. Others, reckoning only those who withdrew immediately upon the revocation, make them only somewhat more than 300,000 persons. Those who had most money retired into England and Holland; but the most industrious part of them settled in Brandenburgh, where they introduced the manufactures of cloth, serges, stuffs, druggets, crapes, caps, stockings, hats, and also the dying of all sorts of colours. They were in number about 20,000 at first, but they soon multiplied: and soon also made ample returns to their generous benefactor the elector Frederick William. Berlin now had goldsmiths, jewellers, watchmakers, and carvers: and such as were settled in the open country planted tobacco, and variety of fruits and pulse. Others make the total num-

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ber of refugees to be 800,000. A part of the ſuburbs of London, ſays Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV, (meaning Spitalfields) was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in ſilk. For other arts, ſome thouſands of them helped to people and increaſe the ſuburbs of Soho and St. Giles's. Others of them carried to England the art of making cryſtal in perfection, which for that reaſon was about this ſame time loſt in France. He ſays, that only 600,000 fled from the perſecution of Louis, carrying with them their riches, their induſtry, and implacable hatred againſt their king. And wherever they ſettled, they became an addition to the enemies of France, and greatly inflamed thoſe powers, already inclined to war. It may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange that more of them did not ſettle in England, conſidering the general liberty of this free nation; yet, through the too general and impolitic averſion of the Engliſh to all ſtrangers, even though ſuffering for the proteſtant religion, and their monopolizing-corporation cities and towns; and, on the other hand, the great immunities, &c. allowed them in Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Pruſſia, we are not to wonder that not above 50,000 of them did actually ſettle in England, where, inſtead of doing us hurt, they have proved a great and manifeſt bleſſing, by improving ſome of our antient arts and manufactures, and likewiſe by introducing ſundry new ones. Others, however, think, that in all there were ſettled in Great Britain and Ireland at leaſt 70,000 of thoſe refugees.

France, by its profitable commerce with England, &c. having acquired great riches in the times preceding this revocation, did not immediately feel the bad effects of driving out ſo many induſtrious merchants, manufacturers, and artificers; yet in proceſs of time ſhe found her manufactures and inland trade thereby greatly decayed. The Engliſh people, aſſiſted by thoſe refugees, ſet on foot ſundry French manufactures and fabrics, never before made in England, and which we ſhall never more take from France, as we have in moſt caſes outdone our teachers therein. But as many of thoſe refugees were eminent merchants and manufacturers, and did undoubtedly bring along with them much money and effects, I have ſeen a computation, at the loweſt ſuppoſition, of only 50,000 of thoſe people coming to Great Britain, and that, one with another, they brought L60 each in money or effects, whereby they added three millions ſterling to the wealth of Britain.

The author of the Hiſtory of the edict of Nantes, (printed at Delft, 1695) takes ſpecial notice of the great number of civil officers who had been in the French king's ſervice, ſo conſiderable as to fill all the courts of Europe with them. That, moreover, ſo many of the young nobleſſe, trained up for the army, withdrew at the ſame time, as to form whole companies of ſoldiers in the Dutch and Brandenburgh ſervice. In England, even in King James II's reign, large collections were made for the refugees, who, at the revolution by King William's acceſſion to

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the throne, had L15,000 yearly ſettled on ſuch as either were perſons of quality, or were through age, &c. unable to ſupport themſelves: which allowance is now reduced, as there are very few proper objects for it left alive. To the French refugees England owes the improvement of ſundry manufactures of ſlight woollen ſtuffs, of ſilk, linen, paper, glaſs, hats, (the two laſt ſince brought to the utmoſt perfection by us.) The ſilks called alamodes and luſtrings were entirely owing to them; alſo brocades, ſatins, black and coloured mantuas, black paduaſoys, ducapes, watered tabbies, black velvets; alſo watches, cutlery-ware, clocks, jacks, locks, ſurgeons inſtruments, hard-ware, toys, &c.

The two firſt kings of Pruſſia cauſed collections to be made for them throughout their dominions; they alſo ſettled ſtipends on their clergy, built them churches, granted them immunities from taxes and offices. Thoſe princes actually placed their agents on the confines of France to conduct the refugees to Brandenburgh, and bear their expenſes all the way. They alſo ſettled great numbers of them in their new kingdom of Pruſſia, which was then but thin of people, where they had lands aſſigned them, gratis and tax free, as alſo in Brandenburgh: in Berlin they have ſince built many new ſtreets, and greatly improved the whole country, by manufactures, arts, agriculture, &c. Thoſe kings divided them into colonies, and appointed them magiſtrates of their own.

The great elector Frederick William allowed them a yearly penſion of 40,000 crowns; he brought in the uſe of poſt-houſes, till then unknown in Germany. The ſtreets of his towns were paved and lighted by lanthorns; for till then the courtiers were obliged to go on ſtilts to Potſdam, when the court reſided there, becauſe of the heaps of dirt in the ſtreets.

'Nothing,' ſays the author of Memoirs of the Dutch commerce, 'has increaſed the inhabitants as well as manufactures of Holland ſo 'much as the French proteſtant refugees, who were almoſt all of them 'merchants and artiſans.' And even this French and popiſh biſhop adds, that 'whenever trade is clogged or conſtrained in any country, 'it will retire to other countries where it can have more ſafety.' The author of the Hiſtory of the edict of Nantes, obſerves, 'that the li'berality of the ſtates-general of the United Netherlands to thoſe in'nocent refugees was ſo great, that it can ſcarcely be too amply de'ſcribed. They ſettled a fund for an incredible number of penſions 'to military officers, gentlemen, and miniſters, and for ſupplies to vir'gins and ladies of quality. Great ſums alſo were raiſed for ſupport'ing their poor, for whom liberal collections were made in all their 'towns and villages: and the prince and princeſs of Orange were 'bright examples of that charity, both before and after they became 'monarchs of Britain. The prince of Eaſt Friſeland alſo teſtified his 'zeal for their relief.'

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Voltaire [*Age of Louis XIV*, *V.* ii, *c.* 2] ſays, that near 50,000 families left France in the ſpace of three years, and were afterwards followed by others, who introduced their arts, manufactures, and riches, among ſtrangers: that almoſt all the north part of Germany (a country hitherto rude and void of induſtry) received a new face from the multitude of refugees tranſlated thither, peopling entire cities, where ſtuffs, lace, hats, ſtockings, formerly imported from France, were now made in thoſe countries.

Neither were the proteſtant cantons of Switzerland leſs kind and bountiful to ſuch of thoſe good people who took ſhelter amongſt them, by ſupplying them with every neceſſary, and even ſettling penſions on them. In a few months after this revocation, the city of Geneva doubled her inhabitants: yet, leſt France ſhould reſent it, her magiſtrates were obliged to ſend them away again. The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel received them in great numbers, and was extremely kind to them. Even the lutheran princes received them kindly, and erected churches, ſchools, and hoſpitals, for them, particularly the princes of Lunenburgh, the free cities of Germany, the margrave of Bareith, &c. They, in ſhort, ſpread themſelves throughout every other part of Europe where any degree of freedom or toleration of private judgment in matters of religion was allowed, as in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Livonia, Poland, and Ruſſia. Some even wandered as far as our American colonies: and wherever they were received, they became a ſubſtantial bleſſing to their benefactors by improving their trade and manufactures: moreover, many of them having been eminent merchants, ſuch of thoſe who fixed in England and Holland, ſettled correſpondences all over the world, greatly to the increaſe of commerce.

On this intereſting ſubject we can ſcarcely judge it a digreſſion to join with Penſionary De Witt (in his *Intereſt of Holland*) in behalf of the freedom of toleration of religion, 'as being highly conducive to the 'increaſe of commerce, preſerving our people at home, and alluring 'ſtrangers to come and ſettle with us: for,' adds he, 'all civilized peo-'ple muſt be ſuppoſed to pitch upon ſome outward ſervice of God as 'the beſt, and to be averſe from all other forms; and ſuch perſons 'will abhor even to travel, and much more to reſide, in countries where 'they are not permitted to ſerve God outwardly after the manner they 'like beſt. Yet the clergy (almoſt everywhere but in Holland) having 'a ſettled livelihood, which depends not on the political welfare of the 'land, do, through human frailty, teach and preach up all that can have 'a tendency to their own credit, profit, and eaſe, even though it be to 'the ruin of their own country.' He then goes on to ſhew how they perſecute diſſenters from them, *odio theologico*, as he phraſes it: 'where-'as,' adds he, 'all chriſtian clergymen ought to reſt ſatisfied, according 'to their maſter's doctrine, with enlightening and perſuaſion alone, and

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'ſhould be far from compulſion, either by ſpiritual or bodily puniſh-
'ments. How prejudicial ſuch coercive practices are, eſpecially in rich
'trading cities, Lubeck, Cologne, and Aix-la-Chapelle, may inſtruct us,
'where both the rulers and ſubjects of thoſe lately ſo famous cities
'have, ſince the reformation, loſt moſt of their wealth, chiefly by ſuch
'compulſion in religion; many of their inhabitants being thereby driv-
'en out, and ſtrangers likewiſe diſcouraged from coming to reſide in
'them.'

In this firſt year of King James II an act of parliament [*c.* 4] granted to him new duties on tobacco and ſugar; and this, we muſt obſerve, was the firſt time that tobacco and ſugar of our own colonies were particularly taxed by name; there being till now only 12*d* per pound (or 5 per cent on their value) laid on them, under the general name of poundage, as on all other imported goods: but ſince this time thoſe two moſt valuable commodities have proved very conſiderable aids to the nation in its revenue.

French merchandize being prohibited to be imported into England in the year 1678, as we have ſeen, for three years to come, and to the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament, and there having been no parliament during the remainder of King Charles II's reign, King James II, in the very beginning of his reign, having great occaſion for the friendſhip of the French king for enabling him to accompliſh the two grand points he had in view, viz. the eſtabliſhment of popery and of deſpotic power in England, got an act of parliament paſſed [*c.* 6] abſolutely repealing that prohibition; whereupon enſued an inundation of French commodities, to the value of above four millions ſterling, within the compaſs of leſs than three years, whereby all the evils formerly complained of were renewed, inſomuch that the nation would have been ſoon beggared, had it not been for the happy revolution in the year 1688, when all commerce with France was effectually barred.

It appears from the cuſtom-houſe books that the linen alone imported in the year 1686 was valued at no leſs than L398,611 : 14 : 10, beſides clandeſtine importations thereof: and at a medium of three years, viz. 1686-7-8, there were annually imported from France 18,150 tons of wine, and 4000 of brandy.

And in the ſame three years there were upon an average imported annually from France,

Linens to the value of	-	L700,000	0 0
Luſtrings and alamodes	-	212,500	0 0
Other ſilk fabrics	- -	500,000	0 0
Paper	- - - -	50,000	0 0

[*Britiſh merchant, pp.* 319, 325.]

Such, however, was the kindneſs of Louis in return, that but two

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years after this (1687) he prohibited the importation of moſt of our woollen manufactures into France: yet King James, though naturally inclined to favour commerce, ſacrificed the great intereſts of his kingdom to his enthuſiaſm and his high ideas of his royal prerogative.

By an act of parliament [15 *Car. II, c.* 14] the revenue of the general poſt-office, and afterwards alſo L24,000 yearly out of the hereditary exciſe, was ſettled on the duke of York and his heirs male. In this firſt year of that prince's reign, by the name of King James II, his obſequious parliament enacted, [*c.* 12] that both thoſe revenues ſhould hereafter be to him, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, one entire and indefeaſible eſtate in fee-ſimple: ſo that the poſt-office revenue was made the king of Great Britain's private eſtate forever, and therefor is never to be accounted for by him to parliament, as all public revenues are. It was now eſtimated at L65,000 per annum.

For the encouragement of ſhip-building, greatly decayed in Newcaſtle, Hull, Yarmouth, Ipſwich, and other ports of England on the eaſtern coaſts, occaſioned chiefly by employing foreign-built ſhips in the coal-trade, and other inland or coaſting trades, there was a duty of 5*ſ* per ton laid on all ſuch ſhipping by act of parliament, [1 *Ja. II, c.* 18] one half thereof to be for the uſe of the cheſt at Chatham, and the other to the corporation of the trinity-houſe, towards the relief of wounded and decayed ſeamen, their widows and children.

The weſtern ſuburbs of London continually increaſing, more eſpecially in the pariſh of St. Martin's in the fields, on a parcel of ground called Kemps-field, whereon, towards the later part of the reign of King Charles II, ſundry new ſtreets were erected, the inhabitants obtained an act of parliament [1 *Ja. II, c.* 20] to enable them to erect the ſame into a diſtinct pariſh, by the name of St. Anne's, within the liberty of Weſtminſter, and to tax themſelves for finiſhing their new church of that name.

Another act of parliament, the laſt act paſſed in King James's reign, [1 *Ja. II, c.* 22] erects another pariſh in the ſuburbs, to be called St. James, in the liberty of Weſtminſter, till now part of the pariſh of St. Martin's in the fields. It appears by that act, that the earl of St. Alban's, (Henry Jermyn, then deceaſed) and the other inhabitants of the new ſtreets called Jermyn-ſtreet, &c. in a place formerly called St. James's fields, had been at the expenſe of above L7000 for erecting their new church and laying out their churchyard; but not having yet finiſhed the church, nor a manſion-houſe for its miniſter, &c. they were hereby enabled ſo to do by a rate on the inhabitants. It appears by this act, that ſundry parts of this new pariſh were not then built up into ſtreets, which, however, are ſo in our days.

About this ſame time, and particularly in this ſame year, there was

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not a little written both in England and Holland on the ſubject of making ſea-water freſh. Propoſals were made, and patents granted, for the ſame, as being of ſo great a benefit to ſailors on long voyages; yet even to this day, notwithſtanding ſundry later propoſals, there has been no effectual progreſs made therein.

In this firſt year of King James II's reign, he coined gold of 22 carrats fine and two carrats allay into L44 : 10 by tale per lb. of gold, viz. into pieces of 10, 20, and 40*ſ*, and L5 pieces: and his ſilver coins contained in a pound weight of the old ſtandard 62*ſ* by tale, viz. crowns, half-crowns, ſhillings, ſixpences, groats, twopences, and pence. The ſtandards the ſame as in our days.

Pope Innocent XI, being indebted 40 millions of Roman crowns, (equal to about 11 millions ſterling) executed a ſcheme of reduction, probably copied from what had been done by the ſtates of Holland in the year 1655, as we have ſhewn under that year.

The pope finding that his public debts, though bearing only 4 per cent intereſt, were now ſold ſo high as 122 per cent, in the firſt place took care to provide three or four millions of crowns in ready caſh, and thereupon iſſued a declaration, that ſuch as would for the future be ſatisfied with an intereſt of 3 per cent, ſhould declare their conſent by a limited time; and that ſuch as choſe rather to be paid off their principal debt, might come and receive it. This option made all the creditors accept the propoſal of continuing at 3 per cent, by payments of one half per cent every two months, rather than take their principal money: and it ſeems, though the intereſt was thus reduced, the principal, in a very ſhort time after, roſe at market to 112 per cent. [*Biſhop Burnet's Letters and travels.*]

This is the ſecond inſtance of the good ſucceſs of a national ſinking fund in Europe.

The king of France, obſerving that the great extent of the limits of the Senegal company (no leſs than about fifteen hundred leagues of the coaſt of Africa) excluded all his other ſubjects from trading in negro ſlaves for the uſe of the French Weſt-India colonies, now eſtabliſhed a new Guinea company, with an excluſive right for twenty years to trade in negroes, gold duſt, &c. between the river Sierra Leona and the Cape of Good Hope; the coaſt from Sierra Leona to Cape Blanco being reſerved to the Senegal company.

On this occaſion it will be no digreſſion to remark the great alteration which the tranſplantation of animals, as well as of vegetables, makes by the difference of climate, air, latitude, &c. The Portugueſe ſettled in Angola, &c. on the African coaſt, in a few generations gradually contract the complection of the natives, even their woolly hair, thick lips, and flat noſes; and negroes born in Europe become gradually more

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light-coloured*. Our Engliſh maſtiff-dogs are known to degenerate on the continent. Spaniſh horſes do the ſame in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; yet in Chili alone they are ſaid to meliorate the breed. By tranſplanting the vines on the banks of the Rhine the rich wine of the Canaries was firſt produced. Some ſay alſo, that from the ſame vine, tranſplanted a ſecond time to the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope, has been produced that moſt delicious Cape wine; though others think it ſprung from a Burgundy vine. The China oranges, which are ſent in ſuch immenſe quantities from Portugal all over Europe, came originally from a China plant, and have ſince been tranſplanted, and proſper in Spain and Italy. And the like may be obſerved of many other fruits, plants, and vegetables, which, through the advantages of commerce and navigation, all the countries of Europe now enjoy, though unknown to older times.

Although the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's affairs were ſaid at this time to have been ſo proſperous, that their profits in nine years time, viz. from 1676 to 1685, amounted to L963,639, yet, as all things on earth are unſtable, a reverſe of fortune happened at this very time.

It ſeems the Indians had killed ſome of the company's people at Hughley, in the bay of Bengal, and that thereupon their governors commenced war againſt the mogul.

The company alleged, that the proper origin of this war was the falſe reports induſtriouſly ſpread by the interlopers againſt them; ſuch as, that the company was fallen under the diſpleaſure of our king, that our nation at home was under great diſturbances, and that they themſelves (the interlopers) were the true company. They alſo had corrupted many of the company's ſervants, whereby a revolt had been occaſioned at Bombay, and alſo at St. Helena, where they ſet up for themſelves. The company farther urged, that this dividing of the Engliſh intereſt in India made the mogul's governors and rajas break through all their antient engagements and ſtipulations with the company, and deprive them of many valuable privileges in India, and alſo extort great ſums of money from both parties: for the company alleged that the interlopers ſubmitted to any impoſitions, ſo as they might carry on the trade; they having, moreover, formerly given a handle to the Dutch to expell the company from Bantam in the year 1682.

* Mr. Anderſon has here fallen into an error in common with many others, who, proceeding upon miſrepreſentations, or theories imagined by themſelves, or implicitly adopted from others, have neglected real facts. But it is a certain and well-known truth, that white people never become black or woolly, neither do negroes become white, by the influence of climate. The deſcendants of the firſt negroes, who were carried to the coldeſt regions of North-America, are as black and as woolly as their African anceſtors were. The deſcendants of the firſt white men who ſettled in the Weſt-Indies, *if born of white women*, have nothing in common with the negroes in their perſons. The change effected upon the Portugueſe on the African coaſt proceeds ſolely and entirely from copulation with black women, whereby $\frac{7}{8}$, $\frac{15}{16}$, or perhaps $\frac{63}{64}$ of their blood, are derived from negro parentage. A contrary change has in many inſtances been effected in the Weſt-Indies, where ſome, whoſe great-great-grandmothers were negroes, cannot now be diſtinguiſhed by the eye from genuine white men. *M.*

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All theſe conſiderations being laid before King James, and it being apprehended, that, unleſs ſome effectual care was ſpeedily taken, the whole Engliſh intereſt in India would be utterly loſt, a ſhip of war was immediately diſpatched to India, with orders to ſeize all interlopers, and therewith a proclamation from the king for all his ſubjects in India to repair to the company's forts and factories, and to ſubmit to their juriſdiction. The company alſo ſent out ſeveral warlike ſhips for the ſame purpoſe. Laſtly, for corroborating the whole, on the 12th of April 1686 the king granted them a new charter, (being their ſixth ſince the reſtoration) wherein he recites at large the five preceding charters, and ſubjoins, 'that whereas ſeveral perſons, in contempt of thoſe charters, 'have of late years preſumed, without licence from the company, to 'ſend out ſhips and to trade within their limits, to the company's great 'damage and the deſtruction of that trade: he, well weighing how 'highly it imports the honour and welfare of the realm to redreſs ſuch 'diſorders, and to improve that trade to the utmoſt; and being fully 'ſatisfied that the ſame cannot be maintained and carried on to na-'tional advantage but by one general joint ſtock, and that a looſe and 'general trade will be the ruin of the whole; being alſo ſatisfied that 'the trade has been managed by the company to the honour and pro-'fit of this nation, and being deſirous to encourage the company in 'their difficult and hazardous trade and adventures to thoſe remote 'parts, he ratifies all the preceding charters in their favour forever, 'and in their fulleſt extent, notwithſtanding any nonuſer, miſuſer, or 'abuſer; and farther, grants to the company, and their reſpective 'preſidents, agents, chiefs, and councils, in India, or to any three of 'them, (whereof ſuch preſident, agent, or chief, to be one) power to 'adminiſter to all perſons employed by the company the oath taken 'by every freeman of the company, and ſuch other lawful oaths as 'their court of directors ſhall appoint. The uſe of the martial law ſhall 'extend to the iſland of St. Helena, and to the company's fort of Prya-'man on the weſt coaſt of Sumatra, as well as to their other limits. 'And farther, underſtanding that many of the native princes and go-'vernors of India, &c. taking opportunity from the diviſions, diſtrac-'tions, or rebellions, amongſt the Engliſh, occaſioned by the late licen-'tious trading of interlopers, have of late violated many of the com-'pany's privileges, ſurpriſed their ſervants, ſhips, and goods, beſieged 'their factories, invaded their liberties, and have many other ways, 'without juſt cauſe, abuſed their chiefs and factors, to the nation's diſ-'honour: for all which the company intends to demand ſatisfaction in 'a peaceable way; and, if not obtained that way, to uſe force of arms, 'wherein they will have occaſion to uſe their ſhips in a warlike man-'ner; therefor the king hereby grants full power to the company 'to appoint admirals, vice-admirals, rear-admirals, captains, &c. from

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'time to time, who may raiſe and muſter ſeamen and ſoldiers onboard 'their ſhips, as ſhall be directed by the company, or by their captain-'general in India, who may ſeize on and compell all Engliſh interlopers 'to ſubmit, and may take their ſhips and goods; alſo to make war on 'ſuch Indian princes as may hurt the company. And in time of open 'hoſtility with any Indian nation, &c. they may, on the other ſide the 'Cape of Good Hope, uſe the martial law onboard their ſhips, as well 'as on land; reſerving, however, liberty to the king, at pleaſure, to 'revoke this grant of martial law in their ſhips. The company may 'alſo coin in their forts any ſpecies of money uſually coined by the 'princes of thoſe countries only, ſo as it be agreeable to the ſtandards 'of thoſe princes in weight and fineneſs; and that they do not coin 'any European money; and that all ſuch money ſo to be coined by 'them, and not otherwiſe, ſhall be current in any city, town, port, or 'place, within the company's limits.'

1686.—In conſequence of the great power given to the company by this charter, they proceeded rigorouſly againſt the interlopers, who, on the other hand, by their abettors and agents, did not fail to raiſe a great clamour againſt the company, who, however, continued in the exerciſe of thoſe powers till after the acceſſion of King William to the throne.

As Jamaica was hitherto principally inhabited by the military men and their offſpring, who had poſſeſſed it ever ſince it was taken in the year 1656, thoſe people, as generally diſliking agriculture, betook themſelves to cruiſing againſt the Spaniards on the American ſeas, even after peace had been concluded between England and Spain, in America; and, allured by the wealth acquired thereby, they continued that illegal practice throughout all the reign of King Charles II, and to this time, and got the appellation of the buccaneers of Jamaica, ſome of whoſe bold exploits againſt the Spaniſh towns, and ports in Mexico, &c. would paſs for mere romances, had they not been too well known by both nations *.

In this year the French, though at peace with England, in Europe, marched from Canada over land, and ſurpriſed four of the Hudſon's-bay company's forts, ſo that there only remained to us the fort at Port-Nelſon.

In November, this ſame year, the kings of England and France concluded a treaty of peace and neutrality for America, whereby,

Articles I, II) It is agreed, that there ſhall be between them a firm

* The ferocious and deſperate valour, and the aſtoniſhing ſucceſſes, of the buccaneers, ſtruck the Spaniards with ſuch a terror, that they abandoned all thoughts of navigation; and, regardleſs of what they owed to their fame, their intereſt, and their policy, they gave themſelves up to a habitual indolence, which has ever ſince been the bane of all their colonies. Such were the wonderful, important, and permament, effects produced by a handful of deſperadoes. [See *Raynal, Hiſt. philoſ. et polit. V.* v, *p.* 180.] If the induſtry and vigour of the Spaniards were equal to the local advantages they poſſeſs in Europe, America, and Aſia, they alone would drive the trade of the world. *M.*

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peace, as well in South as in North America, in both continents and iſlands, by ſea and land; and that no ſhips of either nation ſhall be permitted to invade or attack the dominions of the other in America.

III) Nor ſhall any ſoldiers, or armed men, living either in the Engliſh or French American iſlands and colonies, commit any act of hoſtility or damage to either party; nor ſhall they give any aſſiſtance or ſupplies of men or victuals to the wild Indians, with whom either king ſhall have war.

IV, V) Both kings ſhall retain and poſſeſs all the dominions and prerogatives they now enjoy in America; and, therefor, the ſubjects, inhabitants, commanders, and mariners, of each king, reſpectively, ſhall abſolutely abſtain from trading to, or fiſhing in, all or any of the places ſo poſſeſſed, or which ſhall be poſſeſſed by the other, either in their havens, bays, creeks, roads, or other places; and ſhips or veſſels, found ſo trading or fiſhing, ſhall be confiſcated with their cargoes; always provided, that the freedom of navigation be in no manner diſturbed, where nothing is committed againſt the genuine ſenſe of this treaty.

VI) Ships of war, as well as merchant ſhips, being forced, through ſtreſs of weather, or purſued by pirates and enemies, or through any other urgent neceſſity, to take ſhelter into any of the rivers, creeks, havens, ports, &c. belonging to the other in America, ſhall be treated kindly, protected, and ſupplied with refreſhments, and all things needful, at reaſonable rates, and may depart whither, and when, they ſhall pleaſe; provided they do not break bulk, nor ſell any of their cargoes, nor receive any merchandize onboard, nor employ themſelves in fiſhing, under the forfeiture of ſhips and goods. But before they enter ſuch ports, they ſhall, at coming in, hang out the flag of their nation, and ſhall alſo give notice of their ſo coming in, by firing a cannon thrice, or, if they have no cannon, a muſket thrice, otherwiſe they ſhall forfeit as above.

VII) Ships of either nation, ſtranded or ſhipwrecked, ſhall have friendly aſſiſtance and relief.

VIII) But if three or four ſhips together be driven into the ports of either nation, ſo as to give juſt ground of ſuſpicion, they ſhall ſtay no longer than the governor or other magiſtrate of ſuch port will allow them, after ſupplying them with neceſſaries as above.

IX) The king of Great Britain's ſubjects of the iſland of St. Chriſtophers may fetch ſalt from the ſalt ponds there. As, on the other hand, the French ſubjects of St. Chriſtophers may enter into the rivers of the great road, to provide themſelves with water; but both theſe mutual permiſſions muſt only be in the day-time. And they ſhall, on both ſides, hang out their flags, and fire a cannon thrice, &c. as in the ſixth article *.

* St. Chriſtophers, it muſt be remembered, was ſettled on by both nations. *A.*

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X) Neither nation ſhall harbour the barbarous or wild inhabitants and ſlaves, or the goods which they may have taken from the ſubjects of the other nation, nor ſhall they protect them.

XI) The governors, officers, and ſubjects, of either nation ſhall not moleſt nor diſturb the ſubjects of the other in ſettling their reſpective colonies, and in their commerce and navigation.

XII, XIII) The ſhips of war and privateers of either nation ſhall be ſtrictly enjoined not to injure the other, as ſhall alſo their privileged companies, otherwiſe they ſhall be puniſhed, and alſo make ſatisfaction for all damages; for which end they ſhall be obliged, before they receive their commiſſions, to give ſecurity to the amount of L1000 ſterling, or 13,000 livres; and if any ſuch ſhip has above 150 men, then for L2000 ſterling, or 26,000 livres, on pain of forfeiting their commiſſions; and the ſhip ſhall alſo be liable to make ſatisfaction for injuries and damages done by her.

XIV) The governors and officers of either nation ſhall be ſtrictly enjoined to give no aſſiſtance nor protection to any pirates, of what nation ſoever they may be; and ſhall alſo puniſh as pirates all ſuch as ſhall fit out any ſhip without lawful commiſſion and authority.

XV) No ſubject of either king ſhall take a commiſſion, or letters of mart, for privateering in America, from any prince or ſtate with which the other is at war, otherwiſe he ſhall be puniſhed as a pirate.

XVI) The French king's ſubjects ſhall have liberty to fiſh for turtles in the iſland of Cayaman *.

The other four articles contain the uſual forms of proviſos, in caſe of a rupture between the two nations, or of complaints of differences ariſing on either ſide, in America.

It is eaſy to ſee by this remarkable treaty, how egregiouſly the French king impoſed on King James. For, 1ſt, France's American iſles were then much more feeble than ours; and, as the buccaneers from Jamaica might poſſibly have made very free with them, James hereby gave them entirely up as pirates; 2dly, the *uti poſſidetis*, hereby ſtipulated, ſecured to France the poſſeſſion of ſome of her colonies, to which England, till now, had ſtrong pretenſions; and, 3dly, it may be ſaid, that by this pacification France had an advantageous reſpite for the improvement of her iſland, and continental colonies in America, and of which ſhe made a very good uſe to our coſt; 4thly, here is no mention of the four forts taken from our company in Hudſon's-bay, not known in England when this treaty was concluded.

We muſt, however, on the other hand, obſerve, that by theſe treaties of peace and neutrality, for America, 1ſt, between Spain and Holland in 1648; 2dly, between Portugal and Holland in 1661; 3dly, between England and Spain in 1670; and, 4thly, this treaty between England

* A ſmall iſland weſt of Jamaica.

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and France; the poſſeſſions of thoſe ſeveral potentates in America were aſcertained, and the freedom of commerce in thoſe ſeas was more firmly eſtabliſhed than had hitherto been effected.

The Dutch being at war with the Algerines, the later were ſhamefully encouraged therein by King James, who, for ſome time, permitted them to have the uſe of his ports, and allowed them to ſell their prizes in England, whereby they had opportunities, as obſerved by Burchett, in his Naval hiſtory, to go out as they pleaſed, and to cruiſe againſt the Hollanders, from whom, in the ſpace of ſix months, the Algerines took, in or near the Channel, above 30 rich merchant ſhips.

According to Sir William Petty's fourth eſſay on political arithmetic, (licenced in 1686, and printed in 1687) the proportion of the eight following cities, as to their numbers of inhabitants, is as follows, viz.

London, -	696,000	Rome, -	125,000
* Paris, -	488,000	Dublin, -	69,000
* Amſterdam, -	187,000	* Rouen, -	66,000
* Venice, -	134,000	* Briſtol, -	48,000

N. B. He makes the medium of the annual burials at London to be 23,212, which number, multiplied by 30, (as one out of every 30 is generally ſuppoſed to die in London in a year) gives 696,360 *.

1687.—The commiſſioners appointed by King James to treat with the French commiſſioners for the reſtitution of the forts in Hudſon's bay, taken in the preceding year, reported to him, that they had clearly made out his right to the whole bay and ſtraits, and all the adjacent lands, together with the ſole right of trading within the ſtraits and bay. The king thereupon declared, that he would inſiſt on full reſtitution and ſatisfaction to the company, whoſe loſs, by the invaſion of the French in the preceding year, amounted to L108,514 : 19 : 8, as was afterwards ſet forth by the company, in their petition to Queen Anne, in the year 1712, though never paid to this day. The reſult of this patched-up treaty with France was, that Louis agreed to reſtore thoſe forts to the company.

This year the Dutch Eaſt-India ſhips imported from Ceylon 170,000 lb. weight of cinnamon; which, though leſs in quantity than in ſome years before, does, nevertheleſs, demonſtrate the great importance of the iſland to that company.

We may here, once more, remark, that perſecution, and the dread of the prevalency of popery in this reign, as well as towards the cloſe of

* This humour of magnifying London, and leſſening Paris, and other foreign cities, was probably pleaſing to the king, but, I conceive, was far from being juſt; and, with reſpect to London, ſurely the preſent bills of mortality, in our time, muſt be egregiouſly erroneous, if, after ſo many thouſand houſes have been added, it ſcarcely exceeds that number. This, therefor, could anſwer no good end, and was only deceiving ourſelves. Poſſibly every one of the cities marked thus *, are conſiderably under-computed, but more eſpecially Paris and Amſterdam, which ſurely could anſwer no wiſe or ſolid purpoſe. *A.*

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the laſt, drove numbers of proteſtant diſſenters to ſettle in New-England, New-York, &c. which brought a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength and improvement to thoſe colonies.

Pont-Chartrain, the French prime miniſter, being an enemy to their Eaſt-India company, it is no marvel that they did not proſper. Their importing vaſt quantities of white cottons, and cauſing them to be painted in France in the manner of the Indies, drew upon them the enmity of the French manufacturers, who were much injured by the ſale of the company's cottons and ſilks. So that Pont-Chartrain this year procured an edict againſt the unlimited importation thereof, whereby the company declined more and more; and the war of the grand alliance againſt France added to their diſtreſs, from which they never recovered, till after the peace of Utrecht; in the meantime, having no ability themſelves to carry on an extenſive trade, they were conſtrained to let out their privileges to ſome private merchants of St. Maloes, who got rich by a trade in which the company could not proſper; and thus it remained till the regency of the duke of Orleans, in the minority of Louis XV, and the year 1719.

1688.—The gradual increaſe of the foreign commerce and home manufactures of England, the improvement of her lands and mines at home, and of her foreign colonies and plantations, had occaſioned very much wealth to be accumulated in the ſpace of about 150 years paſt, the nation not having been engaged much or long in foreign wars, and thoſe, too, moſtly naval wars, which had not cauſed much of our treaſure to be carried from us, any more than did our own civil wars. From theſe, and ſuch like conſiderations, ſome authors, who wrote ſoon after this time, have been of opinion, that the Engliſh nation was now in its zenith of commercial proſperity; yet, ſince that period, notwithſtanding our many, and very expenſive, foreign land wars, the great conſumers of treaſure, our commercial, as well as royal, ſhipping, have greatly increaſed; as have alſo manufactures and foreign plantations, and almoſt every part of our general commerce, both foreign and domeſtic. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be acknowleged, that about this ſame year, 1688, we were arrived at a very great degree of proſperity in all thoſe reſpects; for the proof and illuſtration of which, the following brief memoirs of ſeveral very able authors, will afford us conſiderable light, viz.

I) We have an eminent inſtance of the increaſe of England's commerce and ſhipping in only 22 years ſpace, from Dr. D'Avenant's Diſcourſes on the public revenues and trade of England, and alſo from Colliber's Hiſtory of Engliſh naval affairs, (octavo, ſecond edition, 1739) if the computations be abſolutely exact, viz. that the tonnage of the merchant ſhips of England in this year 1688 was near double to the tonnage of the year 1666.

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Alſo that the tonnage of the royal navy, which in the year 1660 was only 62,594 tons, was now increaſed to 101,032 tons.

II) D'Avenant farther acquaints us with what he muſt have been perfectly well verſed in, as he was inſpector-general of the cuſtoms, that in the year 1666 the farm of the cuſtoms of England was but L390,000 yearly. Yet, from michaelmas 1671 to michaelmas 1688, being ſeventeen years, the cuſtoms yielded net to the crown L9,447,799, which, at a medium, was, per annum, L555,752.

III) The ſame able author gives us alſo a view of the gradual increaſe of the general rental of England, occaſioned principally by the increaſe of commerce, and in part alſo by the great improvements made in lands, by incloſing, manuring, and taking in waſte grounds, and meliorating what was poor and barren, viz.

The general rental of England, for land, houſes, and mines, before we became conſiderable in trade, viz. about the year 1600, did not exceed, per annum - -	L 6,000,000	0	0
Which general rental we take now (1698) to be	14,000,000	0	0
Moreover, in 1600, the ſaid ſix millions, at 12 years purchaſe, the common price of lands at that period, was worth but - -	72,000,000	0	0
But the lands, &c. of England, at the rental of fourteen millions, and worth 18 years purchaſe, in the year 1688, amounted to - -	252,000,000	0	0

How amazing is this alteration in the ſpace of leſs than one century.

So proſperous was the Dutch Eaſt-India company at this time, according to Conſul Ker's Remarks on Holland, publiſhed at Amſterdam, 1688, and ſince in Engliſh, in Ker of Kerſland's memoirs, that they were ſaid to have 30,000 men in conſtant pay, and above 200 capital ſhips, beſide ſloops, ketches, and yachts.

The ſame author, treating of the city and republic of Hamburgh, obſerves, that its greatneſs and vaſt commerce were partly occaſioned by the reſidence of our Engliſh company of merchant-adventurers, but much more by the Netherland proteſtants, who, in the duke of Alva's time, forſook the Low countries and ſettled here; and by the proteſtants turned out of Cologne and other parts of Germany, even though Hamburgh be forced to keep 6 or 7000 men in pay, to guard againſt the continual alarms of the king of Denmark, or other neighbours, beſides two or three ſhips of war to guard their merchant ſhips from pirates, yet their wealth and trade increaſe dayly. And it is believed, that, ſmall and great, there are belonging to the commonwealth of Hamburgh, 5000 ſail of ſhips *. He adds, that the bank of Hamburgh,

* Surely this author muſt be ſomewhat miſtaken, even though he ſhould include all the hoys, lighters, &c. employed in carrying goods upon the river Elbe. *A.*

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next to thoſe of Amſterdam, Genoa, and Venice, is reckoned the chief in credit: but in trade that city is accounted the third in Europe, and comes next to London and Amſterdam, having now become the magazine of Germany and of the Baltic and Northern ſeas. Hamburgh gives great privileges to the Jews, and to all ſtrangers whatever; but more eſpecially to the Engliſh company of merchant-adventurers, to whom they allow a large building, where they have a church, and wherein the deputy-governor, ſecretary, miniſters, and other officers of the company live, to whom the magiſtrates make an annual preſent of wine, beer, ſheep, ſalmon, and ſturgeon, in their ſeaſons. Yet he acknowleges their bigotry in not permitting the calviniſts to have a public church within their city, who are forced to go out of the gates to Altona, a fine village, a quarter of an hour's walk from Hamburgh, belonging to the king of Denmark, who, though a lutheran prince, has the wiſdom to allow the calviniſts a public church there: which conduct of the Hamburghers may poſſibly hereafter turn to their great prejudice. He alſo obſerves, that the city of Lubeck has been guilty of the like bigotry, and is at preſent much fallen from its priſtine ſplendour and commerce, having been in old times ſo powerful as to wage war againſt Denmark and Sweden, and to conquer ſundry of their places and iſlands, &c. But here our author ſhould have noted, that generally thoſe conqueſts were made by Lubeck only as the head, but in the name, and by the aid, of the other cities of the Hanſeatic league. We have elſewhere traced the riſe, proſperity, and decline, of that city, and ſhall therefor now only obſerve, with this author, that their bigotry to lutheraniſm made their magiſtrates, through the perſuaſion of their clergy, baniſh the papiſts, calviniſts, Jews, and all other diſſenters, from their city and territory, to the almoſt entire ruin of their commerce. He ſays, that in his time (1688) they had not above 200 ſhips, nor any other territory but the city itſelf, and a ſmall town named Travemund, at the mouth of the river Trave, eight miles below Lubeck; the reſt of their antient territory being long ſince in the hands of the Danes and Swedes, (the former from Holſtein, the later from Wiſmar) by whom the burghers, ſays he, are kept in ſuch continual alarm, as to be quite tired out with keeping guard and paying taxes: yet, he ſays, they ſtill maintained 1500 ſoldiers in pay; and, beſides them, 400 of their burghers, in two companies, are obliged to watch dayly. To this once-glorious city, we, in England, ought to acknowlege ourſelves beholden for ſome of our earlieſt improvements in ſhipbuilding and commerce, and for our firſt water-conduits in London, Briſtol, Exeter, &c. taken from their models: the Lubeckers having had much the ſtart of us in reſpect of many advantageous improvements, the natural effects of an earlier extended commerce, though now it be only the ſkeleton of its antient commerce and grandeur.

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Ker alſo obſerves, that Cologne is ſo much depopulated by intolerance and perſecution, that vines and corn now grow within its wall, and that Straſburg has alſo ſuffered in the ſame manner and from the ſame cauſe.

The conqueſts of Mexico and Peru, where ſuch immenſe treaſures were more eaſily to be had, induced the Spaniards to neglect the noble and extenſive iſland of Hiſpaniola, although it is ſaid there are ſtill mines of gold and ſilver, as well as of copper, therein, which were formerly worked to very great profit; but they are ſaid to have deſtroyed three millions of the natives of that iſland, who, while they were permitted to enjoy their poſſeſſions, were very ſerviceable in fiſhing for them, and in tilling their lands, &c. ſo that they were then in greater affluence than they have been ever ſince, the greateſt part of the country being depopulated, whereby they have been rendered unable to work their mines. This, it is ſaid, makes them carefully conceal their having any ſuch, leſt foreigners ſhould be allured to invade them. They have ſtill, however, plenty of ſugar, cocoa, cotton, ginger, indigo, coffee, tobacco, wax, honey, ambergris, ſalt, drugs, and dying woods. In this feeble ſtate, a company of pirates, uſually then called buccaneers, ſettled themſelves on the north-weſt part of Hiſpaniola, till then ſolely poſſeſſed by Spain, and occupied the port and town of Petit-Guaves *: after ſome years, they applied to King William for his protection, promiſing ſubmiſſion and allegiance to the crown of England: but that king being in alliance with Spain againſt France, diſregarded their application. Whereupon thoſe buccaneers applied to the French court, who readily took them under their protection, and ſupplied them with proper aſſiſtance. From this obſcure and ſingular beginning has gradually grown up the preſent powerful French colony in our days, poſſeſſed of the beſt part of the great iſland of Hiſpaniola, where they have excellent ſugar-works, coffee, ginger, cotton, indigo, and all the other productions of the Weſt-Indies; while the Spaniards, on the other part of that iſland, proved rather uſeful than hurtful to them, by ſupplying them with cattle, &c. in return for the French Eaſt-India merchandize, and their own manufactures and product, with which alſo the French there ſupply ſhips from the continent of Terra Firma and New-Spain, &c. coming to St. Domingo, where is fixed the laſt ap-

* A ſettlement was made in the year 1630 by ſome Engliſh and French refugees who had been driven from St. Chriſtophers, firſt on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, and afterwards on the adjacent ſmall iſland of Tortuga or Tortue. Moſt of the firſt ſettlers were maſſacred by the Spaniards; but the remainder of them, under the direction of Willis, an Engliſh adventurer or buccaneer, reſumed the poſſeſſion of Tortuga in 1633, and fortified it. The iſland, after being ſeveral times taken by the Spaniards, and after ſeveral quarrels between the French and Engliſh inhabitants, was wholely given up in the year 1659 to the French, who ſoon after removed to more ample poſſeſſions on the greater iſland of Hiſpaniola (or St. Domingo). In 1665 the firſt governor arrived from France, who by his prudence and virtue brought the rude and diſorderly coloniſts to be uſeful to themſelves and their mother country. [*Raynal, Hiſt. philoſ. et politique, V.* vii, *p.* 99, *ed.* 1782.] *M.*

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peal, or dernier reſort, in all ſuits at law for Spaniſh America, which therefor draws thither many people. This has proved an unlucky incident for the neighbouring Engliſh iſlands; and ſo much the rather, as the feebleneſs of Spain obliged that crown, at the treaty of Ryſwick in the year 1697, to cede to France that noble part of Hiſpaniola, of which they had till then violently poſſeſſed themſelves.

1689.—The Engliſh nation, as well as thoſe of Scotland and Ireland, having at this time had their religious and civil liberties and free conſtitution openly invaded and trampled on by King James II in a moſt flagrant manner, by the united voice of all true proteſtants and lovers of our national conſtitution and laws, William prince of Orange, that king's nephew and ſon-in-law, was invited over from Holland to reſcue us from thoſe worſt of evils, and was eſtabliſhed on the throne of theſe free nations, whoſe religious and legal conſtitutions were thereby ſettled on more ſure and firm foundations than ever they had been in any former period whatever: which felicity of ours even foreigners have celebrated in their writings. Voltaire, in his Age of Louis XIV, gives us the following remarks thereon, viz. 'this was the proper era of 'Engliſh liberty. The nation, repreſented by its parliament, now fix-'ed the ſo-long-conteſted bounds between the prerogative of the crown 'and the rights of the people. They preſcribed the terms of reigning 'to the prince of Orange, and choſe him for their ſovereign, in con-'junction with his conſort Mary.'

The eſtabliſhment of this free conſtitution did moſt certainly contribute greatly in its conſequences, as it was natural to ſuppoſe and expect, to the increaſe and advancement of our commerce. This will, in part, be ſeen in King William's declaration of war againſt France, whither the unhappy abdicated king had retired for protection.

In the beginning of 1689 the prince and princeſs of Orange were recognized by the convention of eſtates, and the voice of the people, as king and queen of thoſe realms, and by an act of the convention of eſtates of England, afterwards turned into an act of parliament, [1 *Gul. et Mar. c.* 6] a new form of a coronation oath was preſcribed to be taken by them: whereby they (as all their ſucceſſors muſt do) ſolemnly promiſed, and ſwore on the goſpels, to govern their people according to law: to cauſe law and juſtice, in mercy, to be executed in all their judgements; that, to the utmoſt of their power, they will maintain the laws of God, the true profeſſion of the goſpel, and proteſtant reformed religion eſtabliſhed by law; and will preſerve to the biſhops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all ſuch rights and privileges as by law appertain unto them.

Moreover, by a ſtatute of this firſt ſeſſion [*c.* 8] the tyrannical oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were abrogated; and in their ſtead were the two following ſubſtituted, viz. 1, 'I, A. B. do ſincerely promiſe

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'and ſwear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their ma-
'jeſties;' and 2, 'I do, from my heart, abhor, deteſt, and abjure, that
'damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes excommunicated or de-
'prived by the pope, or any authority of the ſee of Rome, may be de-
'poſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other whatſoever. And
'I do declare, that no foreign prince, perſon, prelate, ſtate, or poten-
'tate, hath, or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, pre-
eminence, or authority, eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within this realm.'

The revenue of hearth or chimney money being found grievous to the people of England, by occaſioning many difficulties and queſtions; a great oppreſſion to the poorer ſort, and a badge of ſlavery upon the whole people, expoſing every man's houſe to be entered into and ſearched at pleaſure, by perſons unknown to him; it was therefor abſolutely aboliſhed forever. [1 *Gul. et Mar. c.* 10.]

It then appeared, ſays the continuator of Rapin's hiſtory, [*V.* iii, *p.* 52, *notes*] that the number of houſes in England and Wales, ſoon after the reſtoration, was about 1,230,000. And reckoning ſix perſons at a medium, to each houſe, it fixes the number of the people then to be 7,380,000.

In the ſame ſeſſion it was enacted, that, when malt or barley is at L1 : 4 per quarter, or under; rye, at L1 : 12, and wheat, at L2 : 8 per quarter; then it ſhall not only be lawful to export the ſame, but the exporters ſhall alſo receive the following bounties, viz. for malt or barley per quarter 2/6, rye 3/6, wheat 5/ per quarter; without requiring any thing for cuſtoms or fees whatever; provided ſecurity be given for ſuch corn being legally landed beyond ſea, and that the ſhip and its crew, in which it ſhall be exported, be duely qualified according to the acts of navigation. [1 *Gul. et Mar. c.* 22.]

This was the firſt law for allowing any bounty on corn exported; which bounties have generally been eſteemed ſo beneficial to the landed intereſt, by enabling tenants to pay their rents in years of plenty, that unleſs in years of ſcarcity, when the current prices were higher than the above-named ones, it has been judged prudent to continue the ſame. How much this bounty contributed to the improvement of huſbandry is too obvious to be diſputed. Yet ſome are of opinion, that, inſtead hereof, all the corn of plentiful years ſhould be purchaſed of the farmers by the public at a moderate price, to be laid up in granaries againſt a year of dearth. This would not only be a great help to our poor in a year of ſcarcity, but would bring foreign ſhips to purchaſe it at our price, and would alſo employ great numbers of our own ſhips, for ſupplying other nations at higher rates, as is done in Holland. In other countries, ſays a French author, the people pay their ſovereign for leave to carry out their corn, but wiſer England pays her people for exporting it.

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As nothing tends more to the advancement of commerce and induſtry than giving eaſe to ſcrupulous conſciences in the exerciſe of their religion, an act was paſſed, for exempting all their majeſties proteſtant ſubjects, of the ſeveral denominations diſſenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws: which, as its preamble ſets forth, might be an effectual means to unite their majeſties' proteſtant ſubjects in intereſt and affection. [1 *Gul. et Mar. c.* 18] This legal toleration, ſome wicked party meaſures at certain times excepted, has generally anſwered the wiſe and good ends propoſed by that law.

The ſtatute [5 *Hen. IV, c.* 4] againſt the multiplying of gold and ſilver was repealed; becauſe 'ſince the making of the ſaid ſtatute men are arrived to 'great ſkill and perfection in the art of refining of metals, and of extract-'ing gold and ſilver therefrom; but yet dare not exerciſe their ſkill, for 'fear of incurring the felony of that ſtatute; but do therefor exerciſe 'their ſkill in foreign parts, to the great detriment of the realm: pro-'vided, however, that all the gold and ſilver ſo to be extracted from 'other metals, be employed for coinage in the king's mint, and no 'other way. Provided, alſo, that henceforth no mine of copper, tin, 'iron, or lead, ſhall hereafter be adjudged to be a royal mine, even 'although gold or ſilver may be extracted out of the ſame.' [1 *Gul. et Mar. c.* 30.]

Louis XIV, by his great injuſtice and violences againſt England, Germany, Spain, and Holland, brought about a grand alliance of thoſe four potentates this year, for reducing that lawleſs monarch to reaſon; the conſequence whereof was an immediate declaration of war, by each of them. That of King William of England, dated the 7th of May, 1689, after reciting Louis's unjuſt invaſion and ravaging of the territories of his ally, the emperor and empire, as far as is relative to commercial concerns, was ſummarily as follows, viz.

I) 'That although it was not long before, that the French took out 'licences from the Engliſh governor of Newfoundland, to fiſh on 'that coaſt, paying tribute for ſuch licences, as an acknowlegement of 'the ſole right of the crown of England to that iſland; yet, of late, 'their encroachments on that iſland, and our ſubjects trade and fiſh-'ery, have been more like the invaſions of an enemy, than becom-'ing friends, who enjoyed the advantages of that trade only by per-'miſſion.'

II) 'But that the French king ſhould invade our Caribbee iſlands, '(St. Chriſtophers, &c) and poſſeſs himſelf of our territories in New-'York and Hudſon's bay, in an hoſtile manner; impriſoning ſome and 'murdering others of our ſubjects; burning their houſes and ſeizing on 'their effects; are actions even not becoming an enemy. Yet at that 'very time, Louis, far from declaring himſelf ſo, was, by his miniſters

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'in England, ſoliciting a treaty of neutrality and good correſpondence 'in America.' [*Anno* 1686.]

III) 'His proceedings, moreover, againſt our ſubjects in Europe are 'ſo notorious, that we need not enlarge thereon: ſuch as, countenancing 'the ſeizure of our ſhips by his privateers; prohibiting a great part of 'our product and manufactures; and impoſing exorbitant cuſtoms upon 'the reſt: theſe are ſufficient evidences of his deſign to deſtroy the 'trade and navigation, upon which the wealth and ſafety of this nation 'very much depend.

IV) 'His diſputing the right of the flag, inherent in the crown of 'England.

V) 'His unchriſtian proſecution of many of our Engliſh proteſtant 'ſubjects in France for matters of religion, contrary to the law of na- 'tions and expreſs treaties; forcing them to abjure their religion by 'unuſual cruelties; impriſoning ſome of the maſters and ſeamen of our 'merchant ſhips, and condemning others to the galleys, on pretence of 'having onboard, either ſome of his own miſerable proteſtant ſubjects 'or their effects.

VI) 'And, laſtly, his endeavouring, for ſome years paſt, by inſinua- 'tions, and promiſes of aſſiſtance, to overthrow the government of Eng- 'land; and now, by open and violent methods, to invade Ireland, in 'ſupport of our ſubjects in rebellion againſt us.'

This prohibition of commerce with France produced the good conſequences of inducing the people of England to improve their old, and to invent ſundry new, manufactures, &c. which they formerly took from France; not a little to the detriment of that kingdom in the end.

In the declaration of Holland, amongſt many other allegations againſt Louis, they affirm, 1ſt, that he had endeavoured, by all manner of ways, to ruin their navigation and commerce, as well in Europe as elſewhere, by ſeizing their ſhips and cargoes. 2dly, By violently forcing even their ſhips of war to be ſearched, at a time of profound peace. 3dly, By his new tolls and impoſitions, hindering their ſubjects from ſelling their manufactures and fiſh in his country, ſo as it was become impoſſible to continue their trade to France, where their complaints were rejected with ſcorn. 4thly, Having begun a horrible perſecution of his own proteſtant ſubjects, he had therein involved the ſubjects of the ſtates-general, though only living in France, on account of commerce; parting wives from their huſbands, and children from their parents, &c.

The declaration of Spain, of the 3d of May this year, was in conſequence of France's prior declaration of war againſt that crown, on the 15th of the preceding month, though deſtitute of all juſtice; as alſo of his invading and ravaging the empire, and bringing the Turks to invade and ravage Hungary.

And that of the emperor and empire was much to the ſame effect.

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In the remarkable convention between the commiſſioners of King William and thoſe of the ſtates of the United Netherlands, (dated in Auguſt 1689) concerning their prohibition of commerce with France, it was ſtipulated:

'I) That the ſubjects of neither nation ſhall be allowed to traffic to or 'with thoſe of France, either with ſhips of their own or of any other na- 'tion. Neither ſhall they import into either country any merchandize 'being the produce of the French king's dominions.

'II) If, during this war, the ſubjects of any other potentate ſhall 'have commerce with France, or their ſhips are met with in their paſ- 'ſage thither, they ſhall be ſeized and condemned as lawful prize.

'III) The other potentates of Europe, at peace with France, ſhall have 'due notification, that if their ſhips or veſſels ſhall be found at ſea, be- 'fore this notification ſhall have been given, making their way to France, 'they ſhall be obliged by the ſhips of England and Holland forthwith to 'turn back; and if ſailing from France, loaded with French merchandize, 'they ſhall be obliged to ſail back to France, and there leave the ſaid 'merchandize, upon pain of forfeiture. And in caſe the ſhips of thoſe 'kings, princes, and ſtates, or their ſubjects, ſhall, after the ſaid notifi- 'cation, be found at ſea, and ſailing either towards the ports of France, 'or returning from thence, they ſhall be ſeized and forfeited, together 'with their cargoes, and ſhall be reputed good prize.

'IV) And as to the princes and allies who are already at war with 'France, notification ſhall be given them as aforeſaid; and they ſhall 'be deſired at the ſame time to concur with ſuch methods as are ſo 'conducive to the common intereſt, and to give and execute ſuch or- 'ders as tend to the ſame end.

'Done at Whitehall, Auguſt 12th—22d, 1689.'

Part of a ſecret article, viz.

'It is agreed, that in caſe either the one or the other party ſhall be in- 'commoded or moleſted, by reaſon of the execution of this preſent treaty, 'or any article thereof, his Britannic majeſty King William, and the 'lords the ſtates-general, do promiſe and oblige themſelves to be gua- 'rantee for and to one another upon that account.' [*General coll. of treaties, V.* i, *p.* 284, *ed.* 1732.]

Voltaire (in his Age of Louis XIV) obſerves, "that France was ne- 'ver in ſo flouriſhing a condition as in the period from the death of 'Cardinal Mazarine to this war of 1689; contrary to the opinion of a 'certain author, who (it ſeems) had affirmed, that France, ſince the 'year 1660, had ſunk in real value 1,500 millions; the very contrary 'whereof was true! Thus (adds he) in England, in the moſt flouriſh- 'ing times, papers are continually coming out to prove, that the king- 'dom is undone!" Which obſervation is extremely juſt.

Although King Charles II, and his brother King James II,

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had in their treaties with France generally ſtipulated, that in caſe of any rupture between the two nations in Europe, the ſubjects of both crowns in America ſhould remain in a ſtate of neutrality, yet, at the grand revolution in England, the French broke through that agreement, by entering in an hoſtile manner into the Engliſh pale at St. Chriſtophers, even before war was declared there between thoſe two nations: and, although the Engliſh of that iſle had ſent for ſuccour from Barbados, (after taking ſhelter in their fortreſſes) yet they were neceſſitated to ſurrender their part of it to the French in July 1689, and to retire to the neighbouring iſle of Nevis, to the great loſs of many merchants in London and Briſtol.

Soon after which the French drove the Dutch out of their own iſland of Euſtatia in that neighbourhood.

It was about this time that the firſt convention was made at London between England and Spain, for ſupplying the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies with negro ſlaves from the iſland of Jamaica.

About this time (according to a pamphlet, ſaid to be written by Mr. William Wood, a great undertaker in metals, entitled, the State of the copper and braſs manufacture in Great Britain, humbly offered to the conſideration of parliament, 4to, 1721) 'the raiſing and refining of cop-'per-ore was revived in England, and chiefly in the county of Corn-'wall, after having been loſt or diſuſed ever ſince the time of the Sax-'ons, who, as well as the Danes, formerly made copper in England, as 'appears by the old mines wrought by them in ſeveral counties: but 'by reaſon of great quantities of thoſe metals being imported from fo-'reign parts, (on which high duties ſhould have been laid) that valu-'able branch of our product was dropped for many ages.' Yet General Malynes, in his Lex mercatoria, (1622) obſerves, that copper mines were then actually worked in many Engliſh counties: ſo that Mr. Wood muſt, in this reſpect, be under an hiſtorical miſtake. Under the year 1399 we have likewiſe noted that ſeveral projects for mining were ſet on foot in the reign of Richard II. Mr. Wood obſerves, 'that formerly 'we had all our copper and braſs from Sweden and Germany, though 'now (1721) we are in a great meaſure ſupplied from our own mines. 'It was later (he ſays) that the art was gained to England of convert-'ing copper into braſs.'

On the breaking out of King William's war againſt France, a company of ſword-cutlers was erected by patent, for making hollow ſword-blades, in the county of Cumberland, and the adjacent counties, for the uſe of the army. But though they were enabled to purchaſe lands, to erect mills, and to receive and employ great numbers of German artificers, yet it did not ſucceed as was expected. The firſt patentees, therefor, ſold or aſſigned their patent to a company of merchants in London, who thereupon purchaſed under that patent to the value of L20,000 per

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annum of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland. But the Iriſh parliament, in the reign of Queen Anne, knowing they had purchaſed thoſe lands at very low rates, would not permit them, in their corporate capacity, to take conveyances of lands, leſt they might have proved too powerful a body in that kingdom. This obliged them to ſell off their Iriſh eſtates, which put a period to the corporation. Yet a private copartnerſhip of bankers in London, poſſeſſed of their obſolete charter, retained the appellation of the ſword-blade company till after the year 1720, though long ſince broke up.

King William having found it neceſſary to declare war againſt France, an act was paſſed, for prohibiting all trade and commerce with France, from the 24th of Auguſt 1689, for three years, and to the end of the next following ſeſſion of parliament, if the war ſhall laſt ſo long. The preamble remarks, that it hath been found by long experience, that the importing of French wines, vinegar, brandy, linen, ſilks, ſalt, paper, and other commodities of the growth, product, or manufacture, of France, hath much exhauſted the treaſure of this nation, leſſened the value of the native commodities and manufactures thereof, greatly impoveriſhed the Engliſh artificers and handicrafts, and cauſed great detriment to this kingdom in general*. All ſuch French merchandize imported ſhall be forfeited to the crown, and ſhall be deſtroyed: with ſundry penalties on the importer, vender, and poſſeſſor; on the reſiſter of execution; on the informer acting by colluſion; on the maſter, ſeamen, &c. importing them; and the ſhip to be forfeited likewiſe, as alſo the carts, &c. bringing thoſe goods from ſuch ſhips. No brandy, or other ſpirits, ſhall at all be imported from any country whatever, on forfeiture thereof and of the ſhip †. And though the ſaid French goods are to be deſtroyed, yet a value is hereby put on them, viz. wines L30 per ton, and brandy L40 per ton; the reſt as in the book of rates of the 12th of Charles II, or by a jury trying the cauſe, in caſe they be not found in the book of rates: one third of which value ſhall go to the ſeizer or ſuer, and two thirds to the crown. With power for officers to ſearch houſes, and to break open locks. Perſons reſiſting, puniſhable, &c. [1 *Gul. et Mar. c.* 34.]

In the ſecond ſeſſion of the parliament of the firſt year of King William and Queen Mary, a moſt memorable and glorious ſtatute [*c.* 2] was enacted, entitled, an act declaring the rights and liberties of the ſubject, and ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown: 'Or, a legal confirmation of 'the DECLARATION OF RIGHT, preſented to the prince and princeſs of 'Orange, on the 13th of February preceding, by the lords and commons

* Inſtead of this abſolute prohibition of French wines and brandies, high duties were afterwards laid on them in the 2d, 4th, and 5th years of this reign. *A.*

† This abſolute prohibition was intended to encourage the home diſtillery of brandy and ſpirits from corn, on which a duty was laid by an act of the ſecond year of this reign, *c.* 4. *A.*

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'assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, and freely, representing all 'the estates of the people of England, viz.

'I) Whereas the late King James II, by the assistance of divers evil 'counsellors, judges, and ministers, employed by him, did endeavour to 'subvert and extirpate the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties 'of this kingdom,

'1. By assuming a power of dispensing with the laws, without the 'consent of parliament;

'2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for hum- 'bly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed 'power;

'3. By his commission, under the great seal, for erecting a court, 'called the court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes;

'4. By levying money by pretence of prerogative, for other time, 'and, in other manner, than the same was granted by parliament;

'5. By raising and keeping up a standing army in time of peace, 'without consent of parliament, and quartering of soldiers contrary to 'law;

'6. By causing several good subjects, being protestants, to be disarm- 'ed, at the same time when papists were both armed and employed, 'contrary to law;

'7. By violating the freedom of elections of members to serve in 'parliament;

'8. By prosecutions in the court of king's bench for matters and 'causes cognizable only in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary 'and illegal courses;

'9. By obtaining partial, corrupt, and unqualified, persons to be re- 'turned to serve on juries in trials for high treason, who were not free- 'holders;

'10. By excessive bails being required of persons committed in cri- 'minal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of 'the subjects;

'11. 'By excessive fines having been imposed, and illegal and cruel 'punishments inflicted;

'12, and lastly, By several grants and promises made of fines and 'forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons up- 'on whom the same were to be levied.

'All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws, and 'statutes, and freedom, of this realm; wherefor, the said lords spiritual 'and temporal, and commons, now assembled in a full and free represent- 'ative of this nation, do, in the first place, as their ancestors, in like 'case have usually done, for the vindicating and asserting their antient 'rights and liberties, declare,

'1. That the pretended power of suspending laws, or the execution

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'of laws, by regal authority, without conſent of parliament, is illegal;

'2. As is alſo the diſpenſing with laws;

'3. And the like of the court for eccleſiaſtical cauſes;

'4. The like as to levying money without grant of parliament;

'5. That it is the right of the ſubjects to petition the king; and all 'commitments and proſecutions for ſuch petitioning are illegal;

'6. That the raiſing or keeping a ſtanding army within the king-'dom in time of peace, unleſs it be with conſent of parliament, is 'againſt law;

'7. That the ſubjects, who are proteſtants, may have arms for their 'defence, ſuitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law;

'8. That the election of members of parliament ought to be free;

'9. That the freedom of ſpeech, and debates or proceedings in par-'liament, ought not to be impeached or queſtioned in any court, or place 'out of parliament;

'10. That exceſſive bail ought not to be required, nor exceſſive fines 'impoſed, nor cruel and unuſual puniſhments inflicted;

'11. That jurors ought to be duely impanneled and returned; and 'that jurors who paſs upon men in trials for high treaſon, ought to be 'freeholders;

'12. That all grants, and promiſes of fines and forfeitures, of parti-'cular perſons before conviction are illegal and void;

'13. And that for redreſs of all grievances, and for the amending, 'ſtrengthening, and preſerving, of the laws, parliaments ought to be 'held frequently.

'And they do claim, demand, and inſiſt upon, all and ſingular the 'premiſes, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declar-'ations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the peo-'ple, in any of the ſaid premiſes, ought in anywiſe to be drawn here-'after into conſequence or example.

'Having therefor particular encouragement from the declaration of 'his highneſs the prince of Orange, and an entire confidence, that he 'will perfect the deliverance ſo far advanced by him, and will ſtill pre-'ſerve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here 'aſſerted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and 'liberties.

'II) The ſaid lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, aſſembled 'at Weſtminſter, do reſolve, that William and Mary, prince and prin-'ceſes of Orange, be, and be declared, king and queen of England, 'France, and Ireland; to hold to them during their lives, and the life 'of the ſurvivor of them; but the ſole and full exerciſe of the regal 'power to be only in the prince, though in the names of both; and, 'after their deceaſe, the crown to deſcend to the heirs of the princeſs, 'and, failing ſuch, to the princeſs Anne of Denmark and the heirs of

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'her body; and, for default of ſuch iſſue, to the heirs of the body of 'the ſaid prince of Orange.

'III) That the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy be abrogated, and 'in their ſtead the two following oaths be ſubſtituted.' [Theſe we have already exhibited with the new coronation oath.

'IV) Upon which their ſaid majeſties did accept the crown and royal 'dignity aforeſaid.

'V) And thereupon their majeſties were pleaſed, that the ſaid lords 'and commons, being the two houſes of parliament, ſhould continue to 'ſit; and, with their ſaid majeſties royal concurrence, make effectual 'proviſion for the ſettlement of the religion, laws, and liberties, of this 'kingdom.

'VI) Now, in purſuance of the premiſes, the ſaid lords ſpiritual and 'temporal, and commons, in parliament aſſembled, for the ratifying 'and confirming of the ſaid declaration, by the force of a law made in 'due form by authority of parliament, do pray, that it may be de-'clared and enacted, that all and ſingular, the rights and liberties, aſ-'ſerted and claimed in the ſaid declaration, are the true, antient, and 'indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and ſo 'ſhall be eſteemed, allowed, adjudged, and firmly and ſtrictly holden 'and obſerved; and that all officers and miniſters, whatſoever, ſhall 'ſerve their majeſties and their ſucceſſors, according to the ſame, in 'times to come.

'VII) And the ſaid lords and commons ſeriouſly conſidering, how 'it has pleaſed Almighty God, in his marvellous providence, and merci-'ful goodneſs to this nation, to provide and preſerve their ſaid majeſties 'moſt happily to reign over us, for which they render unto him, from 'the bottom of their hearts, their humbleſt thanks and praiſes, do firm-'ly, aſſuredly, and in the ſincerity of their hearts, think, and do hereby 'recognize, acknowlege, and declare, that King James II, having abdi-'cated the government, and their majeſties having accepted the crown 'and royal dignity, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this 'realm, our ſovereign liege lord and lady, king and queen, as aforeſaid, '&c.

'VIII) And for preventing all queſtions and diviſions in this realm 'by reaſon of any pretended titles to the crown, and for preſerving a 'certainty in the ſucceſſion thereof, the ſaid lords and commons pray, 'that it may be enacted;' [here the ſucceſſion, as in the preceding ar-'ticle II, is enacted] 'and thereunto the ſaid lords ſpiritual and tem-'poral, and commons, do, in the name of all the people of England 'aforeſaid, moſt humbly and faithfully ſubmit themſelves, their heirs, 'and poſterities, forever; and do faithfully promiſe, that they will 'ſtand to, maintain, and defend, their ſaid majeſties; and alſo the limit-'ation and ſucceſſion of the crown herein ſpecified and contained,

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'with their lives and eſtates, againſt all perſons whatſoever that ſhall 'attempt any thing to the contrary.

'And whereas it hath been found by experience, that it is incon-'ſiſtent with the ſafety and welfare of this proteſtant kingdom to be 'governed by a popiſh prince, or by any king or queen marrying a pa-'piſt, we pray that it may be enacted, that every perſon holding com-'munion with the church of Rome, or elſe that ſhall marry a papiſt, 'ſhall be for ever excluded, and be incapable to inherit and poſſeſs the 'crown of this realm; and in every ſuch caſe, the people of this realm, 'and of Ireland, are hereby abſolved of their allegiance, and the crown 'ſhall deſcend to the next proteſtant in ſucceſſion, who ſhould have en-'joyed the ſame, had the other been naturally dead.

'X) And whoever ſhall hereafter ſucceed to the crown, ſhall, if of 'twelve years of age or upwards, make and ſubſcribe the declaration in 'the ſtatute of the 30th year of King Charles II, entitled an Act for 'the more effectual preſerving the king's perſon and government, by 'diſabling papiſts from ſitting in either houſe of parliament.

'XI) All which ſhall hereby be declared, and enacted to be the law 'of this realm forever.

'XII) And that no diſpenſation by *non obſtante*, of, or to, any ſtatute, 'or of any part thereof, ſhall hereafter be allowed, except it be allowed 'in ſuch ſtatute; and except in ſuch caſes as ſhall be ſpecially provided 'for by a bill, or bills, to be paſſed during this preſent ſeſſion of par-'liament.

'XIII) Provided that no charter, grant, or pardon, granted before 'the 23d day of October 1689, ſhall be invalidated by this act; but 'that the ſame ſhall remain of the ſame force and effect in law, and no 'other, than as if this act had never been made.'

Whoever is even but ſlenderly acquainted with the hiſtory of ſeveral preceding reigns in England, but moſt eſpecially with that of King James II, cannot fail to pronounce this act of parliament, which we have here contracted as far as the very important matter of it would permit, to be a new and complete magna charta, or a ſolemn re-eſtabliſhment, with improvements, of all the privileges of the Engliſh people, formerly at any time claimed by virtue of the power of parliament, and of the laws and ſtatutes of England; and, in one word, that this ſolemn ſtatute has moſt eſſentially fixed the juſt boundaries of the prerogative of the crown, and of the rights and privileges of the ſubject, the moſt happy conſequences whereof have ever ſince been ſenſibly ſeen and felt, and, it is to be hoped, will ſo remain to the end of time.

The good effects of this firm eſtabliſhment of the liberty and property of the people of England have in nothing been more conſpicuous, than in the great increaſe of commerce, ſhipping, manufactures, and colonies,

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as well as of riches and people, ſince that happy period, notwithſtanding our having been ſince engaged in ſeveral very expenſive and bloody wars, in vindication of our invaluable liberties, civil and religious.

We may here farther note, that the parliament of Scotland, about the ſame time, made a like act, claim, or declaration, of their rights and liberties, when they recognized King William and Queen Mary, for king and queen of Scotland.

King James's net revenue, when he abdicated, was L2,061,855 yearly; for which yearly revenue, though granted by parliament, neither he, nor any of his predeceſſors, deemed themſelves accountable to their people or parliament. It is, therefor, one of the great bleſſings of this happy revolution, that exact boundaries are ſet by parliament to the expenſe of the civil liſt; and that, excepting the poſt-office revenue, and the ſmall remains of the hereditary crown rents, the application of the ſupplies granted annually by parliament, have conſtantly and punctually been accounted for in every ſucceeding ſeſſion of parliament.

The ground on which the ſtreets called the Seven Dials, in the pariſh of St. Giles's in the fields, in the weſtern ſuburbs of London, ſtand, was not begun to be built on till about this year, as appears by the continuator of Rapin's Hiſtory of England, [*V.* iii, *p.* 97, *notes.*] It was crown land, and granted by King William to the earl of Portland.

In Dr. D'Avenant's Eſſay on way and means, (publiſhed in 1695) he tells us, that the ordinary revenue of France was, before this war, yearly, about one hundred and fifty millions of livres, or about twelve millions ſterling. 'We all know' (ſays he), how hardly this great ſum 'was extorted from the people; but they were enabled to pay it by the 'balance that aroſe to them from the vent of their commodities and 'manufactures. Their moſt ſtaple trade was in wine, oil, ſalt, linen, 'and paper; their other manufactures are innumerable: and a vaſt pro-'fit they did conſtantly make by the reſort of ſtrangers to their coun-'try, and likewiſe by furniſhing all Europe with their fineries and va-'nities.'

It is not very certain how long the Engliſh Eaſt-India company have been ſettled on the famous river Ganges in the kingdom of Bengal. Their firſt factory in that kingdom was at the town of Huguely, on a river of that name, being a branch of the Ganges, 160 miles from its mouth. About this year the company removed to Calcutta, on the ſame river, where they built Fort William, for protecting their veſſels coming down that river from Patna with piece goods, raw ſilk, and ſaltpetre, being the principal ſtaple commodities of Bengal, otherwiſe the rajas, whoſe dominions lie on that river, and who are either tributaries to, or elſe powerful governors under, the mogul, were apt to make, and ſometimes have made, arbitrary demands of duties for paſ-

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ing that way. Higher up, at the town of Huguely, the Dutch have a noble fort and factory for the like trade, and alſo for Bengal ſtuffs, calico, cotton and muſlin, for the European markets; and opium, ginger, long pepper, tobacco, &c. for the country trade.

On the ſame river too the French lately had a fort and factory. Here likewiſe, the Danes had formerly a factory. Likewiſe, in the year 1723, the late Oſtend company had a factory.

At Huguely the great Mogul has a cuſtom-houſe, and on that river there is a vaſt trade carried on for all kinds of India goods, backward and forward; and, beſides their ſtaple goods before mentioned, they trade in ſtuffs of herba *, aloes, opium, wax, laque, civet, indigo, canes, ſpices; and alſo in ſugar and rice, carried all over India in immenſe quantities. This great kingdom of Bengal had its own monarchs till the year 1582, when it was conquered by the mogul. It is one of the fineſt countries of all Aſia, and is ſaid to bring five millions ſterling annually into the mogul's treaſury; and is likewiſe obliged, on occaſion, to ſupply him with 40,000 horſe, and 80,000 foot ſoldiers.

The Portugueſe had once ſundry factories here, but have been long ſince expelled by the moguls, for their rapacious and outrageous conduct.

Higher up Huguely river, at Coſſimbazar, the Engliſh and Dutch have their out-factories; as at Dacca, an iſland in the moſt eaſterly branch of the Ganges; and at Maldo on another branch of that vaſt river; all depending on the before-mentioned principal and fortified ones. The Engliſh, Dutch, and French, have each a factory at Balaſore, or Baſſora, in the bay of Bengal, chiefly for taking in pilots to conduct them up the Ganges. At this time the Engliſh company publiſhed a ſtate of their trade, ſhipping, and forts, viz. 'ıſt, that within ſeven years 'paſt they had built 16 great ſhips, from 900 to 1300 tons each. 2dly, 'that in lieu of Bantam, from whence they had been expelled, they 'have erected and garriſoned three forts in other parts of India, for the 'pepper trade. 3dly, That they had now at ſea, in India, and coming 'home, eleven ſhips and four permiſſion ſhips, whoſe cargoes amounted 'to above L360,000. 4thly, They had ſeven great ſhips and ſix per'miſſion ones, all for Coaſt and Bay, whoſe cargoes amounted to near 'L570,000. 5thly, They had ſeven ſhips for China and the South ſeas, 'whoſe cargoes amounted to near L100,000, beſides about 30 other 'ſmall armed veſſels, conſtantly remaining in India. 6thly, That they 'have now remaining India goods unſold at home to the value of 'L700,000. 7thly, That, by means of their iſle of Bombay, they 'have brought thither the principal part of the trade of Surat; where, 'from 4,000 families, computed when the company firſt took poſſeſſion

* The rind of a certain tree, which they dreſs and draw out ſo fine, that it works like ſilk, with which, and alſo with cotton, it is woven. *A.*

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'of it, they are ſince increaſed to 50,000 families, all ſubject to the 'company's laws. Laſtly, the company had made a moſt ſucceſsful 'war with the mogul, and brought him to reaſonable terms, confirmed 'by that prince's own phirmaund, and ſecured by a ſtrong garriſon at 'Bombay; which, being one of the beſt ports in India, and lying ſo 'near Surat, the great emporium of the Indian trade to Arabia, Perſia, 'Baſſora, and the Red ſea, if the Engliſh trade had not been brought 'thither to load home, and not at the river of Surat, as formerly, it 'would not have been near ſo beneficial.' This is indeed a very pompous view of that company's condition, as publiſhed by themſelves; but their enemies ſoon after gave a very different view of it.

1690.—Beſides the benefits elſewhere mentioned, as received by England from the French king's revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685, it did good ſervice to the Engliſh colonies in America; and particularly in the year 1690, when King William ſettled ſome hundreds of French refugee families on the ſouth ſide of James's river in Virginia, above the falls, where they have ſince much improved that naturally-fine country.

The French in the province of Canada growing troubleſome neighbours to the Engliſh province of New-York, by endeavouring to draw to themſelves the whole trade of peltry with the Indian nations, the government of New-York made an attempt on Quebec, the capital town of Canada, diſtant about 400 or 500 miles from New-York city. For this end they marched from Albany, with 300 Engliſh and 300 allied Iroquois Indians; and though the French governor of Canada had with him above double the number of regular troops, beſides Indians, yet the Engliſh defeated him, and killed about 300 of his men: but not having artillery, &c. proper for attacking their forts, which ſurely they ſhould have foreſeen, they were fain to be content with this victory, and ſo to return home.

But in this ſame year General Coddrington, commander in chief of the Engliſh leeward iſlands, had better ſucceſs in the Weſt-Indies; for, by the help of ſuccours from England, joined to the regiments he had raiſed in thoſe iſlands, he retook from the French, with the loſs of 200 men, the iſland of St. Chriſtophers, from whence he conveyed the French inhabitants, conſiſting of 1,800 men, beſides women and children, to Hiſpaniola and Martinico. The ſame year he likewiſe retook the iſle of St. Euſtatia, which the French had, the preceding year, taken from the Dutch: he alſo took from the French St. Martins and St. Bartholomew, but he failed in his attempt on Guadaloupe.

Sir William Phipps, with a fleet and land forces from New-England, ſailed for Nova-Scotia, and took the fort and town of Port-Royal, ſince named Annapolis Royal, in the bay of Fundy, which had ſo greatly annoyed our commerce in America, by means of the French privateers, as to obtain the appellation of the Dunkirk of America. He alſo demoliſhed a

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fort at St. John's river; and erected better forts in their ſtead. The French till now had, from Port-Royal, carried on a conſiderable trade to the ſugar iſles, &c. with fiſh, lumber, and peltry. Yet King William's preſſures obliged him to reſtore it to France by the treaty of Ryſwick, and ſo it remained till the following century.

So great is the quantity of timber in that country, and the adjacent parts of New-England, that, in after years, the ſurveyor-general for the woods of the crown of Great Britain in America had directions to ſet out 300,000 acres of the beſt woodlands, in order to preſerve the white pine trees for maſts and other ſhip timber, near the ſea or navigable rivers, for the navy; which, it is hoped, will be ever carefully looked after, whatever reports there may be of neglects therein.

The number of houſes in England and Wales this year, as returned by the books of the hearth duty at lady-day 1690, was 1,391,215; which, at ſix perſons to a houſe, makes the number of ſouls 7,915,290, or very near eight millions. [*D'Avenant's Eſſay on ways and means of ſupplying the war, London*, 1695.] So that, reckoning one million and a half in Scotland, which may be near the truth, and two millions in Ireland, which we have elſewhere ſhewn to be near the truth, there is good ground to believe, there may be at leaſt eleven millions of ſouls in England, Scotland, and Ireland: that author makes the houſes in Yorkſhire to be 121,052; in Wales 77,921; and in London, Weſtminſter, and Middleſex, 111,215.

Till about this time there was ſcarce any other kind of paper made in England but the coarſe brown ſort. But the war with France occaſioning high duties on foreign paper, the French proteſtant refugees ſettled in England, and alſo our own few paper-makers, now began to make white writing and printing paper: which, in length of time, has been brought to ſo great perfection, both for beauty and ſubſtance, that, in our own time, we import only certain kinds of Genoa and Dutch paper; which, however, bears but a ſmall proportion to all the paper uſed in the Britiſh dominions. How great a ſaving this has proved to Britain, may partly be conceived from what has been often formerly affirmed by ſuch as were well acquainted therewith, viz. that to France alone, from which we now take none even in time of peace, we paid annually to the amount of L100,000 for paper only.

At this time, or a little before, ſome mines of lead and copper were found in the lands of Sir Carbery Price in Cardiganſhire, in South Wales; which requiring great expenſe to work, he this year divided them into 24 ſhares. This was the original riſe of the mine-adventurers company, by the miſmanagement of which ſo many perſons and families were greatly hurt, and others utterly ruined. In the year 1693, that gentleman and his partners ſubdivided their 24 ſhares into 4,008 ſhares, for the term of twenty-two years and an half; in which ſundry

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lords and gentlemen of worth were deeply concerned. Yet for want of a ſufficient ſtock of money for carrying on ſo expenſive a work, it languiſhed and went retrograde until the year 1698, when a new conſtitution was eſtabliſhed, by indenture, in a pompous manner; the duke of Leeds being thereby eſtabliſhed governor of this company, and Sir Humphry Mackworth deputy-governor, both during life, with a ſelect committee of managers or directors; and a new capital ſtock of L20,000 was raiſed, for paying off debts before contracted, and for vigorouſly carrying on the mines; and five years were hereby added to the ſaid twenty-two years and an half of their grant. Sir Humphry Mackworth's propoſal and plan were accepted; and he undertook to diſpoſe of the 4,008 ſhares by a lottery for L125,000, conſiſting of 25,000 tickets, at L5, whereof 2,500 were to be fortunate; with abundance of wild, perplexed, and romantic, articles, which, however, drew in many perſons of worth and character. Sir Humphry Mackworth brought into this new conſtitution, his own lands, coal-pits, and mines, near Neath in Glamorganſhire, where wharfs and warehouſes, refining-houſes and mills, were erected, and much lead ore was raiſed, from whence quantities of ſilver were extracted, and alſo litharge of lead, which is uſed by apothecaries, ſurgeons, and painters; but chiefly by potters for glazing their earthen ware, and by the makers of fine glaſs, and of red-lead, into which litharge is eaſily transformed. Thus they went on, at a vaſt expenſe, till next century, till when we ſhall leave them, after only obſerving, that it is ſomewhat ſtrange, ſo many ſagacious perſons as Sir Humphry Mackworth drew into this project, did not entertain any ſuſpicion of his vaſtly pompous out-ſet, and of his propoſal of one twelfth part of the clear profit of the mines to be diſpoſed of to ſuch charitable uſes as he ſhould direct, previous to their knowing any thing certain whether there would be any profit at all from a mere embryo project. By ſuch means, and likewiſe by his charity-propoſal, many clergymen's widows, and orphans, were engaged therein.

1691.—After the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's very great expenſe of money and men in their war with the great mogul, they at length obtained peace with him, and the reſtitution of their former privileges, in the year 1691; when they likewiſe re-eſtabliſhed their revolted factory at Bombay, and quieted the iſle of St. Helena. Nevertheleſs, the above great expenſe, the inceſſant clamours of the interlopers, and of the friends of thoſe put to death at St. Helena, jointly conſpired to bring that company into great diſcredit; inſomuch, that printed papers were handed about, diſplaying their crimes and miſcarriages, doubtleſs not without exaggerations: propoſals alſo were publiſhed for diſſolving this, and erecting a new company. And ſo far was the houſe of commons influenced thereby, as in this ſame year to addreſs King William to diſſolve the company, agreeable to the power reſerved by the crown in

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their charter, and to incorporate a new one. The king's anſwer was, 'that, it being a matter of very great importance, it required ſome 'time to conſider their addreſs.' In the meantime he referred it to a committee of the privy council; whereupon the company did, in writing, declare their ſubmiſſion to ſuch regulations as that committee of council ſhould preſcribe; which were in ſubſtance, that their capital ſtock ſhould be made up L1,500,000 at leaſt, but not to exceed two millions; of which the preſent company's capital of L740,000 was to conſtitute a part: and the preſent company, jointly with the new ſubſcribers, ſhould be incorporated for twenty-one years *.

The government of New-England, ſtill finding the French in Canada very troubleſome neighbours, ſent out a fleet of 32 ſail, with 2000 land forces onboard, to attack Quebec; but being eight weeks in ſailing up the river of St. Laurence, they thereby gave time to the French to bring all their ſtrength to Quebec; before which place, our people being repulſed, they were obliged to re-embark, many of their ſhips in coming down that river were wrecked or loſt; and when 2000 Engliſh and 1500 Indians had marched over land from New-York, Connecticut, &c. they found no canoes to tranſport them over the lakes; they were therefor likewiſe forced to return home. In this unfortunate and ill-conducted expedition, the province of New-England contracted L140,000 debt; and there were ſaid to have been 1000 lives loſt, one way or other.

1692.—We ſhall now give the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's vindication of themſelves, by way of reply to the regulations propoſed by the committee of the privy council, at the cloſe of the preceding year, viz. 'that their preſent quick and dead ſtock and revenue are really worth 'more than L1,500,000 †, the preſent current price of their capital 'ſtock at market being 150 per cent: that they knew no law nor rea'ſon for their being thus diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtates at an undervalue: 'that their forts, towns, and territories in India are theirs for ever by 'their charters, and have coſt them, firſt and laſt, above a million ſter'ling: that all the other propoſed regulations are better provided for 'by their preſent charter than they can be by any new one, &c.' [*Account of ſome tranſactions in the houſe of commons and before the lords of the privy council, relating to the late Eaſt-India company, quarto*, 1693.]

The anſwer given by the king this year to the addreſs of the commons, for diſſolving the Eaſt-India company, was, in ſubſtance, that, upon due conſultation, he found he could not diſſolve the company in leſs than three years warning; during which time they could not be hindered from trading, nor could a new company trade, till thoſe three years were expired; that the company having rejected moſt of the re-

* The company's anſwer and vindication will be found under the next year. *A*

† Quick ſtock comprehends ſhips and merchandize; and dead ſtock, forts, factories, houſes, &c. *A*.

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gulations made by the committee of council, he was of opinion, that what was needful to preſerve this valuable trade could not be perfected without the concurrence of parliament; wherefor he recommended to them to prepare a bill for that purpoſe. This was ſpeaking like a good king to a free people. Hereupon the houſe of commons took the ſettlement of this trade into conſideration, yet, through their diviſions, and the company's great intereſt, they did nothing effectual; only at the cloſe of that ſeſſion they addreſſed the king to diſſolve the company at the end of the three years; which, he told them, he would conſider of.

A war with France having before been ſeen to be unavoidable by England, it was ſoon found to be very unfortunate for the later, that as her maritime commerce was much greater than that of France, ſhe was thereby very much expoſed to captures by French privateers; inſomuch, that by an account laid before the parliament in this year, it appeared, that the French had in the two years paſt of this war, taken from England no fewer than 3000 ſail of trading veſſels, great and ſmall: and within the ſame period we had taken from France only 67 merchant ſhips. A terrible difference indeed, yet not ſo difficult to be accounted for as ſome might imagine, when it is conſidered that ſo great a part of France's commerce was at this time driven in foreign ſhips, chiefly till now in Dutch bottoms.

On the other hand, (for balancing part of this great misfortune) the ſtrict prohibition of commerce by both nations during this war, proved the occaſion of gradually deſtroying ſundry very profitable French manufactures, which were either transferred to England directly, or elſe ſet on foot by other nations. Thus, I) France was almoſt entirely deprived of a moſt profitable linen manufacture (never likely to be regained) of two particular ſpecies, viz. dowlas and lockram, chiefly manufactured in Normandy and Britanny; of which England was ſaid to have taken off to the value of L200,000 ſterling annually. For England, not being well able to be without thoſe two ſorts of linen, ſet the Hamburghers on imitating them ſo well, that the very names of thoſe French linens with us are buried in oblivion.

II) France, before this war, manufactured good and cheap felt hats at Caudbeque, Havre de Grace, and other places in Normandy; and by our prohibition of them, we have in time learned to make them better, as well as cheaper, than the French can do.

III) Before this war the fine glaſs manufacture was almoſt entirely French: for, not only the greateſt part of the plate-glaſs of our coaches and chairs, and of our fine looking-glaſſes, came from France, but likewiſe our fineſt window-glaſs, which was uſually called Normandy glaſs, and French crown-glaſs; both which we have ſince made entirely our own manufacture, in the greateſt perfection.

We have before noted, under the year 1685, the great benefits which

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had accrued to England by receiving the French proteſtant refugees, who introduced ſundry new manufactures: nevertheleſs, the improvement of them, and of the others above mentioned, could not have been ſo ſpeedily nor ſo effectually accompliſhed, had it it not been for the ſtrict prohibition of intercourſe between the two nations by this war. Whereby alſo (IV) cutlery-ware, watches, toys, ribands, &c. and moſt eſpecially England's broad-ſilk manufacture, have been ſo greatly improved as even to outdo the French in all of them. Hence it may well be imagined, how great the loſs of France muſt have been in the decreaſe of theſe manufactures.

This year was propitious to England, by the great and ſignal victory over the naval power of France off La Hogue on the coaſt of Normandy, where an army of 20,000 men lay ready to embark with the late King James to invade England, in caſe the French fleet ſhould prove victorious. Voltaire (in his *Age of Louis XIV*) relates, that 300 tranſport-ſhips were got ready at Breſt; and Admiral Tourville, with 44 ſhips of war, waited for them on the Norman coaſt. D'Etrees alſo was on his way from Toulon with another ſquadron of 30 ſhips of war, but happened to be detained from joining Tourville by contrary winds. The combined fleet of England and Holland, according to him and others, conſiſted of near 100 ſail, commanded in chief by Admiral Ruſſel, (afterward created earl of Orford.) In this tremendous naval engagement 21 of the beſt ſhips of France were deſtroyed, amongſt which was the ſuperb admiral-ſhip the Royal ſun, of 110 braſs cannon, ſet on fire in ſight of that army and of the late King James. Voltaire relates, that 14 of the largeſt French ſhips of war were run a-ground on the adjacent coaſt, two of which number carried each 104 cannon; and their commanders, knowing that they muſt be deſtroyed by the enemy, with their own hands ſet fire to them. This (he adds) was the firſt check, which the maritime ſtrength of Louis XIV had as yet received.

This year the French refugees in England, having formed a ſucceſsful project for making luſtrings and alamode ſilks, articles then in great vogue, and for which France had received from England great ſums of money yearly, they got a patent for the ſole privilege of making thoſe ſilks, which they ſoon brought to great perfection. And, though, by the change of faſhion, thoſe ſilks are not now in requeſt, the project however contributed to the improvement of the Engliſh ſilk manufacture in general. By an act of the 8th and 9th of King William, [*c.* 36] it appears, that the Royal luſtring company had then brought this manufacture to the greateſt perfection; wherefor foreign luſtrings and alamodes were thereby prohibited. This obſolete charter was made one of the bubbles of the year 1720, and fell with them ſoon after to nothing. It was called the Royal luſtring (vulgarly luteſtring) company.

1693.—The parliament paſſed an act for continuing certain acts therein

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mentioned, and for charging ſeveral joint ſtocks; whereby, *inter alia*, it was enacted, that for every L100 of Eaſt-India joint ſtock, there ſhould be anſwered to their majeſties, L5, valuing the whole joint ſtock of that company at L744,000, to be paid quarterly by their governor or treaſurer, and to be deducted from the ſeveral perſons intereſted in the ſaid ſtock, according to their ſeveral ſhares and proportions therein, upon their next dividends.

And for every ſhare in the joint ſtock of the Royal African company, L1.

And for every ſhare in the joint ſtock of the Hudſon's-bay company, L5 *.

And in caſe any of the companies ſhall make default in payment at the times herein ſpecified, the charter of ſuch company reſpectively, ſhall be, and is hereby, adjudged to be void. [4, 5 *Gul. et Mar. c.* 15.]

These were the only joint-ſtock commercial companies then in England; the other three great commercial companies, viz. the Ruſſia, Turkey, and Eaſtland, ones, being only regulated companies, wherein every member or freeman traded ſolely on his own bottom; ſubject only to certain regulations and reſtrictions by the bye laws and general orders of each company; which have therefor the appellation of regulated companies.

It happened (either intentionally or moſt unaccountably) that the Eaſt-India company neglected to pay the tax within the time limited by this act; whereby they legally forfeited their charter. Yet King William was unwilling to take advantage thereof, as it would have occaſioned great diſorders and loſſes to the proprietors. The company, however, hereupon was ſaid to have diſtributed *great ſums* of money to *men in power* †: they *therefor* obtained a new charter, on the 7th of October 1693, reſtoring them to all the powers, &c. which former charters had given them; but with the following proviſo, viz.

'That if the company do not accept of, ſubmit to, and effectually 'execute, ſuch orders, directions, additions, alterations, reſtrictions, &c. 'relating to the conſtitution and powers of their corporation, and its trade 'and joint ſtock, &c. as the king ſhall by charter ordain, under his great 'ſeal, before the 29th September 1694, then their majeſties may revoke 'this charter.' Which regulations and orders were accordingly made

* The act does not aſcertain the number of ſhares, or amount of ſtock, in the two later companies.

† Great ſums indeed! the houſe of commons having ordered an examination of the Eaſt-India company's books, it appeared, that the ſums paid for *ſpecial ſervices*, which before the revolution ſcarcely ever exceeded L1200 in a year; had ever ſince gradually increaſed, and in the year 1693 they amounted to near L90,000.—'L10,000 were 'traced to the king; L5000 to the duke of Leeds, 'and other ſums to other men in power.'—The duke was impeached by the houſe of commons: the moſt material witneſs was ſent out of the country; and, in nine days after it was demanded by the lords, a proclamation was iſſued to ſtop his flight.—'Thus ended a wretched farce.' [*Macpherſon's Hiſtory of Great Britain*, *V.* ii. *p.* 79.] *M.*

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by two royal charters: the firſt of which was on the 11th of November 1693, in ſubſtance as follows, viz.

'I) All ſubſcribers ſhall be members of the company.

'II) L744,000 ſhall be the whole capital of the company.

'III) None ſhall ſubſcribe above L10,000.

'IV) In general courts L1000 ſtock ſhall have one vote; and none 'ſhall have above ten votes.

'V) Such as ſhall become proprietors by purchaſe, ſhall pay for their 'freedom L5. Who (as alſo the new ſubſcribers) ſhall take the oaths 'appointed by law, and alſo the freeman's oath.

'VI) The governor, or, in his abſence, the deputy-governor, to have 'a caſting vote in all courts; each of them to have L4000 in their own 'right: and each committee-man L1000 *.

'VII) No permiſſion ſhall be granted for ſhips to India on a private 'account, on the penalty of forfeiting the charters.

'VIII) No private contract is to be made, for ſale of the company's 'goods, (ſaltpetre only excepted, ſold for the king's uſe.) But all to be 'openly and publicly ſold. And no one lot (jewels excepted) to ex-'ceed L500 value.

'IX) The company ſhall annually export to India, of the growth and 'product of England, to the value of at leaſt L100,000.

'X) The company ſhall annually ſupply the crown with 500 tons of 'ſaltpetre, at L38: 10 per ton in time of peace, and at L45 in time of 'war.

'XI) All dividends of the company's profits ſhall, for the future, be 'made in money only.

'XII) A book ſhall be hereafter kept by the company, wherein the 'value of their ſtock ſhall be entered, as atteſted upon oath, to be view-'ed by all concerned; and the like as to all mortgages, alienations, 'transfers, and aſſignments.

'XIII) The joint ſtock of the company ſhall continue for 21 years: 'and one year before its expiration, books ſhall lie open for new ſub-'ſcriptions to a new joint ſtock.'

In an act of parliament for regaining, encouraging, and ſettling, the Greenland trade, it is obſerved, that the trade to the Greenland ſeas, in the fiſhing for whales, had heretofore been very beneficial to England, both in reſpect to the employment of ſeamen and ſhips, and the conſumption of great quantities of proviſions †, as alſo in the importation of great quantities of oil and whale-fins; yet that this trade had been wholely loſt to the kingdom, and could now no otherwiſe be revived than by united endeavours in a joint ſtock: 'wherefor this act incor-'porates Sir William Scawen, and forty-one perſons more, to be a cor-

* The committee-men are now called directors.

† How different is this ſtile from the proclamations of King James and King Charles I? *A.*

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'poration, by the name of the company of merchants of London trading to Greenland, with the uſual powers of ſucceſſion, &c. this company having already ſubſcribed L40,000 for that end: the maſter and only one third of the mariners to be Engliſh *, and the ſhips to be Engliſh-built. All contracts, agreements, and bargains, for their ſtock to be void, unleſs transferred within ten days after. This corporation to exiſt only for fourteen years from the 1ſt of October 1693.' [4, 5 *Gul. et Mar. c.* 17.]

The Engliſh and Dutch naval exploits in this year proved almoſt as unfortunate as they had been proſperous in the preceding one: for Sir George Rooke, with 23 ſhips of war, having the Turkey fleet under his convoy, was attacked by the grand fleet of France, commanded in chief by Tourville, off Cape St. Vincent, who took or deſtroyed 12 Engliſh and Dutch ſhips of war, together with 80 merchant ſhips, Engliſh and Dutch; which was a ſevere loſs to both nations.

The French, we have ſeen, having, even in time of peace, ſeized on all the forts of England in Hudſon's bay, excepting that at Port-Nelſon, in the year 1686, King William now ſent out ſuch a force as retook them all. Nevertheleſs, ſoon after, the French, with a ſtronger force, again took all the forts in that bay.

1694.—The revenues of the city of London having in ſome former times been under bad or negligent management, the fund for the orphans of freemen was ſuffered to run ſo far in arrear, that the chamber of London (where that fund was and is ſtill kept) was ſhut up for ſeveral years. Hereof great complaints were made at different times, inſomuch that this ſhutting up was compared to the ſhutting up of the exchequer in the year 1672. After three or four years ſolicitation, the magiſtracy coming into better hands, they obtained an act of parliament [5, 6 *Gul. et Mar. c.* 10] for relief of the orphans and other creditors of the city of London, purporting, 'that whereas the mayor, commonalty, and citizens, are anſwerable for all monies of their orphans; but that, by reaſon of ſundry accidents and calamities, they are now indebted to the ſaid orphans and other creditors, for principal and intereſt, in a much greater ſum than they are able to ſatisfy, (viz. L600,000) unleſs ſome aſſiſtance be given them. It was therefor enacted, 1ſt, that towards raiſing a perpetual fund to pay the yearly intereſt of 4 per cent for the whole debt, to any orphans, or their aſſigns, or other creditors, of the city of London, all the manors, meſſuages, markets, fairs, aqueducts, and revenues, of the city, (excepting the public hoſpitals and the revenues of London bridge) ſhould be charged forever, from midſummer 1694, towards raiſing the clear yearly ſum of L8000 forever, and L2000 more per annum to be raiſed on perſonal eſtates,

* The want of Engliſh harpooneers, &c. being at this time ſo great. *A.*

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'And, for the increaſe of this fund, L600 per annum was to be paid 'out of the profits of the convex lamps, (then in vogue, ſince come to 'nothing) 4*d* per chaldron for metage on coals imported, and 6*d* more 'per chaldron or ton, (for fifty years, from michaelmas 1700) to be 'collected in the ſame manner as by the act of the 19th of Charles II 'for rebuilding the city of London; alſo 4*ſ* per ton on wines import-'ed, 2*ſ*6 for binding every apprentice, and 5*ſ* for every new freeman. 'And to the intent that this fund might be perpetual, it was now enact-'ed, that from the time when the impoſition of 6*d* on coals ſhould 'ceaſe, (viz. michaelmas 1750) then the city lands, manors, meſſuages, 'markets, &c. and all other the city's revenues, ſhould be charged with 'the farther yearly ſum of L6000, over and above the before-named 'annual ſum of L8000 applicable to the ſame uſe. All which ſums 'ſhould, in the firſt place, be applied to pay the ſaid 4 per cent yearly 'for intereſt on the ſaid orphans debt, to be paid half-yearly, on mid-'ſummer and St. Thomas's day: which debt ſhould be a perpetual 'transferable ſtock. But no orphan ſhould for the future be compel-'lable to pay any money into the chamber of London. And any or-'phan (under 21 years of age) applying hereafter to pay a ſum of mo-'ney into the chamber of London, may take advantage of this act, and 'the chamberlain may thereupon pay off the like ſum to any who are 'not orphans under 21 years of age, and admit the ſaid orphan in his 'ſtead. There are alſo clauſes in favour of the corporations of the wa-'ter companies of the New river, York-buildings, Shadwell, and Lon-'don bridge.'

We may here add, that, upon the credit of this new orphans fund, a project was afterward propoſed to be ingrafted by Mr. William Pater-ſon (the firſt projector of the bank of England) and others, for raiſing an additional joint ſtock of L600,000, for lending money on land ſecu-rities, for a voluntary regiſter of lands, and for iſſuing and circulating a paper-credit, &c.; which, however, did not take place.

By the great increaſe of the ſhipping of London, the ſuburbs eaſt of the Tower and below St. Catherine's, called Wapping, were become ſo populous, that it was now found neceſſary to erect a new church and pariſh for the inhabitants thereof, by the name of the pariſh of St. John in Wapping, in the county of Middleſex.

A tax was laid on London hackney coaches (then fixed at 700 in number) of L4 per annum each, beſide a fine of L50 for a licence for twenty-one years, and L8 per annum on ſtage coaches. [5, 6 *Gul. et Mar. c.* 22.] And (that we may have no more to ſay hereafter on this point) by an act of the 9th year of Queen Anne, [*c.* 23] the hackney coaches of London were fixed at 800 in number, to commence from midſummer 1715, when the former term was to expire; from which term each of thoſe coaches were to pay 5*ſ* weekly. Alſo 200 hackney

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chairs were thereby licenced at 10/ each per annum; in the year following they were increaſed to 300; and by another act [12 *Geo. I. c.* 12] the hackney chairs were increaſed to 400 in number, by reaſon of the great increaſe of new buildings weſtward.

This year is memorable for the erection of the preſent moſt uſeful and laudable corporation of the BANK OF ENGLAND, which has not only proved extremely beneficial to commerce, but has alſo on many emergencies been a great ſupport of the public credit of the nation. We have ſeen, that before this time there were propoſals and ſchemes offered to the public for a like purpoſe: and it is indeed ſomewhat ſtrange, that a public or general bank, capable of not only ſupporting its own credit by a paper currency, for the benefit of commerce, eſpecially with reſpect to large payments, but alſo ſupporting the national credit, was not ſooner eſtabliſhed in a country ſo much abounding in wealth and commerce.

There were in Europe at this time but four very conſiderable banks, thoſe of Amſterdam, Venice, Genoa, and Hamburgh; of which all but that of Genoa are ſolely for the conveniency of merchants. At Amſterdam, Venice, and Hamburgh, all bills of exchange and other large payments are uſually paid in their banks, which ſaves much trouble to merchants.

There are banks in other parts of Europe, which are not only for the conveniency of commerce, but alſo for the emolument of their proprietors, who had originally advanced money to the ſtate, for which they had a perpetual fund of intereſt; and they obtained alſo the privilege of being caſh-keepers for merchants and others. Such are the banks of Genoa, Naples, and Bologna; there being two ſuch in the later city, in one of which, though only 10 per cent was ever paid in, they are ſaid to make a dividend on the whole nominal capital; and they are alſo ſaid to lend money at 1 per cent per annum, proceeding from the great caſh they are entruſted with without intereſt. After this ſecond ſort of banks was the bank of England modelled, as were alſo the two incorporated banks of Edinburgh.

Moſt of the former printed propoſals for public banks in England ſeem to have had that of Amſterdam principally in view: but although that famous bank be doubtleſs a noble and very uſeful one amongſt a people whoſe wealth conſiſts almoſt entirely of money, and what we call perſonal eſtates, it is at leaſt doubtful whether one entirely on that model would be ſo ſuitable for England. Be this as it may, it is certain that ſundry men of good abilities had for ſeveral years paſt employed their thoughts on a bank nearly reſembling that of Genoa, and partly thoſe alſo of our own private bankers, having circulating notes or bills, but with more than all the conveniencies of thoſe private ones, and without the hazard of bankruptcies. It was alſo well judged, that,

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in order to bring down the high rates of intereſt and premiums at this time paid by the government, (which was big with miſchief to commerce, by inducing men to draw their money out of trade), it would be requiſite to eſtabliſh a public transferable fund of intereſt; and that the bank ſhould alſo be for the conveniency of dayly receipts and payments; and ſhould be conſtituted a body-politic, with proper powers, &c.

Mr. William Paterſon, merchant, who had been much in ſundry foreign countries of Europe, had laboured this point ever ſince the year 1691 with Michael Godfrey Eſq. and others of the ſame mind: and as the government at this time was put to very conſiderable difficulties for raiſing the annual ſupplies, in order to ſupport an expenſive war againſt ſo potent a foreign enemy, while the public meaſures were at the ſame time clogged and diſtreſſed by a violently-diſſaffected faction at home, who alleged, that banks could thrive nowhere but in a republic, and yet would at other times argue, that ſuch a bank as was propoſed would make the king abſolute; he hoped that the government would therefor readily incorporate, with certain powers and privileges, a number of well-affected gentlemen, who would advance a large ſum, by way of loan, for the public exigencies: yet, as he himſelf relates in his 'Account of his tranſactions in relation to the bank of England and 'the orphans fund,' (1695, folio) he found it much more difficult to get it conſented to by the privy council, (the king being in Flanders) in order to be brought into parliament, than he had at firſt apprehended. The monied men alſo oppoſed it, leſt it ſhould diminiſh (as it certainly ſoon after did) their exorbitant gains from the public diſtreſſes; for even 8 per cent on the land-tax, beſides additional premiums, though payable within the year, did not ſatisfy them. Other anticipations of the public revenues were much higher, the intereſt, premiums, and diſcounts thereon running up to 20, 30, and 40, per cent. And ſad it was to conſider, that contracts for things ſold to the government were made on the foot of 40, 50, to 100 per cent above their current value, according to the ſame author, who was known to be well acquainted with the ſtate of things in thoſe times.

At this time, Mr. Paterſon obſerves, (in his ingenious book called the Conferences on the public debts, by the Wedneſday's club in Friday ſtreet) that ſo great was the difficulty of raiſing the annual ſupplies, that the miniſtry were obliged to ſtoop to ſolicitations to the London common council for borrowing only one or two hundred thouſand pounds at a time, on the firſt payments of the land-tax, as particular common-councilmen did to the private inhabitants in their reſpective wards, going from houſe to houſe for the loan of money.

The debates held long in the privy council, (Queen Mary preſent) many being of opinion that a bank would not anſwer, as they were

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only to have 8 per cent intereſt on the L1,200,000 to be advanced by the propoſers of this bank. The diſſaffected were all againſt it, alleging it would ingroſs the money, ſtock, and riches, of the kingdom.

At laſt, the parliament having paſſed an act [5, 6 *Gul. et Mar. c.* 20] for granting ſeveral rates and duties on tonnage of ſhips, and on beer, ale, and other liquors, for ſecuring certain recompenſes, &c. to ſuch perſons as ſhould voluntarily advance L1,500,000, it was thereby enacted, that their majeſties might grant a commiſſion to take particular ſubſcriptions for L1,200,000, part of the ſaid L1,500,000 *, of any perſons, natives or foreigners, whom their majeſties were empowered to incorporate, with a yearly allowance of L100,000, (viz. L96,000, or 8 per cent, for intereſt, till redeemed, and L4000 for charges of management.) The corporation to have the name of *The governor and company of the bank of England.* Their fund to be redeemable, upon a year's notice after the 1ſt of Auguſt 1705, and payment of the principal; and then the corporation to ceaſe. The company were enabled to purchaſe lands, &c. unlimitedly, and to enjoy the other uſual powers of corporations: their ſtock to be transferable. The corporation were not to borrow or give ſecurity under their common ſeal, by bill, bond, covenant, or agreement; nor owe at any one time more than L1,200,000, except by future acts of parliament, upon funds to be agreed on in parliament. And in caſe of their borrowing any greater ſum than L1,200,000 under their common ſeal, then every private member, and their heirs, executors, and adminiſtrators, are proportionably chargeable therewith, or for the repayment thereof. This corporation muſt not employ or trade with any of their ſtock, monies, or effects, in buying or ſelling any goods or merchandize whatever, on forfeiture of triple the value of what is ſo traded for. They may deal in bills of exchange, and in buying and ſelling bullion, gold, or ſilver, and in ſelling any goods or merchandize which ſhall be pledged to them for money lent, and which ſhall not be redeemed at the time agreed on, or within three months after; and may alſo ſell ſuch goods as ſhall be the produce of lands purchaſed by the ſaid corporation. Provided always, that all bills obligatory under the ſeal of the corporation may be aſſignable by indorſement; and ſuch aſſignment ſhall abſolutely veſt the property in the aſſignees. Proviſo, that if the governor, deputy-governor, directors †, managers, or other members, of the corporation, ſo to be eſtabliſhed, ſhall, upon the account of the ſaid corporation, at any time purchaſe any crown-lands or revenues, or ſhall advance to the crown any money by way of loan or anticipation on any branch of the revenue, other than on ſuch branches on which a credit of loan is or ſhall be granted by

* The miniſtry would not truſt the whole money to this new ſcheme. *A.*

† The name of *directors* now begins to come into uſe inſtead of committees. *A.*

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parliament, they ſhall forfeit triple the value of money ſo lent *. Provided, that no letters of ſignet, privy ſeal, or great ſeal, of the crown, ſhall pardon or remit any fine or amerciament charged on this corporation on account of any ſuit brought againſt them; but ſuch fine ſhall be deducted out of their annual fund. The reſt of this long act relates to annuities for one, two, or three, lives, for L300,000 principal money; the reſidue of the L1,500,000 raiſed by this act to be granted by the king.

In conſequence of this act of parliament, the ſubſcriptions for the L1,200,000 were completed in ten days time, and L25 per cent paid down. And the king's charter of incorporation was executed on the 27th of July 1694; though it muſt be here obſerved, that the charter was in fact little more than a piece of form, all the eſſential powers, privileges, &c. granted to the bank, being included in the act of parliament, which has virtually been a leading one for the erection of all future great trading corporations; whereby, agreeable to the act of the year 1689, for declaring the rights and liberties of the ſubjects, &c. the crown is limited and reſtrained from granting, by its ſole authority, new excluſive powers, privileges, &c. to any perſon or body-politic whatever; upon which ground it is, that all corporations, erected ſolely by the crown, without the ſanction of parliament, (whether before or ſince the date of that famous act) which claim any excluſive rights by their charters, have, upon proper and public inquiry, been determined to be ſo far illegal.

We may here alſo farther remark, that this is the firſt inſtance of any national fund being managed by any other than the crown officers at the exchequer. This new method of allowing a round ſum for charges of management has been ever ſince followed, not only with reſpect to the bank, but alſo to the Eaſt-India and South-ſea companies. The allowances for the expenſe of management (i. e. for ſalaries of governors, directors, clerks, office-rent, &c.) were at firſt uſually computed from what ſuch funds had formerly coſt the crown when managed at the exchequer; though in later times, I conceive, moſtly with ſome ſaving to the public in this new method.

The erection of this famous bank (ſays its projector Mr. Paterſon, who was choſen one of its firſt directors) not only relieved the miniſterial managers from their frequent proceſſions, as he terms them, into the city, for borrowing money on the beſt and neareſt public ſecurities, at an intereſt of 10 or 12 per cent per annum, but likewiſe gave life and currency to double or triple the value of its capital in other branches of public credit; and ſo, under God, became the principal means of the ſucceſs of the campaign in the following year 1695, as particularly in

* This clauſe ſeems intended to guard againſt ſuch a diſaſter as Charles II brought upon the commercial intereſts of the country by ſhutting up the exchequer in the year 1672. *A.*

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reducing the important fortreſs of Namur, the firſt material ſtep towards the peace concluded at Ryſwick in the year 1697.

Mr. Godfrey, in his judicious Brief account of the intended bank of England, (1694) wiſely foretold, 'that if the bank can circulate their 'foundation of L1,200,000, without having more than L300,000 ly- 'ing dead at one time with another, the ſaid bank will be in effect as 'L900,000 freſh money brought into the nation. Thus' (continues he) 'it will make money plentiful, trade eaſy and ſecure; will raiſe 'the price of lands, will draw the ſpecies of gold and ſilver into the 'hands of the common people, as we ſee it in Holland, Genoa, and 'other places, where theſe funds are accommodated to receipts and 'payments. But after all,' (ſays he) 'the happy effects of this under- 'taking, like almoſt all other great things in trade, will be beſt under- 'ſtood by the practice thereof, when time ſhall convince the ignorant,' &c. And as this has actually happened as that able gentleman foretold, we ſhall not need to ſay more in this place on the great benefits of this bank.

The charter directs, that there be a governor, deputy-governor, and twenty-four directors *, of whom thirteen or more ſhall conſtitute a court, the governor or deputy-governor to be always one. L500 ſtock to be the loweſt qualifications for a vote in general courts; and no proprietor, how much ſoever his ſtock may be, to have more than one vote. The governor's qualification ſtock to be at leaſt L4000, the deputy-governor's L3000, and each director's L2000; and all theſe ſhall be natural-born ſubjects, or naturalized. Leſſening their qualification ſtock vacates their offices, which ſhall be only annual. They ſhall take the ſtate oath, and alſo the oath of office, and the oath of ſtock-qualification. Voters alſo in general courts ſhall take the qualification oath and ſtate oath. No dividend to be made but by conſent of a general court, and only out of the intereſt, profit, or produce, ariſing by ſuch dealing, buying, and ſelling, as the act of parliament allows. General courts may make bye laws, &c. agreeable to the act of parliament and

* The names of the firſt directors of this great and opulent corporation ought not to be omitted in a hiſtory of commerce. They were,
Sir John Houblon, governor,
Michael Godfrey, Eſq. deputy-governor.
Directors.
Sir John Huſband,
Sir James Houblon,
Sir William Gore,
Sir William Scawen,
Sir Henry Furneſe,
Sir Thomas Abney,
Sir William Hedges,
Brook Bridges,
James Bateman,
George Boddington,
Edward Clerke,
James Denew,
Thomas Goddard,
Abraham Houblon,
Gilbert Heathcote,
Theodore Janſen,
John Lordell,
Samuel Lethieullier,
William Paterſon,
Robert Raworth,
John Smith,
Obadiah Sedgwick,
Nathaniel Tench, and
John Ward, Eſquires.

M.

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the general laws of the kingdom; may impoſe fines on delinquents; may appoint ſalaries to governors, directors, &c. Stock to be deviſeable by will, to be atteſted by three or more witneſſes *. Laſtly, neither the governor, nor the deputy-governor in his abſence, ſhall have any vote, either in general courts or in courts of directors, ſave where there ſhall appear to be an equality or equal number of votes.

It is evident from the act of parliament and charter, that this bank is empowered to lend money on pledges; yet the corporation has as yet made little or no uſe of that power, although in the London gazette of the 6th of May 1695 is the following advertiſement, viz. 'The court 'of directors of the bank of England give notice, that they will lend 'money on plate, lead, tin, copper, ſteel, and iron, at 4 per cent per 'annum.' They have hitherto contented themſelves with banking only, including therein the dealing in bullion, gold, and ſilver, diſcounting bills of exchange, advancing money to the public on the credit of acts of parliament, and circulating their own ſealed bills, which bore intereſt, (though ſince laid aſide) and their caſh-notes on demand, bearing no intereſt; as alſo circulating exchequer bills for the government on a ſtated allowance. In all which this happy corporation has proved extremely advantageous to the nation, and has preſerved its integrity, and, as far as was poſſible, its credit, even in very perilous times, down to our own days, chiefly owing to their great care in electing for their governors and directors only gentlemen of known abilities and integrity, as well as of fortune.

Notwithſtanding all the precautions uſed in the powers given by law to the bank, it had many enemies to ſtruggle againſt. Even before this year expired it was ſharply animadverted on in print as unfit to be continued. Some very ridiculous objections paſſed down with many; as, that all national banks have hitherto been peculiar to republics, this being the firſt of any in Europe erected in a monarchy; that its managers and chief ſubſcribers were inclinable to republican principles; that it may ſubvert the regal government, by getting the public money, &c. into their hands; that it draws the money out of trade for the ſake of 8 per cent intereſt; that it deſtroys perſonal credit, on which young merchants were wont to be ſupported in their commerce, &c.

On the 28th of September 1694 the Engliſh Eaſt-India company had a ſecond charter of regulations, which, after reciting the ſubſtance of the two preceding charters, made the following alterations and explanations, *(inter alia)* viz.

1) The company may licence their own commanders and mariners, but no others, to trade on their own private account in ſuch commo-

* This was altered by an act of the 8th and 9th of King William, which made bank ſtock a perſonal eſtate, and to deſcend accordingly. *A.*

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dities, and to ſuch value, as a general court ſhall direct, provided entry be firſt duely made, as well as cuſtom paid, before landing the ſame.

II) To the intent that the company's annual exportation to India of the value of L100,000 of Engliſh goods may truely be proved, a juſt account thereof in writing, ſigned by the governor or deputy, ſhall be annually laid before the king and council, atteſted on the oaths of the proper officers; which goods ſhall not be relanded, nor carried anywhere out of the company's limits.

III) Neither the governor, deputy, nor committee, ſhall lend out the company's money, without the authority of a general court, &c.

IV) If this and the two laſt charters ſhall not appear to be profitable to the crown and realm, either in whole or in part, then, after three years warning, all the three charters ſhall be determined and void, and the governor and company ſhall no longer continue a corporation. Laſtly,

V) This company ſhall, by a writing under their common ſeal, declare their acceptance of, and ſubmiſſion to, this and the ſaid two laſt charters, or elſe they ſhall no longer act as a corporation.

We may here juſt briefly note a temporary law for encouraging the building of good and defenſible ſhips, which grants one tenth part of the tonnage and poundage duty to the builders of three-decked ſhips, of at leaſt 450 tons burden and 32 guns, for ten years to come, to be allowed only on their firſt three voyages. [5, 6 *Gul. et Mar. c.* 24.]

This year the Dutch took from the French the fortreſs of Pondicherry on the coaſt of Coromandel, whereby (as *Voltaire* in his *Age of Louis XIV* obſerves) the commerce of France declined very much in India. Yet Louis obliged the Dutch, at the peace of Ryſwick in 1697, to reſtore Pondicherry to the French company; and it was thereupon better fortified by that company. They have alſo ſince then greatly increaſed their commerce to India, as both the Engliſh and Dutch companies know to their coſt.

By the new ſubſcription of L744,000 which added 781 members to the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, it might have been imagined, that they had now effectually ſecured themſelves againſt the future attacks of opponents. But as this company had expended vaſt ſums of money to courtiers, members of parliament, and others, as well for obtaining the laſt three charters, as in endeavouring to divide and buy off the interlopers; and more eſpecially in endeavouring to obtain an act of parliament for their abſolute legal eſtabliſhment, their enemies found means to influence the houſe of commons ſo far againſt them, as to enter upon a ſtrict examination of their practices. In the courſe of the inquiry they diſcovered, that in the year 1693 alone, whilſt Sir Thomas Cooke was governor, and Francis Tyſſen, Eſq. deputy governor, upwards of L80,000 were expended for ſecret ſervices by the former, and by Sir Baſil Fire-

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braſs, (lately brought off from the interloping intereſt) which two laſt-named gentlemen, refuſing to diſcover to whom the ſaid ſecret-ſervice money was given, were, together with Mr. Charles Bates and Mr. James Craggs, committed to the tower of London by the houſe of commons in the year 1695. And although, in obedience to an act of parliament of this year, Sir Thomas Cooke made a diſcovery of many things to both houſes of parliament, yet it did not give entire ſatisfaction, as may be more fully ſeen in a printed collection and ſupplement of the debates and proceedings of parliament of the years 1694 and 1695, upon the inquiries into the late briberies and corrupt practices, (quarto, 1695) concerning which we ſhall juſt obſerve, that ſundry ſiniſter arts at that time uſed, were afterward practiſed on a ſimilar occaſion in the famous year 1720: ſuch, for inſtance, as Sir Baſil Firebraſs's contracting with the Eaſt-India company to put (i. e. to oblige that company to receive of him) L60,000 India ſtock at 150 per cent, when the charter ſhould be granted, although their ſtock was then only at 100 per cent: whereupon the company paid him the difference, being L30,000; the diſpoſal of which laſt ſum Sir Baſil Firebraſs could never be brought to diſcover. Great ſums were alſo laid out for the refuſal of ſtock at certain prices on the ſame ſuppoſition. Refuſal of ſtock was a contract for having the option of demanding ſtock at a fixed price; as the put of ſtock was a contract by which, for a premium paid down, the contractor obliged himſelf to take a fixed quantity of a ſtock, at a future time, for a fixed and higher price therein ſpecified. Theſe new-fangled or cant terms were firſt brought into uſe by this company; and in this way of ſtock-jobbing dayly bargains were made for many ſucceeding years, ſo as to be ſince reduced into a kind of ſcience; but moſt eminently in the famous year 1720, and ſome years after, till all ſuch time-contracts and bargains for ſtocks were made penal by act of parliament. Great ſums were alſo laid out by the managers to anſwer the company's contracts for ſale of ſtock, &c. The houſe of commons had alſo impeached the duke of Leeds, then lord preſident of the council, on the ſaid account; but the prorogation of the parliament put an end to it. Some years after all this buſtle was over, Sir Thomas Cooke had L12,000 beſtowed on him by the general court of this company, by way of compenſation for his former ſufferings on their account.

This year the noble and magnificent hoſpital at Greenwich, for the reception of decayed ſailors ſerving in the royal navy, was founded. King William and Queen Mary had for ſome time had this much at heart; and they accordingly made a grant of the royal palace at Greenwich, (a part of which, on the weſt ſide, had been begun to be rebuilt for a royal palace by King Charles II) as alſo of a large adjoining ſpace of ground, for this end. King William, after Queen Mary's death, on the 25th of October 1695 appointed by patent a number of commiſ-

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ſioners for directing the building and endowing of the intended hoſpital, and granted a large ſum out of his civil liſt for that end; and his royal ſucceſſors were alſo conſiderable benefactors to it. At length annual ſums were granted by parliament for finiſhing this truely magnificent ornament and glory of Great Britain, which was fully completed in the reign of his late majeſty King George II.

In the ſecond edition of Gibſon's Continuation of Camden's Britannia, we have an authentic view of the vaſt increaſe of the royal navy of England, exhibited in this year 1695, by Samuel Pepys Eſq. viz.

	In Camden's time, anno 1607.	At this time, anno 1695.
Number of ſhips and veſſels from fifty tons and upwards -	but——40 ſhips,	now above 200 ſhips.
The general tonnage of the whole -	was under 23,600 tons,	now above 112,400 tons
The number of men required for manning the ſame - -	was under 7,800 men,	now above 45,000 men.
The medium of its annual charge during the laſt 5 years of peace,	under L115,500 ——	above L400,000
Ditto of war, -	under 96,400 ——	above 1,620,000

In this remarkable year, the parliament, gentry, and merchants, of Scotland made a very great effort, perhaps one of the greateſt that had ever been eſſayed at one time by any European nation in their very firſt attempt, for eſtabliſhing a colony of their own people in America; and, at the ſame time, a company for commerce to Africa and Eaſt-India: which, however, proved ultimately very fatal to Scotland. It was ſaid to have been underhand ſet on and encouraged by the interlopers in the Engliſh Eaſt-India trade; who, finding that both king and parliament inclined to favour the company, flattered themſelves with hopes, that, by thus encouraging the Scottiſh deſign, they might obtain their own particular ends.

Be that as it may, it is certain, that the Scots had long lamented their being almoſt the only maritime nation in Europe, without the Mediterranean and Baltic ſeas, who had no colony nor ſettlement out of Europe. This point was more eſpecially in their thoughts ſince the reſtoration of King Charles II; but the violent meaſures of the two royal brothers prevented that harmony, which was neceſſary to reconcile people of oppoſite parties in ſo great a national concern. Upon King William's acceſſion they began to think more ſeriouſly about ſuch mercantile ſchemes in Scotland; and in the year 1693 their parliament paſſed

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an act for encouraging foreign trade, by empowering merchants to enter into commercial ſocieties; more eſpecially for trading to Aſia, Africa, and America. And that act paved the way for another in this year, and for a royal charter in conſequence of it, incorporating a company to trade to thoſe parts. It had been framed by Mr. William Paterſon *, the projector of the bank of England, and of the new orphans fund, who propoſed a place in the country called Darien, very near the iſthmus which joins North and South America, uninhabited by any European people, for a Scottiſh colony; and to have another ſettlement oppoſite to it, on the South ſea near Panama; whereby a great trade might be carried on both to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. The ſubſtance of the Scottiſh act of parliament and charter was,

I) That a number of perſons of quality, and of eminent merchants, &c. and their ſucceſſors, ſhall conſtitute a company for a trade to Aſia, Africa, and America; to be called *The company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies.*

II) Half its capital ſtock, at leaſt, ſhall always belong to native Scots, always reſiding in Scotland; the reſt to Scots in foreign parts, and to foreigners.

III) The qualifications of members.

IV) The company's power to purchaſe lands, &c.

V) And to levy forces and fit out ſhips, for war as well as commerce, and that they may plant colonies and erect forts anywhere not being the property of any European ſtate, &c. provided, that all their ſhips ſhall return directly to Scotland with their cargoes.

VI, VII, VIII) The trade to Aſia and Africa to be for ever excluſive of all but the company; but to Darien only for thirty-one years, to hold their lands of the crown in ſovereignty. And *if any damage be done to the company, the king promiſes to interpoſe at the public charge, for juſtice and reſtitution.*

IX) Ships and merchandize to be free from all reſtraints and prohibitions; as alſo from all cuſtoms and taxes for twenty-one years, as ſhall alſo the company's members, ſervants, &c.

No ſooner was the company erected, than Mr. Paterſon and his friends in England had influence to get L300,000 ſterling ſubſcribed in nine days. Soon after L300,000 more was ſubſcribed in Scotland, the whole capital being at firſt deſigned to be but L600,000 ſterling. But, fearing that the Engliſh ſubſcribers would ſoon be obliged to withdraw their ſubſcriptions, Mr. Paterſon and his aſſociates went to Amſterdam, where they at firſt met with encouragement: but the magiſtrates ſoon

* Mr. Paterſon had lived ſome years in America, and in other foreign countries, and had entered deeply into ſpeculations relating to commerce and colonies. He was ſo much regarded for his merit and public ſervices, that the Britiſh houſe of commons in the year 1713 voted L18,241: 10: 10 to be paid to him on account of his loſſes in this unſucceſsful project. *A.*

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ſuſpecting the prejudice this new company might do to their Eaſt and Weſt India companies, entirely fruſtrated their ſubſcriptions there. So their next attempt was at Hamburgh, where they were cordially receiv- ed, the citizens expreſſing their ſorrow that there was room for no more than L200,000 ſterling for them to ſubſcribe. Thus far the company's wiſhes ſucceeded; and, as it was expected, that in Scotland L200,000 more would be ſubſcribed to make the capital up to one million ſterling, they therefor haſtened the building and purchaſing ſhips of great bur- den at Hamburgh and Amſterdam, when ſuddenly this fine project was overclouded, by the alarm taken by both the Engliſh houſes of par- liament, who in December 1695 very pathetically addreſſed the king againſt the great advantages which he had granted to this company: 'whereby ſay they, a great part of the ſtock and ſhipping of England 'will be carried into Scotland, where there will be a free port for all 'Eaſt-India commodities; and conſequently, the ſeveral places of Eu- 'rope, till now ſupplied from England, will from thence be furniſhed 'much cheaper. The Eaſt-India merchandize alſo will be run into 'England by the Scots, to the unſpeakable prejudice of England's trade 'and navigation, and of your majeſty's cuſtoms: and, if the Scots be 'ſuffered to ſettle plantations in America, our commerce in tobacco, 'ſugar, cotton, ſkins, maſts, &c. will be utterly loſt.' With much more to the ſame effect.

King William's firſt anſwer was, that he had been ill ſerved in Scot- land; but nevertheleſs he hoped that remedies might be found out to prevent the miſchiefs ſuggeſted.

The houſe of commons alſo inquiring into the ſubſcriptions made in England, the managers thereof diſappeared, and two of them were im- peached by that houſe. The firſt ſubſcription money was therefor re- paid to the ſubſcribers, whereby L300,000 was at once cut off from the new company's capital. It was alſo apprehended, that, ſhould this com- pany ſucceed, the Scots would in time become ſo powerful as to be able to ſeparate themſelves altogether from England, which would be attend- ed with very fatal conſequences. It is therefor not at all to be won dered at, that the Engliſh miniſtry and council, as well as the parlia ment, ſo ſtrongly urged the king to cruſh this company in its infancy. For which end, Sir Paul Rycaut, the Engliſh miniſter at Hamburgh, earneſtly remonſtrated to that opulent city againſt permitting the depu ties of the Scottiſh company to keep an open office for ſubſcriptions there, as having no authority for it from King William. Yet the trad- ers at Hamburgh, being very fond of the ſcheme, eſteemed it a great hardſhip to be prevented from ſubſcribing. They were however forced, with much regret, to relinquiſh their ſubſcriptions; whereby L200,000 more was cut off from the company's capital, after it had coſt L30,000 in obtaining it. The council-general and the court of directors of the

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Scottiſh company in vain applied to the king, and they got addreſſes to him from all parts of Scotland, for obtaining the ſitting of their parliament: and, notwithſtanding all theſe diſappointments at London, Amſterdam, and Hamburgh, they took an additional ſubſcription at home of L100,000, which made their entire capital in Scotland L400,000 ſterling: and (that we may diſpatch this matter entirely, now we are upon it) having, as they imagined, well weighed all the treaties with Spain, they ſtrongly inſiſted, that the country of Darien, in which they determined to plant, was never planted nor ſettled by Spain; but was always under the independent government of its own Indian chiefs, who have, for the moſt part, remained in a ſtate of enmity with the Spaniards. Wherefor, with five ſtout ſhips and 1,200 men, and all kinds of implements for war and commerce, they ſailed thither in the year 1698, with many brave and experienced men, who had ſerved in the late war, and were diſmiſſed at the peace of Ryſwick. The ſame year they landed in Darien, and immediately erected a fort, and formed a plantation on a point of land, within which, about a league from Golden iſland, they found a ſafe and capacious harbour, calling their firſt fort St. Andrew, and their new town there New Edinburgh. Recruits of two ſhips and 300 men at one time, and of four ſhips and 1,300 men at another time, with ſtores, &c. were ſent after them; all which, and ſeveral other ſhips with ſupplies, came for the greateſt part to unforeſeen misfortunes in their way to Darien, which they had now named Caledonia. There were exceeding great rejoicings all-over Scotland on the news of their landing: for, as they pompouſly, and truely, termed this ſettlement the height of the world, as lying between the ſpacious North and South ſeas, their views were at firſt very towering. By the propoſed ſettlements on each ſhore of the iſthmus, they flattered themſelves they ſhould be beforehand with all the trading nations of Europe; firſt, by ſupplying Peru and Mexico with whatever they wanted from Europe, and, in return, ſupplying Europe with the treaſure and other product of thoſe two rich empires; ſecondly, it being about ſix weeks ſailing from their intended port on the South ſea to Japan and to ſome parts of China, and as there is but a ſmall land carriage of a few leagues over that iſthmus, they computed, that in four or five months time they could bring the riches of Japan and China into Europe, and thereby greatly underſell all the other Eaſt-India companies of Europe. They were not aware, that theſe flattering conſiderations were ſo many undoubted bars to their ſucceſs, and that it would be the evident intereſt of all the commercial nations of Europe to fruſtrate their whole alluring plan. Beſides all theſe romantic ſchemes, and their projected trade to the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt coaſts of Africa, they had farther in view the production of cochineal, ſugar, indigo, tobacco, and many other undoubtedly feaſible things, in their own colony of Caledonia; and in-

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deed, it muſt needs be owned, that, ſuppoſing all Europe but themſelves to be faſt aſleep, the very advantageous ſituation of their colony, together with the national bottom, and ſtill large capital of their company, ſeemingly promiſed, ſooner or later, the accompliſhment of moſt of the great things they had in view. But they ought certainly to have expected oppoſition, from almoſt every quarter, to every part of this fine-ſpun ſcheme: for, beſides the general intereſt of England, conſidered by all men to be in imminent danger from this ſcheme, King Charles II of Spain was then our ally, and his miniſter at London preſented a very ſharp memorial to King William againſt the Darien ſettlement, which he termed 'an inſult of the Scots, in attempting to ſettle 'themſelves in the very heart of the Spaniſh dominions in America; 'and which his maſter therefor looked upon as a rupture of the alli-'ance between the two crowns.' To this the Scottiſh company replied with great labour and learning, and exhauſted all the civil-law arguments, touching the nature of the poſſeſſion of countries; urging, that they had at leaſt as good a right to ſettle in Darien as the French had to ſettle on Hiſpaniola and on the Miſſiſippi, or the Dutch at Surinam, &c. all which had been eſteemed parts of the Spaniſh dominions in America, and were generally ſurrounded with Spaniſh colonies; with much more to this ſame purpoſe. The Dutch likewiſe were extremely jealous of this Scottiſh ſettlement, as what might greatly ſpoil their contraband trade from Curaçoa, &c. to the Spaniſh American coaſts; and might in time alſo prove very detrimental to their Eaſt-India company. Laſtly, the French were no leſs jealous of this company, on the ſcore of their Weſt-India commerce, which at this time began to be conſiderable. They therefor excited the king of Spain's reſentment, and modeſtly hinted their readineſs to aſſiſt him in driving the Scots out of Darien, at the very time (anno 1698) they were juſt beginning a French colony in the bay of Mexico, at the entrance into the great river Miſſiſippi, always eſteemed a part of Spaniſh Florida; and were likewiſe extending their late poſſeſſion of the weſt end of Hiſpaniola, always, from Columbus's days till very lately, poſſeſſed by Spain. Thus was King William teazed and preſſed on every ſide, for the ſuppreſſion of this new company, and was therefor neceſſitated to comply with the urgent deſires of his parliament and people of England; of the Dutch, whoſe ſtadtholder he then was; and of his other allies; to ſend inſtructions, in January 1698-9, to the governors of all the Engliſh American colonies, ſtrictly to prohibit all correſpondence with the Scots in Darien. For it ſeems the colonies of New-England and New-York were thought to have a warm ſide toward the Scottiſh colony, and would gladly have ſupplied them with neceſſaries, as their ſucceſs would have opened a new and large market for their fiſh, corn, pork, beef, butter, &c. Proclamations, therefor, in the ſpring of 1699, were publiſhed in

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all the Engliſh colonies, ſtrictly prohibiting, under the ſevereſt penalties, their holding any correſpondence with, or giving any aſſiſtance to, the Scots at Darien. The news of this proclamation, and of the temper of the Engliſh parliament and people, thunderſtruck the colony, who had before that time received ſupplies both from Jamaica and New-York, and till now depended on the continuance thereof, until their own from Scotland ſhould arrive: of which now deſpairing, and being alſo denied any from Jamaica, whither they had ſent for a freſh ſupply, they were neceſſitated to abandon their ſettlement on the 20th of June 1699, which they had bravely defended againſt troops of Spaniards who had attacked it; and, being now ſtarved out of it, it is generally aſſerted, that, out of ſo many ſtout men who went thither, ſcarce one hundred ever got back to Scotland, where this ſad diſaſter greatly inflamed the parliament and people againſt their neighbours of England. The company petitioned the king for redreſs, while they were endeavouring to repoſſeſs their colony, by ſending out ſhips with men and ſtores, when, to their farther ſorrow, a ſecond ſet of proclamations, in the later end of the year 1699, came out in all the Engliſh colonies againſt the Scots: ſome of whoſe ſhips, driven thither in diſtreſs, were denied any neceſſaries; one of them, with a valuable cargo, being driven under the walls of Carthagena, was ſeized by the Spaniards, who from that place had now blocked up the remains of the Scottiſh ſettlement both by ſea and land, and forced the few people left therein to ſurrender. King William anſwered the company's petition with a condolement for their loſſes, and with a general declaration of being always ready to protect and encourage the commerce of Scotland. But the king's anſwer to the lords addreſs ſeemed now the only proper expedient, 'for healing the rancour of the 'minds of both nations, by uniting them more completely; that, after 'they had lived near one hundred years under the ſame head, they 'might at length become one people; which he therefor earneſtly re-'commended to their conſideration.' Whereupon the lords paſſed a bill for an union; which, however, the commons at that time rejected. This laſt effort of Scotland was ſo conſiderable, and carried in it ſo many inſtructive hints relative to commerce and plantations, that we thought it well merited this ſummary account of it.

The Scots were more ſucceſsful in their firſt bank, erected this year, under the ſanction of an act of their parliament, by the name of the Governor and company of the bank of Scotland. And though its capital ſtock was only L1,200,000 Scots, or L100,000 ſterling, which in England has but a mean ſound for a national bank, it has, nevertheleſs, proved very advantageous to the commerce of that country. It was projected by Mr. William Paterſon, who projected the bank of England. Mr. John Law, who afterwards made ſo great a figure at the head of the finances of France, and who may be preſumed to have been well acquainted with

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this bank, in his treatiſe of money and trade conſidered, aſſerts, 'that 'its notes went for four or five times the value of the caſh in bank; 'and, that ſo much as the amount of thoſe notes exceeded the caſh in 'bank, was a clear addition to the money of that nation.' He adds, 'that this bank was ſafer than that of England, becauſe the lands of 'Scotland, on the ſecurity of which moſt of the caſh of that bank was 'lent, are under a regiſter; that, moreover, it was more national or ge-'neral than either the bank of England, or that of Amſterdam, becauſe 'its notes * paſs in moſt payments throughout the whole country; 'whereas the bank of Amſterdam ſerves only for that one city, and 'that of England is of little uſe but in London †.' The Scottiſh bank ſoon roſe to very great credit: yet it was once obliged to ſtop payment, partly occaſioned, ſays Law, by a greater conſumption of foreign wares than the value of the goods exported, partly from the expenſe of the Scottiſh nobility and gentry in England, and partly, alſo, from a ſuppoſed intention in the Scottiſh privy council to raiſe the denomination of the coin, all which, together, occaſioned ſo great a run on that bank, that its caſh was in a few days exhauſted; but it ſoon regained its original credit, and might poſſibly have remained the ſole bank there to this day, had not the directors been thought to have teſtified too great a bias towards diſaffection to the ſtate. This occaſioned a conſideration by ſome noble patriots in the reign of King George I, whether another bank might not be erected at Edinburgh, for the conveniency of the government, as well as of trade in general, into which bank the public revenues of Scotland might be paid. It was accordingly incorporated by that king's charter, in the year 1727, by the name of the royal bank, and has fully anſwered the ends propoſed by it, its capital being L151,000 ſterling. And though it may have pretty much eclipſed the elder bank, they, however, both ſubſiſt very well, and are extremely uſeful to the country.

The million bank was one of the many projects ſtarted about this time; and it has preſerved its credit to our own times. It took its riſe from a ſet of London bankers, who lent out money on pledges. They afterwards agreed to purchaſe tickets in partnerſhip in King William's million lottery in the year 1695, and from thence they were called the company of the million bank. Next, they purchaſed many reverſions of the 14 per cent annuities, and admitted many proprietors of annuities to purchaſe their joint ſtock, which amounted, and ſtill amounts, to L500,000. They are no company by charter, but only a partnerſhip by deed, enrolled in chancery prior to the act of parliament

* Many of the notes are ſo low as twenty ſhillings ſterling. *A.*

Mr. A. did not expect that the bank of England was ever to deſcend to twenty ſhilling notes. *M.*

† In the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, when Mr. Law wrote, this aſſertion might be true; but now the bank of England is of great uſe all-over the country. *A.*

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againſt ſuch unincorporated partnerſhips, paſſed in the year 1721. They divided 5 per cent yearly to their proprietors until lady-day 1728, when they reduced their annual dividend to 4 per cent.

In theſe times a great number of new projects were ſet on foot in London, many of which were at bottom good for nothing, and drew in numbers of people to their ruin. Some of them ſtarted up with the bank of England in the preceding year, others in this year 1695.

Such as, I) Two land banks; the one projected by Dr. Chamberlain, a famous man-midwife, (of which more by and bye) the other by one John Briſcoe.

II) A project for circulating notes of hand, and bills of credit.

III) Another, called the London bank, propoſed to be managed by the magiſtrates of that city.

IV) Lotteries; many private ones all over the kingdom; ſome for money, and ſome for merchandize: the laſt kind the greater cheat of the two, for thereby old and decayed merchandize of many ſorts were put off by means of thoſe roguiſh lotteries.

V) Many metallic and mineral projects, for gold, ſilver, copper, tin, iron, lead, lapis calaminaris, for turning copper into braſs, antimony, coals, ſalt, &c.

VI) Diving engines of various kinds, all come out ſince the taking up of the treaſure out of the ſea in the Weſt-Indies, called the duke of Albemarle's Spaniſh wreck, or Sir William Phipp's, which ſet men's heads at work; and royal patents were obtained for the ſole fiſhing for ſuch wrecks in the American ſeas, and on the coaſts of Scotland, Ireland, Spain, Portugal &c. Theſe wreck projects made much noiſe at this time; and ſhares for them were preſented to perſons of diſtinction, to give reputation to the affair, and to draw in others. Expeditions were made on theſe accounts to ſundry ſea-coaſts: by which, however, nothing was taken up but a few cannon, &c. So the patentees were ſure to be gainers, but the ſharers under them loſt all they paid in: ſome of whom, however, it ſeems, were men of good underſtanding, but were allured with the hopes of getting vaſt ſudden wealth without trouble.

VII) Projects for pearl fiſhing, for hollow ſword blades, glaſs bottles, japanning, printed hangings, leather, Venetian metal, &c. Some of which were very uſeful and ſucceſsful, whilſt they continued in a few hands, till they fell into ſtock-jobbing, now much introduced, when they dwindled to nothing. Others of them were mere whims, of little or no ſervice to the world. Many of them, too, though pretended to be new, were either old Engliſh projects revived, or elſe were, on this occaſion, borrowed from unſucceſsful ones in foreign nations.

Moreover, projects, as uſual, begat projects. Lottery upon lottery, engine upon engine, &c. multiplied wonderfully. If it happened that

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any one perſon got conſiderably by an happy and uſeful invention, the conſequence generally was, that others followed the track, in ſpite of the patent, and publiſhed printed propoſals, filling the dayly newſpapers therewith, thus going on to juſtle out one another, and to abuſe the credulity of the people. All theſe, and much more, we have abridged from a quarto pamphlet, publiſhed by an anonymous author (who ſtiles himſelf a perſon of honour) under the title of Angliæ Tutamen, or the Safety of England, being an account of the banks, lotteries, diving, draining, metallic, ſalt, linen, and lifting, and ſundry other engines, and many other pernicious projects now on foot, tending to the deſtruction of trade and commerce, and the impoveriſhing of this realm. London, 1695.

VIII) Embryo banks, continues this author, begotten, but not brought forth; ſundry of ſuch being at this time hatching.

IX) The projectors of many of theſe made a great noiſe in the town, for drawing in people to join with them, making uſe of ſundry tricks and ſtratagems. As, firſt, they pretend a mighty vein of gold, ſilver, or copper, to have been diſcovered in a piece of ground of their knowlege; then they agree with the lord, or patentee, for a ſmall yearly rent, or a part reſerved to him, to grant them a leaſe for twenty-one years to dig that ground, which they immediately fall to, and give out, it is a very rich mine. Next, they ſettle a company, divide it uſually into 400 ſhares, and pretend to carry on the work for the benefit of all the proprietors, who, at the beginning, purchaſe ſhares at a low rate, viz. ten or twenty ſhillings, &c. then all on a ſudden they run up the ſhares to L3, L5, L10, and L15 per ſhare; then they fall to ſtock-jobbing, which infallibly ruins all projects, when thoſe originally and principally concerned ſell out their intereſt; and by this and other underhand dealings, trickings, and ſharping, on one another, the whole falls to the ground, and is abandoned by every body.

X) The Engliſh, Scottiſh, and Iriſh, linen manufactures met with all due encouragement, King William and Queen Mary honouring them with their names, which made their fame to riſe: abundance of people of condition came into them, ſome from lucre, others for love to their country. They got to be incorporated, choſe governors, &c. and actually ſet to work ſpinners, weavers, whitſters, &c. and all ſeemed to promiſe fair; but here again ſtock-jobbing ruined all: they had even brought linen cloth to great perfection, having ſome Dutch hands, and a few heads to aſſiſt them. By the aſſiſtance of the Dutch, continues our author, we have much improved our lands in the north parts of this kingdom, by ſowing vaſt quantities of lint-ſeed, rape-ſeed, &c. whereof making oils in great quantities, we export in abundance, and conſume at home, in lieu of foreign and dearer oils, to our double advantage.

XI) White, blue, and brown, paper, we have had the good fortune to

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improve wonderfully; and although we cannot reach the French perfection, we come pretty near it *.

XII) Water companies, as the New River, Thames, of London bridge, of Shadwell, and York buildings, Hampſtead, Conduit, &c. Theſe deſerved good encouragment; and ſo the firſt, viz. the New River, has had, to the vaſt emolument of the proprietors, though the unhappy gentleman, Sir Hugh Middleton, who began the work, ſuffered extremely in his fortune. It ſeems, none of theſe had as yet ſuffered ſtock-jobbing to prevail among them, excepting the Hampſtead water, whereby this author foretells ruin to it, (as has ſince happened.) What helped to bring moſt of them down was, their ſetting up ſo many againſt each other.

XIII) The rock-ſalt project our author highly commends, on account of the integrity and care of its managers, being a number of gentlemen and traders. They have built a wharf at Frodſham in Cheſhire, and export great quantities of it to Ireland, Holland, and London.

XIV) The ſaltpetre company had a worſe fate. Great ſums have been paid in; large refining houſes have been built in four or five ſeveral places about London; ſocieties have been eſtabliſhed, and a mighty noiſe made for a time; perſons of loud-ſounding name and quality have appeared at the head of them; and abundance of gentlemen and traders concerned, all things being ſeemingly diſpoſed in a good method. Yet of all theſe ſaltpetre companies, our author could hear of none that made any great hand of it, excepting the firſt projectors, who always are gainers, and then, as uſual, they withdraw. Stock-jobbing was brought in, and thereby, and by other miſmanagements, they fell to nothing.

XV) Draining engines, of divers ſorts, have been lately made, to clear mines of coal, lead, tin, &c. from waters, as well as for draining flats, meers, inundations, ſprings, &c. Theſe are profitable deſigns for the public, as the more land we gain the richer we are. The earth, alſo, of ſuch land is generally rich, being much of it marl, the beſt of land; and theſe projects have actually proved ſucceſsful, ſays he, in Cornwall and Devonſhire.

(Here our author aſſures us, his intent is not to diſcountenance any really good and well-managed projects, but merely to expoſe knaviſh ones, for the ſervice of the public, by diſcovering the private intrigues, plots, and underhand dealings, of the principal projectors of this nation, nothing of this kind being ever attempted before.)

XVI) Luſtrings, alamodes, hats, &c. in imitation of thoſe of France. Thoſe companies, ſays he, have thriven, and will continue ſo to do, whilſt they keep ſtock-jobbers from breaking in upon them.

* Almoſt every kind of paper is now made in this country in the greateſt perfection. *M.*

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XVII) Convex lights, and others of that kind, are uſeful inventions: but other pretenders, beſides the firſt, diſcouraged this buſineſs; and London ſtreets were not ſo well lighted as was to be wiſhed for.

XVIII) New ſettlements in Carolina, Pennſylvania, Tobago, &c. make a great noiſe in the world. The firſt planters fared but ill, having waſted their ſubſtance, without being able to reap the benefit, laying only a foundation for the next comer, who may ſucceed better; yet here, he complains, that thoſe plantations drain England of its people, already too much exhauſted by the unnatural and imprudent perſecutions in the late reigns, and the long war in the preſent one.

XIX) Our royal, Greenland, Newfoundland, and other fiſheries are worthy of our care and application. The royal-fiſhery company has been long talked of, and ſome ſteps taken to make it ſucceſsful; but ſtill one ill accident or another has damped it: and it is now again ſet on foot.

The Greenland fiſhery is like to flouriſh, notwithſtanding ſome loſſes already ſuſtained *.

The reader needs not to be told how uſeful ſuch remarks and notices may prove to every one who is inquiſitive, and may point out to all, the the danger of being too credulous in reſpect of new projects.

An act of parliament [6, 7 *Gul. III, c.* 6] ſeems to have been injudiciouſly framed, in reſpect to commerce and the propagation of people, viz. the act for granting certain rates and duties upon marriages, births, and burials, and upon bachelors and widowers, for the term of five years; more eſpecially that part of it relating to marriages, births, and burials; and even the later part, relating to bachelors and widowers, ſeemingly intended for the encouragement of virtuous propagation, was, in ſome reſpects judged obviouſly unreaſonable; wherefor, this law was not revived at the end of the five years.

D'Avenant, in his Eſſay on ways and means of ſupplying the war, publiſhed this year, [*p.* 34] ſays, it appeared from the books of hearth-money, that there were not above 1,300,000 families in England; and allowing ſix perſons to a houſe, one with another, which is the moſt common way of computing, it is not quite eight millions of people. It thereby alſo appears, that there were 500,000 of thoſe families who were poor, living in cottages, who contribute little to the public expenſe.

In that ſame ingenious work, [*p.* 115] the author combats a vulgar opinion, that the growth of London is pernicious to England, and that the kingdom is like a rickety body, with a head too big for the other members. To which he replies, in general, that ſome people, who have thought much on this ſubject, are inclined to believe, that the growth of that

* Here our author has failed in his remarks, which, however, are generally juſt. *A.*

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city is advantageous to the nation; for the following reaſons, viz. that no empire was ever great, without having a great and populous city: that the Romans drew all the conquered cities of Italy into Rome: that the people of Attica were no better than a crew of rude herdſmen, and neither flouriſhed in war nor in civil arts, till Theſeus perſuaded them to inhabit Athens: that the greatneſs of London will beſt preſerve our conſtitution; becauſe, where there is a great and powerful city, the prince will hardly enterpriſe upon the liberties of the people: in the ſame manner, a rich and powerful city ſeldom rebels upon vain and ſlight occaſions: that there is not an acre of land in the country, be it ever ſo diſtant, that is not, in ſome degree, bettered by the growth, trade, and riches, of London. To which may be added, that the increaſe of London is not caſual or fortuitous; but is an obvious and neceſſary conſequence of the gradual increaſe of foreign commerce, navigation, and manufactures, in London and the whole kingdom. To all which may be farther added, that in a free commercial country, like England, by ſo vaſt a capital city as London, whoſe inhabitants are ſo numerous and opulent, the public has often been more ſpeedily and effectually relieved in great emergencies, than could otherwiſe have been done: of which there are many inſtances with regard to London: beſide that, perhaps, five of her inhabitants do pay more towards exciſe, cuſtoms, and other taxes, than ten times as many can do ſcattered up and down in the country. A judicious reader will be able to find other reaſons in behalf of the increaſe of London's being beneficial to the nation; ſome of which we have, in another part of this work, borrowed from Botero, and others *.

1696.—During the years 1694 and 1695, Dr. Hugh Chamberlain, ſenior, (an eminent man-midwife of London, already mentioned) publiſhed propoſals for a land bank of current credit for lending money at a low intereſt, on land ſecurity; which was the principal difference between it and the bank of England; in oppoſition to which corporation, now in its infancy, ſtruggling with many difficulties, this ill-judged project was ſet up.

It was principally encouraged by thoſe of (what was then called) the tory party, and by the earl of Sunderland, Mr. Harley, and Mr. Foley: Lord Sunderland's aim therein being to bring the tories into the king's intereſt; although the bulk of the king's beſt friends were againſt it. The anonymous author of *Angliæ tutamen*, obſerves, that eſtates to a very great value in the ſeveral counties of England and Wales were ſubſcribed to this project in a very ſhort ſpace; a deed ſettled; a company formed; and all things diſpoſed to put this wonderful project into execution. To raiſe lands to 30 years purchaſe by reducing the inter-

* Mr. Anderſon does not ſeem to think that a judicious reader can find any reaſons on the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion. *M.*

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eſt of money to 3 per cent; the profits to be divided amongſt the ſubſcribers. But it is (ſays he) ſuch a hodge-podge and medley, a body made up of ſuch ſtrange members, ſubtile, politic, and deſigning men, that the fair face it carries wins abundance to believe its deſign to be good; though a little time will ſhew the truth. An act of parliament accordingly paſſed for continuing the duties upon ſalt, glaſs-wares, ſtone and earthen wares; and for granting ſeveral duties on tobacco-pipes, and other earthen wares; and for eſtabliſhing a national land bank; alſo for taking off the duties on tonnage of ſhips, (which was univerſally diſliked) and upon coals. [7, 8 *Gul. III, c.* 31.]

Upon the credit of theſe duties it was thereby enacted, 'that 'L2,564,000, ſhould be paid into the exchequer: for which the con-'tributors were to have an annuity of L179,480, or 7 per cent; 'ſubſcriptions to be received of any perſons or corporations (the 'bank of England excepted) on or before the 1ſt of Auguſt 1696; 'and for all ſuch voluntary ſubſcriptions as ſhould be made of land, 'his majeſty was empowered to incorporate the ſubſcribers by the 'name of the governor and company of the national land bank. 'But in caſe the ſaid ſum of L2,564,000, or a moiety thereof, 'were not ſubſcribed by the 1ſt of Auguſt 1696, then the corpo-'ration ſhould not take place. This intended corporation ſhould an-'nually lend out L500,000 at leaſt, over and above what they ſhould 'lend to their own members, on land-ſecurities, at an intereſt, not ex-'ceeding 3½ per cent if payable quarterly, or 4 per cent if payable 'half-yearly, at the election of the owners of the lands, in caſe ſuffi-'cient ſecurities for the ſame be tendered to them. The lands convey-'ed and entered in the company's books, ſhould be aſſignable from one 'to another, (by way of transfer) or might be deviſed by will, &c.' Theſe, and ſundry other regulations concerning this intended land bank, may be ſeen at large in the ſtatute: but as the ſubſcriptions did not take place within the time preſcribed by the act, owing to the diſlike of the monied men, who believed it to be an impracticable ſcheme, and the fund alſo like to prove very defective, there was an end of this romantic land-bank; whoſe projector, and his aſſociates, it ſeems, inſiſted on L300,000 for framing the above-named ſupply. The government was indeed, at this time, reduced to great diſtreſs for raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies, owing to the very bad ſtate of the ſilver coin, whereby guineas ran up to thirty ſhillings, and exchequer tallies were at 30 to 40 per cent diſcount; and thereby the monied men could make greater advantage than by ſubſcribing to the propoſed land bank, whoſe undertakers, failing to make good their engagements, brought the public into ſtill greater diſtreſs; which however was, in ſome meaſure, remedied by the invention, in this ſame year, of exchequer bills. Chamberlain went after this to Scotland, with a ſcheme of ſomething of the like nature; but the

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Scottiſh parliament did not reliſh it, any more than one of a ſimilar kind propoſed by the famous Law.

We are now come to a very diſtreſsful part of the reign of King William, viz. the deplorable ſtate of the ſilver coin of England; which ſome think began to appear towards the cloſe of King Charles's, and more evidently in King James II's, reign; but ſtill more ſoon after the acceſſion of King William and Queen Mary, when the broad ſilver hammered money appeared to have been greatly damaged and leſſened. The firſt law for redreſs of it, after that period, was in an act [4, 5 *Gul. et Mar. c.* 14] for review of the quarterly poll, (long ſince expired, and therefor not in the printed ſtatute-book) which only enacted in ſubſtance, that whoever ſhould refuſe to receive in payment any cracked money of the current coin of the kingdom, ſhould forfeit L5 for every offence. But this law rather increaſed than leſſened the evil.

By an act intended to prevent counterfeiting and clipping the coin of the kingdom, it appeared, 'that the ſilver coins had been greatly diminiſhed by clipping, waſhing, grounding, filing, and melting; and that 'many falſe and counterfeit coins had alſo been clipped for the better 'diſguiſing thereof; whereby what remained unclipped and undiminiſhed came to be deemed of much greater value in tale than the diminiſhed money;' ſo that moſt of the hammered money was thereby reduced to about half its juſt value, to the great diſgrace of the nation, and which brought the public ſecurities, as tallies, &c. to 40 per cent diſcount. It was therefor enacted, that if any perſon ſhall thenceforth exchange, receive, or pay, any broad, unclipped ſilver money for more in value than the ſame was coined for, he ſhall forfeit L10 for every 20*ſ* thereof.

II) None ſhall caſt ingots or bars of ſilver, or mark them in imitation of Spaniſh bars, under the penalty of L500.

III) None ſhall buy, ſell, nor have in cuſtody, any clippings or filings of coin, under a like penalty.

IV) None ſhall tranſport any melted ſilver till firſt marked at goldſmiths-hall, and a certificate, upon oath, made by the owner, that the ſame is lawful ſilver, and that no part of it was (before it was melted) the current coin of this kingdom, nor clippings therefrom, nor of plate wrought within this realm.

V) None but goldſmiths and refiners ſhall deal in buying or ſelling ſilver bullion.

VI) When bullion is ſeized on ſhip-board, and queſtioned whether Engliſh or foreign, the proof ſhall lie upon the owners thereof, that the ſame was foreign. With a proviſo, for the king to export a quantity of 700,000 ounces of bullion for paying his troops beyond ſea. [6, 7 *Gul. III, c.* 17.]

But as theſe meaſures could not anſwer the end propoſed, and as

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therefor the diminution of the old hammered money dayly increaſed ſo far, that, it is ſaid, many ſhillings ſcarcely contained more than three-pence in ſilver, the condition of the nation became very alarming; which gave the greateſt joy to the diſaffected at home, who hoped thereby for a total overthrow of King William's government. The French king alſo had great expectations from this calamity, ſo far as to ſay, that King William would never be able to ſurmount the difficulty; and his being afterwards undeceived therein, as alſo of his hopes from the diſaffected in England, of being able to reſtore the abdicated king, have been uſually aſſigned as one main reaſon for bringing him into the peace of Ryſwick, in the year following.

The great queſtion then in parliament, was, whether it was now abſolutely neceſſary to call in and recoin the old and diminiſhed ſilver money? It was plauſibly ſaid by the anti-miniſterial men, that calling it all in would bring great diſtreſs upon commerce, more eſpecially in the time of an expenſive war. Yet the miniſtry, and particularly Mr. Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, argued, with greater reaſon, that the longer it remained unremedied, the more fatal it would prove, till by farther diminiſhing it, commerce would ſuffer an entire ſtagnation: that it had already done very great miſchief, by our exchange with foreign ſtates being brought ſo much to our diſadvantage, and by occaſioning ſo much difficulty and diſadvantage in raiſing the ſupplies, for which the government were forced to allow exorbitant premiums and intereſt; it dayly more and more depreſſed the market price of tallies, and other public ſecurities: and it had made guineas to be run up to thirty ſhillings, and foreign gold in proportion, whereby much gold was run in upon us from beyond ſea, to our great detriment, being over-loaded with gold, while we had ſo great a ſcarcity of ſiver: for, in return for guineas and foreign gold, they carried away all our weighty ſilver coin, as well as our bullion: inſomuch, that at length we ſhould be in the utmoſt diſtreſs for ſmaller ſums, ſo much wanted in dayly buſineſs. That though Queen Elizabeth had coined no leſs than L4,632,932 : 3 : $2\frac{1}{4}$, in ſilver, yet all her crowns, half-crowns, groats, and quarter-ſhillings, half-groats, three-halfpenny pieces, three-farthing pieces, and halfpence, were wholely ſunk; and moſt of her ſhillings and ſixpences were either melted down or loſt. That in the reign of King James I there was coined L1,700,000 in ſilver; and in that of King Charles I L8,776,544 : 10 : 3 in ſilver; yet the crowns, groats, twopences, pence, and halfpence, of thoſe two reigns were quite gone; ſo that there might not be now in being above one third part of the ſilver coinage of all the above three reigns, or about L5,036,492. To which adding the unmelted and undiminiſhed coins (L563,508) of King Charles II and James II, and thoſe of the preſent reign, all the ſilver money now in the kingdom might amount to about L5,600,000, of which there were about four millions of clip-

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ped, and otherwiſe diminiſhed coin; and the other L1,600,000 were ſtill pure money; the juſt weight of L100 of which was 32 lb. 3 oz. 1 pwt. 22 gr. But upon examination, and at a medium, the weight of L100 of our clipped money was found to be but 16 lb. 8 oz. 18 pwt. A terrible ſtate this of our coin, already diminiſhed, being very near one half, or two millions! Yet the real loſs was afterwards found to be L2,200,000 ſterling.

The parliament, therefor, having maturely conſidered this moſt important matter, finally reſolved to recoin the diminiſhed ſilver money, by calling it into the mint by tale, whereby our people had good new ſilver coin returned to them from the mint.

Their next debate was, whether, as ſilver was now at 6/3 per ounce, the new money ſhould not have its ſtandard raiſed, by calling a crown-piece 6/3, and a ſhilling 1/3, though of no greater quantity of ſilver than before. Thoſe, who argued and wrote for this enhancing method *, alleged, that raiſing the ſtandard would prevent the exportation of our coin, and would alſo prevent its being melted down; and that thereby alſo, people would be the more induced to bring in their plate and bullion to the mint.

On the other ſide, it was more juſtly argued, both in parliament, and without doors in print, that the common conſent of all civilized nations had fixed ſilver at one and the ſame price, or very near the ſame price: that the worth of it was relative: that the weight and fineneſs, or the quantity of pure ſilver, and not the bare denomination, were the only rules which governed, not only foreign nations in their exchanges and other dealings with us, but alſo our own people in the home trade: ſince 6/3 of the new coin, ſo called, would purchaſe no more of any commodity, nor go farther in paying bills of exchange than 5/ of our unclipped preſent coin would purchaſe; becauſe the later contained as much pure ſilver as the former. That this was clear in the caſe of guineas, now at 30/, all commodities being raiſed in price, in proportion to the price of guineas. That an ounce of ſilver was not, even at preſent, worth 6/3 of good coin, but only of the diminiſhed and clipped money; ſince one ounce of ſilver could not be worth more than another ounce of like fineneſs; and with 5/2 per ounce of the new-milled money, they could buy as much bullion as they pleaſed. That with reſpect to the argument, that raiſing the denomination would keep our ſilver at home, it is of no weight; ſince nothing can keep or bring us money, but a balance of trade in our favour: for if we take more goods from foreigners than they take from us, the balance muſt be paid to them in our money, or in bullion, which is all one. That with particular regard to our home concerns, there are many objections againſt raiſing the ſtandard. 1ſt,

* Mr. Lowndes, ſecretary of the treaſury, and others. *A.*

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All poor labourers, ſoldiers, and ſailors, would thereby be defrauded of part of their juſt wages; as would alſo the creditors of part of their juſt debts; as alſo the landlord of part of his rent; or elſe great confuſion and diſpute would ariſe about theſe matters. All which, and ſuch particulars, were moſt judiciouſly and clearly demonſtrated by the great Locke, in his excellent treatiſe on coin, which then came forth in print, in anſwer to Lowndes's report, containing an eſſay for the amendment of the ſilver coins, to the abſolute ſilencing of the oppoſite opinion. In concluſion, it was finally reſolved to recoin the ſilver money of the old weight and fineneſs; and that the nation, collectively conſidered, ſhould bear the loſs. The great inconveniences of calling in all the diminiſhed money at once were alſo duely conſidered, and obviated by calling it in by degrees, and recoining it as quickly as poſſible; to promote which, by an act, [7, 8 *Gul. III, c.* 19] ſixpence per ounce was allowed on all wrought ſilver plate brought to the mint: and an act was alſo paſſed, [8 *Gul. III, c.* 7] for encouraging the bringing in wrought plate to be coined; whereby the old ſtandard of fineneſs of ſilver, being 11 oz. 2 pwt. was thenceforth altered to 11 oz. 10 pwt. fine, and 10 pwt. allay *. Laſtly, the uſe of ſilver plate (ſpoons excepted) was prohibited in public houſes, then much uſed both in town and country; inſomuch that one alehouſe, near the Royal exchange in London, had to the value of L5co in ſilver tankards, &c.

Means were alſo uſed for reducing the price of guineas to near their juſt value in ſilver in foreign parts; the parliament, with great judgement, directing the manner of gradually lowering them, viz. from 30/ to 29/, 28/, 25/, and laſtly to 22/, whereby the leaſt hurt was done to private men. So, in about a year's time, or little more, our ſilver coins came forth from the mint, the fineſt and moſt beautiful of any in all Europe. And although many inconveniences happened in trade before the coinage was finiſhed, yet, in the end, it aſtoniſhed and confounded all the enemies of the king and kingdom, both at home and abroad, and procured great credit to Mr. Montague (afterwards Lord Hallifax) who then had the chief management in the treaſury.

It was on this occaſion that Mr. Montague firſt ſet on foot a new circulating paper credit, by iſſuing bills from the exchequer; at the ſame time contracting (as has ever ſince been done) for their being circulated for ready money on demand. And as many of thoſe firſt exchequer bills were for ſums ſo low as L5 and L10, they were of very good uſe at this time, when there was ſo great a ſcarcity of ſilver money during the recoinage, as they were taken at the exchequer for all payments of the revenue, and as, when re-iſſued, they were then allowed L7 : 12 per

* This regulation muſt be underſtood, not of the money, but of wrought plate; and it was intended to prevent ſilver-ſmiths from melting the current ſilver money, as the act expreſsly ſays. *M.*

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cent intereſt, they ſoon roſe from a ſmall diſcount to be better than par. Theſe have ſince been iſſued yearly, and the bank of England has conſtantly, for many years paſt, been the contractors for their circulation, at a certain premium; for which end the bank takes annual ſubſcriptions for enabling them to circulate them. By all which means, the public was aſſiſted to ſupport the general trade of the nation, though not without great difficulty, till the new money was iſſued from the mint.

Thus was this moſt arduous affair of the recoinage brought to a happy iſſue by the cloſe of the year 1697; and the currency of all the old hammered ſilver coins was abſolutely prohibited by act of parliament. [9 *Gul. III, c.* 3.] This famous recoinage (which, one way or other, was thought to have coſt the public near three millions of money) was performed at London, and in the cities of Exeter, Briſtol, Cheſter, York, and Norwich.

D'Avenant, in the firſt part of his Diſcourſes on the public revenues and trade of England, [*p.* 50, *ed.* 1698] makes the clipped money amount to nine millions: and he ſays, there were four millions of guineas current. According to his New dialogues, [*V.* ii, *p.* 75] there was at this time recoined from the old hammered money L5,725,933. Now if the old broad pieces, and jacobus's of gold, and the fine milled ſilver money of King Charles II, and later, be well conſidered, it ſeems probable that the whole caſh of England may have been about ſixteen millions: which computation (including Scotland) comes pretty near what is generally thought to be the preſent caſh of Great Britain, (1760) excluſive of a large quantity of foreign gold coins, at preſent, and for a long time paſt, circulating in the kingdom.

From the year 1673, when the former ſtanding council of commerce was dropped, till this time, diſputes and regulations relating to commerce and colonies were uſually referred to committees of the privy-council: but ſuch *occaſional* committees, being a conſtantly-varying ſet of members, and having, beſides, no ſtated appointments for their trouble and attendance, it is no marvel that they acted but *looſely* and *ſuperficially*. It was now therefor high time to eſtabliſh a regular and permanent board for ſuch important ends; our foreign commerce and plantations, as well as moſt branches of our home trade, and of our numerous manufactures, being ſo greatly increaſed and improved. This new board (beſides ſome of the miniſters of ſtate who only attend on extraordinary occaſions) conſiſts of a firſt lord commiſſioner, who is uſually a peer of the realm, and of ſeven other commiſſioners, with a ſalary of each L1000 yearly *.

* Inſtead of Mr. Anderſon's account of the nature of this new board, compoſed from his own knowlege, I have ſubſtituted the following authentic extract of the names of the firſt commiſſioners, and of the duty required of them.

'King William, by a commiſſion dated the 15th

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The king of France this year erected a new excluſive company, called the Royal Senegal company, on the reſignation of the old one. Their limits were from Cape Blanco to Sierra Leona, including the fort at the mouth of the river Gambia, formerly belonging to England. They were authorized to deal in ſlaves, leather, gums, wax, gold, &c. to have ſtorehouſes for their negroes in the Weſt-Indies, and to refine their ſugars, and, in ſhort, to enjoy all the privileges enjoyed by the French Weſt-India company before their abolition; but they were not to interfere with the Guinea company eſtabliſhed in the year 1685.

The Eddyſtone rock, lying off the port of Plymouth, being very dangerous, and many ſhips having been caſt away thereon, the corporation of the trinity-houſe this year began a light-houſe upon it, and completed it in three years; great numbers of maſters and owners of Engliſh ſhipping agreeing, in conſideration thereof, to pay 1*d* per ton outwards, and the like inwards, &c.; and it has proved a very great benefit to ſhipping paſſing that way, till the dreadful ſtorm in the year 1703, which deſtroyed it. It was again directed to be rebuilt, and the ſame duty for its ſupport was granted to the corporation of the trinity-houſe by two acts of parliament [4 *Anne*, *c.* 20; 8 *Anne*, *c.* 16]; yet it has once more been lately demoliſhed by a ſtorm, and is again reſtored by the like means to its former uſefulneſs, to the great benefit of not only the Britiſh trade and navigation, but of the numerous ſhipping of other nations paſſing that way *.

' of May 1696, appointed the keeper of the great ' ſeal or chancellor, the preſident of the council, ' the keeper of the privy ſeal, the firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, the firſt commiſſioner of the ' admiralty, the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, and ' the chancellor of the exchequer, who were to ' attend occaſionally; and alſo the earl of Bridgewater, the earl of Tankerville, Sir Philip Meadows, William Blathwayte, John Pollexfen, ' John Locke, Abraham Hill, and John Methven, ' Eſquires, who were to attend more conſtantly, ' to be commiſſioners for promoting the trade of ' this kingdom, and for inſpecting and improving ' the plantations in America and elſewhere, with ' ſeveral directions and inſtructions, the chief ' whereof are as follows:

' To examine into, and take an account of the ' ſtate and condition of the general trade of England, and of the ſeveral particular trades into ' foreign parts.

' To examine what trades are, or may prove, ' hurtful, and what beneficial, to this kingdom; ' and by what means the advantageous trades ' may be improved, and thoſe that are prejudicial ' diſcouraged.

' To conſider by what means profitable manufactures, already ſettled, may be further improved, and how other new and profitable manufactures may be introduced.

' To conſider of proper methods for ſetting on ' work and employing the poor, and making them ' uſeful to the public.

' To inquire into the condition of the plantations, as well with regard to the adminiſtration ' of government there, as in relation to commerce, ' aud how thoſe colonies may be rendered moſt ' beneficial to this kingdom.

' To inquire what naval ſtores may be furniſhed ' from the plantations, and how the ſame may be ' beſt procured.

' To prepare inſtructions for governors, and to ' take an account of their adminiſtration.

' To examine the journals of the councils, and ' the acts or laws made by the reſpective general ' aſſemblies, in order to his majeſty's approbation ' or diſallowance thereof.

' To require an account of all monies given by ' the aſſemblies for public uſes, and how the ſame ' is expended.

' And to make repreſentations and reports to ' his majeſty, or the privy council, in writing, as ' there ſhall be occaſion.' *M.*

* And to the great credit of Mr. Smeaton, the judicious engineer, who has erected it in a firmer manner of conſtruction than ever was ſeen in any ſuch building before. *M.*

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An act of parliament for the increaſe and encouragement of ſeamen [7, 8 *Gul. III, c.* 21] directed that 30,000 men, conſiſting of mariners, watermen, fiſhermen, lightermen, bargemen, keelmen, or other ſeafaring men, between the ages of eighteen and fifty, ſhould have their names and places of reſidence regiſtered, and receive a bounty, or retaining fee, of 40*ſ* annually, for which they ſhould at all times be in readineſs to man the royal navy. For their encouragement they were to have twice as much prize-money as unregiſtered ſeamen of equal rank; they only were to be appointed to warrant offices in the navy; and they only were to have admiſſion, when maimed or ſuperannuated, to the new hoſpital at Greenwich; which admiſſion was alſo extended to the widows and children of regiſtered ſeamen ſlain in the ſervice. A deduction of 6*d* per month is ordered to be made from the pay of all ſeamen, whether in merchant ſhips or in the navy, for the ſupport of Greenwich hoſpital *.

The parliament, in order to prevent frauds and abuſes in the plantation trade, enacted, that all veſſels trading to or from our Aſian, African, or American, plantations or ſettlements, ſhould be Engliſh, Iriſh, or plantation, built; and that their cargoes ſhould be either Engliſh, Iriſh, or plantation, property, and regiſtered as ſuch, &c. And whereas our North-American colonies were of late become of much greater importance to England than formerly, it was therein alſo farther enacted, 'that no charter-proprietors of lands on the continent of America 'ſhould ſell or otherwiſe diſpoſe of their lands to any but natural-born 'ſubjects, without the king's licence in council for that purpoſe.' [7, 8 *Gul. III, c.* 22.]

This was undoubtedly a moſt neceſſary and reaſonable proviſo, ſince it might happen, in unfavourable conjunctures, that a great charter-proprietor (ſuch, for inſtance, as thoſe of Carolina, ſince made a regal colony, Maryland, or Pennſylvania, &c.) might alienate the ſame to ſome foreign rival nation, there being till now no expreſs law to the contrary. Moreover, in order to keep the proprietary governments in America the more under due ſubjection to the crown and kingdom of England, they being now become very conſiderable, it was hereby enacted, that all governors nominated by ſuch proprietors ſhould be allowed and approved of by the crown, and take the like oaths as are

* This law was further enforced by an act, 8, 9 Gul. III, c. 22; and the duty or ſtoppage for Greenwich hoſpital was confirmed by an act, 10 Annæ, for bettering, collecting, and recovering, duties, &c. and by an act, 18 Geo. II, c. 31.

This regiſter act was (unhappily in our humble opinion) repealed in the ninth year of Queen Anne. Though many ſchemes have ſince been laid before the public, yet ſo many objections have been ſtarted, that no law has yet been framed for ſo important a matter as having a competent number of ſeamen continually in readineſs for the navy, without having recourſe to the barbarous and unconſtitutional practice of preſſing. May Heaven inſpire ſome worthy patriot with ſpirit, genius, and zeal, equal to this ſeemingly, or ſuppoſed, arduous taſk. And alſo may the ſailors of merchant ſhips, as well as thoſe of king's ſhips, then be entitled to admiſſion into Greenwich hoſpital. *A.*

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taken by the governors of the regal colonies, previous to entering on their reſpective governments. Another clauſe in this ſtatute has been thought by the Iriſh to bear ſomewhat hard on them, viz. that whereas ſhips laden with ſugars, tobacco, &c. of the Engliſh plantations, have ſometimes been diſcharged in ſeveral ports of Ireland, contrary to law, under pretence that the ſaid ſhips were driven thither by ſtreſs of weather or ſome other calamity, it was now enacted, that on no pretence whatever any kind of goods from the Engliſh American plantations ſhould hereafter be put on ſhore, either in the kingdoms of Ireland or Scotland *, without being firſt landed in England, and having alſo paid the duties there, under forfeiture of ſhip and cargo. The main hardſhip hereof, ſay the Iriſh, conſiſted in comprehending the unenumerated as well as the enumerated commodities, whereby alſo much money goes from Ireland to foreign nations, which our own plantations might otherwiſe have had †.

The parliament paſſed an act [7, 8 *Gul. III, c.* 28] for more effectually preventing the exportation of wool, and encouraging the importation of it from Ireland: but as there have been, both before and after this period, ſo many laws made for effecting what relates to the former part of this act, though all hitherto inſufficient for keeping our wool to ourſelves, we think it ſuperfluous to be particular thereon. The only ports licenced for the importation of Iriſh wool into England were Whitehaven, Liverpool, Cheſter, Briſtol, Bridgewater, Minehead, Barnſtaple, and Biddeford.

It appears that the Greenland company, eſtabliſhed in the year 1693, who had then ſubſcribed L40,000 as their original capital, had afterward increaſed their ſubſcription to L82,000, the completion whereof was to be made at any time before the year 1703, becauſe, on account of the ſcarcity of ſeamen occaſioned by the war with France, they could not then employ ſo much money in that trade. In the meantime the parliament enacted, that the company, for the encouragement of their trade, during their term of 14 years, (which was to end in the year 1707) ſhould be free of all duty, cuſtom, or impoſition whatever, for any oil, blubber, or whale-fins, caught and imported by them. [7, 8 *Gul. III, c.* 33.] But the company were ſo unfortunate, partly through unſkilful management, and partly from real loſſes, as to run out their capital of L82,000 ſome years before the expiration of their term, ſo that they broke up entirely. And by a ſtatute for enlarging and encouraging the Greenland trade, that trade was entirely laid open as before, and all the queen's ſubjects were thereby to enjoy the ſame privileges as the company had done: yet their misfortunes deterred others

* This clauſe was rendered void as to Scotland by the union in the year 1707. *A.*

† See the enumerated commodities under the year 1660. *A.*

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from profecuting that fifhery till the year 1725, when the South-ſea company revived it, though much to their loſs, as will be ſeen.

Great ſums being continually carried out of England for hemp, flax, and linen, which might in a great meaſure be ſupplied from Ireland, if proper encouragement were given to induce foreign proteſtants to ſettle in that kingdom, the parliament paſſed an act for allowing hemp, flax, linen, and linen yarn, the produce or manufacture of Ireland, to be imported into England by natives of England or Ireland without paying any duty. And the manufacture of ſail-cloth being already brought to good perfection in England, all Engliſh-made ſail-cloth was thenceforth allowed to be exported without paying duty, either in the piece, or made into ſails. [7, 8 *Gul. III, c.* 39.]

This law was wiſely framed, for the encouragement of French proteſtant refugees, many of whom were well ſkilled in the once noble linen manufacture of France, ſince ſunk to almoſt nothing; and experience has ſhewn that this law laid the foundation of the great and flouriſhing manufacture of linens and cambrics in Ireland.

The foreign commerce of Ruſſia, except what was carried on by the Engliſh and Dutch at Archangel, was till our own times ſo inconſiderable, as hardly to deſerve being mentioned. But the czar Peter, ſo juſtly titled the Great, had now formed vaſt plans of commerce and conqueſt, and alſo naval power. By his conqueſt of the ſtrong fortreſs and port of Aſoph, near the mouth of the river Don, he opened for the Ruſſian veſſels a paſſage into the Black ſea, upon which he determined to keep a naval force ſufficient to cope with that of the Turks, who, for ſome centuries paſt, had excluded all other nations from the navigation of that ſea. For this end he procured ſhip-wrights from Holland for conſtructing great ſhips of war, and from Venice for galleys; and he got no fewer than forty of the former, and fifty of the later, beſides bomb ketches, &c. built at Woronitz on the river Don, and thence conveyed to Aſoph; which mighty enterpriſe was completed, through his vaſt genius, in three years time, having oak-timber and other naval ſtores in plenty of his own, and ready at hand. He alſo fortified the port of Taganrock on the Black ſea; at which work, it is ſaid, above 300,000 perſons periſhed through hunger, and by diſtempers contracted from lying on the marſhy ground. Had the czar ſucceeded in compelling the Ottoman Porte to allow him a free paſſage by the Propontis and Dardanelles into the Archipelago and Mediterranean ſea, what ſtrange alterations might not his ſucceſs have produced in the balance of power in Europe; and how diſadvantageous would it probably alſo have proved to the Turkey trade and the general commerce of the other European nations in thoſe ſeas? How precarious alſo would the very exiſtence of the Turkiſh empire have thereby been rendered? But in the next century we ſhall ſee this towering proſpect overclouded, and

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all the vaſt expenſe thereof abſolutely thrown away. This great prince, however, did wonders for reforming and improving his country and people. He travelled for this end into moſt countries of Chriſtendom, in order to learn their mercantile and maritime arts. In Holland and England he diſcovered ſo great a genius in his judicious inquiries, obſervations, and remarks, on ſhip-building, naval affairs, manufactures, &c. as ſurpriſed every body, and of which Ruſſia at this day experiences the good effects. King William gave him a reſpectful reception in the year 1697, and cultivated his friendſhip and alliance, in hopes of forming an uſeful balance of power againſt France.

This year King William ſent out two ſhips of war and ſome land forces, who retook the forts in Hudſon's bay, which the French had held for three years. Yet once more thoſe forts, in Queen Anne's war, were regained by the French, all but Fort Albany, and ſo it remained till the peace of Utrecht.

The running of Engliſh and Iriſh wool into France, whereby the woollen manufacture of that kingdom has been ſo greatly increaſed, has employed the pens of many ever ſince the reſtoration of King Charles II; and many plauſible propoſals have been made, both within doors and without, for an effectual cure, though hitherto unſucceſsfully. Among the more modern ones, Samuel Webber, in his ſhort account of the ſtate of our woollen manufactures, (printed in 1739) aſcribes the great riſe of the French woollen manufactures about this time to the duty of 4/ in the pound impoſed by the parliament of Ireland on all their woollen goods exported to foreign parts, becauſe ſuch exportation interfered with England's exportations of the like woollen goods; and that this was agreed to by Ireland, in return for no leſs than L9,000,000 ſterling, expended by England in the reduction of Ireland at the revolution: and to prevent their glutting England with their wool*, they were limited to eight † weſtern ports for its importation. Such hardſhips, according to that author, conſtrained the Iriſh to run their combed wool into France, which the French mixed up with their own coarſer wool, whereby they were enabled, at a cheaper rate, to ſupply many foreign markets with woollen goods formerly ſupplied by England. The computations of moſt of thoſe who write on this ſubject, are, we apprehend, too extravagant, and particularly thoſe of this author, to obtain univerſal credit; for he ventures to affirm, 'that of 800,000 packs of wool, annually produced in Britain and Ireland, France gets from us yearly, one way or other, 500,000 packs, whereby that nation gains annually above L8,000,000 ſterling; that not one third of our wool is manufactured at home; for, beſide what goes to France, there is not a little run into Holland, Sweden, and elſewhere; that whenever we

* He alſo ſays *woollen goods*; but *wool* only was permitted to be imported from Ireland. *A.*
† He ſays only five. *A.*

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happen to be at variance with France, ſo as to prevent a correſpondence, the demand for our woollen goods at foreign markets has then proved ſudden and great; that we have hands enow in Great Britain to work up all our wool at home, ſince in England alone, by an eſtimate of the pariſh rates, in the year 1735 the poor amounted to 1,400,000 perſons, of whom 300,000 were reckoned helpleſs through age, &c. and orphans; but that the remaining 1,100,000 poor were all, in ſome meaſure, fit for labour. Laſtly, that the only effectual means to keep our wool at home would be to eſtabliſh a regiſtry in every pariſh of Great Britain and Ireland, of ſtock in hand, of wool, and of the dayly increaſe or decreaſe of the ſaid ſtock, by transferring the property from one to another, &c.

Now, though all that is therein aſſerted is not abſolutely to be relied on, and moſt of the writers on this very intereſting ſubject ſeem, in their computations, to have more or leſs overſhot the mark, ſome from zeal, or perhaps private intereſt, and others merely from ignorance and want of abilities, yet, it muſt be allowed, that a remedy for ſo pernicious a practice, as running great quantities of our wool into foreign parts, well known to be a reality, is very much wanted; and that, whether by a regiſtry, as above mentioned, or by more ſtrict guard-ſloops on our coaſts, or by both jointly, whoever ſhall be ſo happy as to point out an effectual remedy for ſo great an evil, will richly deſerve a high reward from the public *.

1697.—The ill-judged abortive ſcheme of a land bank in England, already deſcribed, with the deficient funds for the annual ſupplies; the bad ſtate of the ſilver coin, more eſpecially in the years 1695 and 1696, and the ill humours contracted thereby, and by diſaffection to the government, had brought the infant bank of England into ſuch difficulty and diſtreſs, that their caſh notes were now at a diſcount of 15 to 20 per cent, their credit being ſo low as to be neceſſitated to pay thoſe notes only by 10 per cent once in a fortnight, and, at length, to pay only 3 per cent on thoſe notes once in three months. This diſtreſs was occaſioned by the bank having taken the clipped and diminiſhed ſilver money at the legal or par value by tale, and guineas at 30*s*, for which they iſſued their notes payable on demand, and not having received from the mint a ſufficient quantity of the new ſilver coins to anſwer the dayly demands on them for their outſtanding notes. The directors were thereupon obliged to make two different calls, of 20 per cent each, on

* Will there ever be any effectual means to prevent the Iriſh from ſelling their wool to thoſe who are willing to give the beſt price for it, except encouraging them to manufacture it themſelves? I have ſeveral accounts of Scottiſh veſſels carrying whole cargoes of wool about this time to Holland, Sweden, &c. In the beginning of October 1697, there arrived in the one port of Roterdam, nineteen veſſels from Scotland with 982 great bags of Engliſh and Scottiſh wool; and in the year 1698 fifteen veſſels from Scotland carried 981 bags to the ſame port. Similar cauſes muſt produce ſimilar effects. *M.*

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their members in the year 1696, and to iſſue bank ſealed bills, at 6 per cent intereſt, in exchange for bank caſh notes; and to advertiſe, for the conveniency of trade, whilſt the ſilver was recoining, that any perſon might keep an account with the bank, and transfer any ſum under L5, from his own to another man's account; which was getting into the method of the bank of Amſterdam; yet, ſuch was the diſtreſs of the times, that, on the 6th of May 1697 the bank advertiſed in the gazette, for the defaulters of the laſt call of 20 per cent, which ſhould have been paid by the 10th of November 1696, and alſo thoſe indebted to the bank upon mortgages, pawns, notes, bills, or other ſecurities, to pay in the ſaid 20 per cent, and the principal and intereſt of thoſe ſecurities, by the 1ſt of June next. Even ſo late as the 21ſt of June 1697, we ſee in a newſpaper, called the Poſtman, the following paragraph, viz. 'Bank notes were yeſterday between 13 and 14 per cent diſcount.' Notwithſtanding the great difficulties the bank had then to ſtruggle with, in a few months after, by the recoinage being completed, and by the ſecond, or engraftment, ſubſcription of the tallies, orders, and bank notes, to the amount of L5,160,459 : 14 : 9¼, the credit of the bank was quite reſtored, with the greateſt applauſe to the conductors of it. After the parliament had ſettled the funds for the enſuing year, and had provided for the deficient funds in the former and preſent year, they took the diſtreſs of the bank into their deliberate conſideration, and finally determined, that the capital ſtock of the bank ſhould be increaſed by new ſubſcriptions, of four fifths in exchequer tallies and orders, and one fifth in their own bank notes, with an intereſt of 8 per cent. And, for ſecuring the payment of that intereſt, an additional duty was laid on ſalt; and the other duties were extended to a longer term, &c. in order to make up a general fund for paſt deficiencies, now amounting to no leſs than L5,160,549 : 14 : 9¼, beſides the current ſervice of the year 1697. But, previous to their taking in the new ſubſcriptions, their old capital of L1,200,000 ſhould firſt be made up to each member 100 per cent, and what remained of effects or intereſt over and above, ſhould be divided among their old members. The bank, after this new ſubſcription, might iſſue an additional number of notes, equal to the total of the new ſubſcription, provided always, that thoſe notes be anſwered on demand, and that, in default of their ſo doing, they ſhould be anſwered from the exchequer, out of the firſt money due to the bank. The bank ſhould continue a corporation till one year's notice after Auguſt the 1ſt in the year 1710; and no other bank ſhould be allowed during their ſaid term. The bank ſhould not, at any one time whatever, owe more by bonds, notes, ſealed bills, &c. than the total amount of all their increaſed capital. The capital ſtock of the bank ſhould henceforth be deemed a perſonal eſtate. For the future,

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not above two thirds of the preceding year's directors ſhould be capable of being re-elected in the ſucceeding year*. [8, 9 *Gul. III, c.* 19.]

D'Avenant, in his Diſcourſes on the public revenues and trade of England, (*part* i, *p.* 265, 1698) juſtly remarks, that it would be for the general good of trade if the bank of England were reſtrained by law from allowing intereſt for running caſh, (as was the caſe at this time); for the eaſe of having 3 or 4 per cent without trouble or hazard, muſt be a continual bar to induſtry.

King William's miniſtry had flattered themſelves, from year to year, with the hope of a ſpeedy peace. Many of the funds, therefor, upon the credit whereof money had, in different years, been granted by parliament, had by this time been found, or ſuffered to be, very deficient: the treaſury gentlemen, though otherwiſe men of abilities, having, in ſundry inſtances of appropriating the duties, judged very wide of the true amount of thoſe duties; as particularly might be inſtanced with reſpect to glaſs bottles, earthern ware, tobacco-pipe clay, &c. The deficiencies of the funds were ſoon obſerved by the monied men, who were creditors of the public, and who alſo took advantage of the remoteneſs of the courſes of payment of the tallies and orders charged on ſome other funds. This had, ſince the revolution, given riſe to a new trade of dealing in government ſecurities, very much to the damage of the public, as well as of thoſe proprietors of the funds, who were obliged to part with them at the diſcount of from 40 to 50 per cent. D'Avenant, in his Eſſay upon loans, printed in 1710, juſtly remarks of thoſe melancholy times, 'that the government appeared like a diſtreſſed debtor, who 'was dayly ſqueezed to death by the exorbitant greedineſs of the lender; 'the citizens began to decline trade, and to turn uſurers; foreign 'commerce, attended with the hazards of war, had infinite diſcouragement; and people in general drew home their effects to embrace the 'advantage of lending their money to the government.' To prevent the ill effects of this unhappy trade, a law was made to reſtrain the number and ill practices of brokers and ſtock-jobbers, which premiſes, that ſworn brokers were antiently allowed in London for making bargains between merchants and traders for merchandize and bills of exchange; but, of late, divers ſuch have carried on moſt unjuſt practices, in ſelling and diſcounting tallies, bank ſtock, bank bills, ſhares in joint ſtocks, &c. confederating themſelves together to raiſe or fall, from time to time, the value thereof, as may moſt ſuit their own private intereſt; wherefor, &c. they were now reſtrained from acting without a licence from the lord mayor and court of aldermen. They were alſo to take an oath of fidelity, to be limited to 100 in number, whoſe names ſhould be written on the Royal exchange; to incur a penalty of L200, if they

* The capital ſtock of the bank was raiſed to L2,201,171: 10; and the dividends were raiſed from *eight* to *nine* per cent. [*Allardyce's Addreſs to the proprietors of the bank, p.* 129.] *M.*

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dealt for themſelves in any merchandize, or in thoſe tallies, ſtocks, &c.; to enter into an obligation for their faithful actings, and on failure, to forfeit L500, &c.

After this account of the ill ſtate of things, we ſhall conclude the account of the engrafting act by obſerving, that the new ſubſcribers to the bank were thereby to deliver up to the governor and company of the bank of England their tallies and orders, which were to be paid off in courſe *. The capital ſtock of the bank was thereby to be exempted from any tax. No contract for ſale of the bank ſtock was to be valid, unleſs regiſtered within ſeven days in the bank books, and actually transferred within fourteen days †. No act of the corporation, nor of its court of directors, nor ſub-committees thereof, ſhould ſubject the particular ſhare of any member to forfeiture. The ſhares, however, were made ſubject to the payment of all the juſt debts contracted by the corporation ‡. By this act it was made felony to counterfeit the common ſeal of the bank, affixed to their ſealed bills, or to alter or eraſe any ſum in, or any indorſement on, their ſealed notes, ſigned by order of the governor and company, or to forge or counterfeit their bills or notes. Members of this corporation were not to be liable to bankruptcy, merely by reaſon of their bank ſtock, which ſtock, moreover, was not liable to foreign attachments. This is all that is eſſentially neceſſary to be recited from this long act of parliament, ſo judiciouſly framed for reſtoring public credit. Two great points were effected by it, viz. the exchequer tallies and orders were reſcued from the ſtock-jobbing harpies by being engrafted into this company, as were alſo the bank notes, now cancelled, which had been at 20 per cent diſcount, by reaſon the government had been greatly deficient in their payments to the bank; and a good intereſt was ſecured for the proprietors of the increaſed capital.

This happy engraftment, together with the new ſilver coinage, redounded greatly to the credit of Mr. Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax. For, it is almoſt incredible, that in a few months after this proviſion for the national debt in arrear, the ſtock of the bank given to the proprietors of exchequer tallies, which before this engraftment had been at 40 to 50 per cent diſcount, ſhould be currently ſold at 112 per cent. 'This ſecond bank ſubſcription,' (ſays D'Avenant, in his laſt quoted treatiſe) 'being founded upon parliamentary ſecurity, for mak-'ing good the deficient tallies, was formed by receiving in thoſe tallies

* They actually were paid off by annual dividends in a few years; and bank ſtock was thereby reduced to its original capital. *A.*

† It had been happy for hundreds of families, if this ſalutary clauſe had been continued in ſucceeding acts of parliament for this and all other joint ſtocks. But, as if deſignedly, it was omitted in them all, till after the year 1720, when the want of it opened a field of unexampled villany and deception. *A.*

‡ This clauſe was with great propriety afterwards extended to the other two great companies. *A.*

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'at par, which coſt the ſubſcribers but 55 to 65 per cent *; by which 'the greateſt eſtates were raiſed in the leaſt time, and the moſt of them, 'that had been known in any age, or in any part of the world.' I have indeed often heard it ſaid by perſons who lived at this time, that one ſingle ſubſcriber alone (Sir Gilbert Heathcote) gained by that riſe of the price above L60,000.

'During the recoinage of our ſilver,' (ſays D'Avenant, in the ſecond part of his *Diſcourſes on the public revenues and trade of England, p.* 161) 'all great dealings were tranſacted by tallies, bank bills, and goldſmiths 'notes. Paper credit did not only ſupply the place of running caſh, but 'greatly multiplied the kingdom's ſtock; for tallies and bank bills did, 'to many uſes, ſerve as well, and to ſome better, than gold and ſilver: 'and this artificial wealth, which neceſſity had introduced, did make us 'leſs feel the want of that real treaſure, which the war, and our loſſes 'at ſea, had drawn out of the nation.' This able, but venal, author wrote in a very different ſtrain towards the cloſe of the next reign.

Theſe prudent meaſures in England proved the great means of concluding, in September in the ſame year, a treaty of peace between England and France, much wanted by both nations. In general, by article 7, moſt places, poſſeſſed by either party before the war broke out, were now ſtipulated to remain to them Some of the forts in Hudſon's bay were, however, thereby ceded to France, as alſo thoſe of Nova-Scotia, which we had taken from France in 1690; alſo that part of St. Chriſtophers which we had taken from France in the ſame year, 1690, was reſtored to France; King William's then untoward affairs not permitting him, at that time, to inſiſt too ſtrenuouſly on thoſe matters, more eſpecially as the main preliminary of this treaty was the acknowlegement of William as king of Great Britain and Ireland by Louis.

The Dutch reſtored to France Pondicherry in Eaſt-India; and, at the ſame time, a ſeparate treaty of commerce and marine was concluded between them for twenty years. All that is memorable therein being, that the Dutch ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges, franchiſes, &c. in France, as Louis's own ſubjects did, and that they might freely carry to Marſeilles, &c. the merchandize of the Levant, as well in their own ſhips as in French bottoms, without being liable to the 20 per cent on the Levant commerce; ſaving only in caſes where the French themſelves were liable to pay it. The Dutch alſo might import pickled herrings without being liable to repacking. France alſo remitted to them the 50 ſols per ton on foreigners ſhips, excepting only when Dutch ſhips carry French goods coaſt-ways, from one port of France to another.

To Spain France yielded what ſhe had taken in Catalonia, as alſo the city and province of Luxemburgh, with Charleroy, Aeth, Courtray, and

* He means ſuch as bought them at ſo large a diſcount. *A.*

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Mons; reſerving, however, many burghs and villages within thoſe dependencies, under ſlight pretences.

To the princes of the empire, France reſtored Triers and Germerſheim to the electors of Triers and Palatine; to Sweden, the duchy of Deuxponts; to the biſhop of Liege, Dinant; to the houſe of Wirtemberg, Mompelgard. But, on the other hand, the empire was obliged to confirm forever to France the poſſeſſion of Straſburgh with its territory. To the emperor, however, France yielded up Friburg and the reſt of the Briſgaw, and Philipſburg: to the duke of Lorrain France reſtored his capital, Nancy, but diſmantled and defenceleſs; and Louis ſtill retained Saar-Louis, and alſo the road, or way, of half a league in breadth, through Lorrain to Alſace, open for the French troops and armies. If Louis had no latent deſign in thus yielding up ſo many important places which he had conquered, men would have ſaid he acted moderately; but his real view in this ſeeming moderation was to diſarm and diſunite the allies, that ſo he might the more eaſily ſeize on the Spaniſh monarchy upon the death of their old and feeble king Charles II.

A French ſquadron of ſhips, commanded by Pointis, this year took the famous town and forts of Carthagena in Spaniſh America, and, by his own account, he got eight millions of crowns thereby. Much more had been expected, but the people of faſhion and the religious of both ſexes had before retired far into the country out of his reach, with 110 mules laden with treaſure. Pointis, ſenſible that he could not hold Carthagena, left it, after demoliſhing its forts.

It was high time to put an end to the many privileged places to which debtors retired with the money and merchandize of their creditors, and, by combination in thoſe receſſes, ſet all law and juſtice at defiance; no officers daring, without the hazard of their lives, to arreſt any of thoſe lawleſs debtors within thoſe places. Wherefor, by a ſtatute, the following pretended privileged places were ſuppreſſed, viz. that in the Minories; Saliſbury court, Whitefriars, Ram alley, and Mitre court, in Fleet ſtreet; Fulwood's rents in Holburn; Baldwin's gardens in Gray's-Inn lane; the Savoy in the Strand; Montague cloſe, Deadman's place, the Clink, and the Mint, in Southwark. [8, 9 *Gul. III, c.* 26.] Yet the Mint was ſuffered to ſpring up again in a more outrageous manner than ever, and was not finally ſuppreſſed till the reign of King George I. It was a ſad ſhame, that ſuch lawleſs people ſhould have been ſo long tolerated or connived at.

Burlington bay on the coaſt of Yorkſhire being a ſafe road, and the haven and pier of Burlington (alias Bridlington) being conveniently ſituated for ſupplying neceſſaries, and alſo for a retreat from ſtorms or enemies, it was judged a national benefit to lay a duty of one farthing per chaldron on all coals coming from Newcaſtle and its members ſouth-

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ward, for repairing and rebuilding that pier, which had been thrown down by a ſtorm in the year 1696. [8, 9 *Gul. III, c.* 28.]

This year the ſilk-weavers of London were extremely outrageous and tumultuous, on pretence of the great quantities of ſilks, calicoes, and other Indian manufactures, imported by the Eaſt-India company, and worn by all ſorts of people. They even carried their violence ſo far as to attempt ſeizing the treaſure at the Eaſt-India houſe, and had almoſt ſucceeded in it, but were in the end reduced to order. Yet much clamour was ſtill raiſed, both in pamphlets and converſation, againſt the company, who in their defence engaged the famous Dr. D'Avenant to write a laboured and ingenious eſſay on the Eaſt-India trade. He was anſwered by Mr. Polexfen, an eminent merchant, who this year publiſhed his able performance, intitled, England and Eaſt-India inconſiſtent in their manufactures, which, with reſpect to the real matter of fact, as well as its popularity, had greatly the advantage over his venal, though able, opponent.

Notwithſtanding the reſtitutions which France had obtained by the treaty of Ryſwick, yet her foreign trade ſeemed ſtill to languiſh. Holland reaped much more benefit by her trade with France, than England did or could. The later had been accuſtomed before the war to ſend great ſums of money to France for wine, brandy, paper, ſtuffs, linen, hats, ſilks, and many other things, over and above the merchandize they carried thither from England, whereby the balance was always greatly in favour of France. But the French commiſſary, now ſent over to England for a treaty of commerce between the two nations, found inſurmountable difficulties in his commiſſion, not only on account of the high duties laid by England on French goods, which duties were appropriated to ſundry uſes, but likewiſe becauſe the Engliſh, during the late long war, had learned to be without the merchandize of France, by ſupplying themſelves moſtly with the wines of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and with the linens of Holland and Sileſia. The French refugees ſettled in England now alſo ſupplied them with paper, ſtuffs, ſilks, and hats, made at home. France, moreover, on the other hand, not relaxing any of her high impoſts on Engliſh manufactures, &c. which in effect amounted to a prohibition of them, it was not therefor poſſible for France and England to conclude any tarif or treaty of commerce together which could be advantageous to the later, and therefor none was made.

1698.—Nevertheleſs, the foreign commerce and public credit of England ſoon revived, and the bills or notes of the bank got up to par. The diſcount on the remaining tallies was become moderate, and the actions or prices of the ſtocks of other Engliſh companies were become more promiſing.

Yet the complaints againſt the Eaſt-India company's proceedings, together with their great loſſes of ſhips and rich cargoes during the war,

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which had prevented them from making any dividends for ſundry preceding years, had by this time occaſioned a general diſlike in the people againſt the company. This broke out more plainly in the ſpring of 1698, when the houſe of commons again took the ſtate of the company's trade into their ſerious conſideration, even though it had three years before appeared to be ſo delicate an affair, that it had been referred by the parliament to the king and council, who ſent it back again to the parliament, who after all did nothing material in the main complaints relating to it. The company therefor thought it now prudent to make a propoſal to parliament, that they would advance L700,000 for the public ſervice at 4 per cent intereſt, provided the excluſive trade to India might be legally ſettled on them. But while the houſe of commons ſeemingly liſtened to this propoſal, a number of merchants, headed by Mr. Samuel Shepherd, and countenanced by Mr. Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, offered to advance two millions of money at 8 per cent intereſt, provided they might have the ſole excluſive trade to India ſettled on them; yet the ſubſcribers not to be obliged to trade in one joint ſtock, unleſs they ſhould afterwards deſire to be incorporated, in which caſe a charter ſhould be granted to them. This laſt propoſal was beſt reliſhed, and therefor a bill was accordingly brought into parliament. Againſt this the company's counſel in both houſes of parliament pleaded their ſeveral excluſive charters, which, amongſt other great privileges, ſtiled them lords-proprietors of Bombay and St. Helena. They ſet forth, that the company had actually acquired, at their own ſole expenſe, revenues at Fort St. George, Fort St. David, and Bombay, as well as in Perſia and elſewhere, to the amount of about L44,000 per annum, ariſing from cuſtoms and licences for ſelling wine, for fiſhings, for farms of tobacco and betle; for quit-rents, houſe-rents, and garden-rents, to the natives; paſſes for country ſhips; tonnage, anchorage, ſalvage, &c.; all which were conſtantly increaſing; alſo a large extent of lands in the reſpective places. That they had alſo erected forts and ſettlements, and had procured territories in the iſland of Sumatra and on the coaſt of Malabar, without which the pepper trade muſt have been entirely loſt to England. That they had a ſtrong fort in the kingdom of Bengal, and alſo many factories, buildings, and ſettlements, in divers other parts; having, moreover, purchaſed of the Indian princes, at high rates, many privileges and immunities; all which they were encouraged to do out of a firm belief, that their rights and inheritances would on all occaſions be objects of the nation's care *. That ſince this bill was brought in, the company agreed to ſubmit their preſent ſtock to a valuation of 50 per cent, viz. 20 per cent for their dead ſtock, (i. e.

* This account of the various emoluments of the company in India is very inſtructive, as it explains the nature of them, and ſhews that they were nearly the ſame as thoſe of the preſent company are now (1760). *A.*

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their forts, factories, lands, &c.) and 30 per cent for their quick ſtock, which they were content even to warrant at that rate. And upon theſe terms the company likewiſe offered to open ſubſcriptions for two millions. To all this the counſel for the new ſubſcribers replied, that the old company, (for ſo we muſt now begin to call them) in reciting their charters, had forgot to mention the proviſos therein, viz. that the kings of England, who granted them, reſerved a diſcretionary power to make them void on three years warning. That the king, ſolely by his charter, could not grant the trade excluſive of all others, as being directly contrary to poſitive laws: neither had the preſent king, in fact, granted any ſuch excluſive right. That ſeveral recoveries had been made at law againſt the company for proſecuting ſuch pretended right. That the king's meſſage to the houſe of commons in 1692 plainly ſignified, that the concurrence of parliament was requiſite for making a complete and uſeful ſettlement of this trade *. That, when they mentioned the reſolution of the houſe of commons in 1691, they omitted their other reſolution, viz. that it was lawful for all perſons to trade to the Eaſt-Indies, unleſs reſtrained by act of parliament. That the patents for ſome trades with joint ſtocks, while the trades for which they were granted were in their infancy, have been permitted, for the ſake of ſettling a trade, and till the firſt adventurers had reaped ſome reaſonable compenſation for their expenſe and riſk; yet afterwards, when ſuch trades have grown conſiderable, the wiſdom of the nation has always, or generally, judged it fitting to open a way for the kingdom to receive a general benefit therefrom †. That it never was eſteemed a breach of public faith, nor a derogation from the credit of the great ſeal, or from the honour of our kings, to have their patents annulled by parliament, when it appeared that ſuch grants were either unprofitable or contrary to the common rights of the ſubject: neither did any kings think themſelves bound in honour or conſcience to refuſe paſſing an act of parliament for the annulling of ſuch grants. That, moreover, kings having often been deceived in ſuch grants, they have even been frequently annulled by the ordinary courſe of law.

It was, on the other hand, again farther replied and urged, in behalf of the old company, that the property of many families, widows, and orphans, was greatly affected by this bill, which, moreover, makes no proviſion for a determined ſtock; inſomuch, that it may hereafter happen, that the trade may be loſt to the nation for want of a ſufficient capital to carry it on; it appearing by thirty years experience, that it requires at leaſt L600,000 every year to carry on this trade to its utmoſt.

* Here they expatiated on the bribery and other indirect proceedings of the company in the years 1692—1695. *A.*

† Yet the very ſame people, who now uſed theſe arguments againſt the old company, were at this very time aſking for, and afterwards obtained, an excluſive trade to India. *A.*

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That even during the three years to michaelmas 1701, the new ſubſcribers are, by this bill, permitted to trade as well as the company, which is contrary to the charters, and will create great confuſion, and render the ſaid three years trade allowed the old company of no benefit, becauſe they are ſtill bound to export to the value of L100,000 annually in our own manufactures, while the new ſubſcribers are under no ſuch obligation. The old company are, moreover, obliged to pay taxes, and to keep up forts, factories, &c. while the new ſubſcribers are to have an equal benefit of the trade, without either. That ſince the laſt new ſubſcription in 1693, the company have loſt, either by accidents or by the calamities of war, twelve great ſhips, which, with their cargoes, would have ſold here for near L1,500,000. And yet, notwithſtanding ſuch loſſes, they have paid in cuſtoms ſince that period L295,000, beſide L85,000 in taxes. That, moreover, they ſupplied the king in Holland, on a preſſing occaſion, with 6000 barrels of gunpowder, and had likewiſe, at a time of great extremity, ſubſcribed L80,000 for circulating exchequer bills at the inſtances of the treaſury. And that, in ſhort, many hundred families have their whole fortunes depending in the ſtock of the preſent company, who muſt be utterly ruined, if this bill take effect.

In the foregoing debates there are to be found a great many material articles relating to the hiſtory and conduct of the old Eaſt-India company, and to the nature and legality of excluſive charters, unſupported by parliamentary authority; we could not therefor avoid ſomewhat enlarging thereon, and ſhall only ſubjoin what was, on this occaſion, farther alleged againſt the old company, viz. that the new ſubſcribers to that company's ſtock in the year 1693 were deluded into it by the charter then obtained by indirect means, and by the hopes of an act of parliament to confirm it, and by the old proprietors having valued their ſtock at L750,000, whereby they ſhared L375,000 of the new ſubſcribers money amongſt themſelves; and as they had warning ſufficient, by the tranſactions before the king and council, nobody was anſwerable for their loſs but themſelves.

Theſe reaſons weighing, or ſeeming to weigh, with the parliament, and ſome of the leaders of the old company being moreover ſaid to have been ſuſpected of diſaffection to the ſtate, or, perhaps principally, becauſe the new ſubſcribers were the favourites of the miniſtry, an act of parliament was paſſed for raiſing a ſum not exceeding two millions, upon a fund for payment of annuities after the rate of 8 per cent per annum, and for ſettling the trade to the Eaſt-Indies. The ſubſtance thereof, as far as relates to this ſubject, is, that the king might appoint commiſſioners for taking ſubſcriptions from any perſons or corporations, the bank of England excepted, for raiſing two millions, from and after michaelmas 1698, the entire intereſt being L160,000 per annum, ariſing

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from the duty on ſalt, and certain additional duties on ſtamped parchment and paper. The new ſubſcribers to be called the general ſociety of traders to the Eaſt-Indies. They were empowered to trade either directly themſelves, or to licence others in their ſtead; but ſo as not to trade annually for more than the amount of their reſpective ſhares or ſtock. Yet the king might, by his charter, incorporate the ſubſcribers into one body-politic *, with perpetual ſucceſſion, &c. and the uſual powers; till when the ſubſcribers were to elect out of their body 24 truſtees. Corporations having ſhares herein might trade in proportion to their ſhares †. Neither this general ſociety, nor any company that may be eſtabliſhed in purſuance of this act, ſhall borrow or give ſecurity for any ſum on the credit of the funds by this act granted. Neither ſhall they borrow, owe, or give ſecurity for, any other or greater ſums than ſhall be employed in their trade, and which likewiſe ſhall be borrowed only on their common ſeal, and not repayable in leſs than ſix months. Neither ſhall they diſcount any bills of exchange, or other bills or notes, nor keep books or caſh for any perſons whatever, other than their own corporation ‡. Five per cent additional duty, rated on the value, from michaelmas 1698, is hereby laid on all India goods imported, to be paid to the general ſociety, or to ſuch company or companies as may be erected, for maintaining ambaſſadors, and other extraordinary expenſes, the overplus whereof to be diſpoſed of for the benefit of all the members. Upon three years notice, after michaelmas 1711, and repayment by parliament of the ſaid two millions, then all the duties, privileges, &c. ſhall ceaſe §. Provided, however, that the preſent Eaſt-India company may alſo trade to India until michaelmas 1701. The ſeparate traders, called formerly interlopers, already gone out, may ſafely return. All future ſales of India goods ſhall be made openly by inch of candle, on pain of forfeiting half to the king and half to the informer ‖. The preſent company ſhall pay their juſt debts. No ſociety, to be erected in purſuance of this act, ſhall owe at any one time more than the value of their capital ſtock undivided; and if, by any dividends, their debts at any time ſhall exceed the amount of their capital ſtock, the reſpective members ſhall be liable for the ſame, ſo far as the ſhares they received upon ſuch dividends ſhall extend, beſide coſts of ſuit. [9, 10 *Gul. III, c.* 44.]

On occaſion of this contention between the two companies, it was alleged by many at this time, againſt any excluſive trade, that an open trade, though with leſs profit, would be more beneficial to the nation,

* This was the intention from the firſt. *A.*

† This ſeems plainly deſigned to favour what preſently after fell out in behalf of the old company. *A.*

‡ Theſe clauſes were intended to prevent encroaching on the province of the bank. *A.*

§ The term was extended to 25th March, 1726, with three years notice. [*Ab* 6 *Anne, c.* 17.] *A.*

‖ This was to obviate the complaint of clandeſtine ſales, ſaid to have been made by the connivance of, or for the benefit of, the directors. *A.*

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and leſs diſturb our own manufactures. That it is better for the kingdom, for inſtance, that L300 be employed at 10 per cent profit, than that but L100 be employed at L20 profit. That wonderful things are ſaid of the gains by trade in Sir Thomas Greſham's time, when for every L100 employed in trade, it was returned again at the end of the year, with 200 or L300 more of profit, divided between the cuſtoms of the crown and the merchants; though at this time, perhaps 20 or 30 per cent is all that is ſo divided; but then, for every L100 then employed, there is probably L1000 now employed in commerce: and conſequently, for every L100 ſo gained in thoſe times, there is at leaſt L1000 gained in our days. Thus, when the African or Guinea trade was laid open on paying 10 per cent to the company, if, from that time ten ſhips were employed in it for every one that had been employed by that company; if, in the open trade, theſe ten ſhips on L1000 could divide 30 per cent between themſelves and the cuſtoms, and the company's one ſhip before divided L100 between them and the cuſtoms, yet the ten ſhips are much more beneficial to the nation, becauſe they employ ten times as many perſons, and carry out ten times as many manufactures, as the company's one ſhip did. This is a very important remark for the conſideration of legiſlators.

After ſo long and ſo expenſive a war, but juſt ended, wherein alſo there had been very great loſſes by captures of ſo many of our rich merchant ſhips, it gave foreign nations a high idea of the wealth and grandeur of England, to ſee two millions ſterling money ſubſcribed for in three days time: and had the books been kept open longer, there were perſons ready to have ſubſcribed as much more: for though higher proofs have ſince appeared of the great riches of the nation, becauſe our wealth is very viſibly and much increaſed ſince that time, yet till then there had never been ſo illuſtrious an inſtance of England's opulence. This, however, was undoubtedly owing in a great meaſure to the legal eſtabliſhment of our free conſtitution by the acceſſion of King William and Queen Mary to the throne, whereby a firm confidence in the public faith was eſtabliſhed on a ſolid baſis. For before this moſt happy and ſolid ſettlement of our conſtitution, whereby the preciſe limits of the royal prerogative, as well as of the ſubject's rights, were aſcertained, and abſolutely eſtabliſhed, by the ever-memorable law, named the Declaration of rights, the crown, in ſpite of the old Magna charta, and the law of King James I againſt monopolies in 1624, &c. conſtantly pretended to the right of granting excluſive privileges and charters, though, nevertheleſs, frequently and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, and ſometimes ſucceſsfully, by upright judges and juries. Yet, till this glorious epocha of liberty, the Eaſt-India, African, and Hudſon's-bay, companies, with joint ſtocks, as well as the regulated companies, as they are uſually called, trading without a common ſtock, viz. the merchant-ad-

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venturers, Turkey, and Eaſtland, companies, though none of them were legally eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, (as the Ruſſia company was by the 8th of Queen Elizabeth) all of them, nevertheleſs, preſumed ſo far upon their royal charters, as to give great diſturbance to, and often totally to obſtruct, the ſeparate and independent traders, whom they thought fit to ſtigmatize with the opprobrious appellation of interlopers. This therefor was, properly, the firſt legally-excluſive mercantile company of England with a joint ſtock. Neceſſity, however, was the main inducement with the government to paſs this law, 8 per cent being, in thoſe times of difficulty, reckoned but a moderate intereſt; tallies, &c. being ſtill at a conſiderable diſcount, though they ſoon after got up to par.

This law, then, having empowered the king to incorporate all the ſubſcribers into one excluſive community, named the general ſociety trading to the Eaſt-Indies, their charter was dated on the 3d of September, 1698; and on the 5th of that month, he incorporated them as one joint-ſtock excluſive company, and their ſucceſſors, by the name of *the Engliſh company trading to the Eaſt-Indies*, with the cuſtomary privileges of having a common ſeal, of making bye laws, of ſuing and being ſued, of purchaſing an undetermined quantity of lands, &c. And with this remarkable clauſe, (which proved the means of afterwards uniting the old and new Eaſt-India companies) viz. that all corporations and perſons who ſhould derive any right or title from any of the ſaid ſubſcribers, or their ſucceſſors, ſhould be eſteemed members of this new company, and be received and admitted as ſuch, gratis. That this company might augment their capital ſtock. That members, at their admiſſion, ſhould take an oath of fidelity to the ſtock-company, and ſhould not trade to India on their private account. L500 to entitle them to one vote in general courts, and none to have more than one vote. That this new company might eſtabliſh the ſame courts of judicature as the old company had power to do by King James II's charter; ſhould maintain a miniſter and ſchoolmaſter at St. Helena, and in every fort and ſuperior factory; as alſo a chaplain in every ſhip of 500 tons and upwards. That one tenth part of their whole annual exports to India ſhould be in Engliſh product and manufactures *.

No ſooner was this new company erected, than great and obvious difficulties and objections were ſtarted againſt their proceeding to trade during the three years remaining to the old company, who were in poſſeſſion of the forts and of the privileges granted in India by the moguls, &c. And even though the new company ſhould wait till michaelmas 1701, when they would have the excluſive trade, the old one was, nevertheleſs, ſtill at liberty to diſpoſe of their forts, ſettlements, factories,

* The reſt of it is immaterial, or elſe a repetition of what is already mentioned. A

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&c. at their own price, as not being reſtrained by the act of parliament from ſelling them even to foreigners *. Nor were they by this act abſolutely diſſolved at the end of the three years, ſeeing their eſtate is thereby made liable to pay all their debts, which could not be effected within the limits of thoſe three years. Moreover, the old company had artfully ſubſcribed L315,000 into the new ſtock in the name of Mr. John Dubois, their treaſurer, whereby they were poſſeſſed of above one ſeventh part of the whole new capital of two millions. To confirm which poſſeſſion, they obtained an act of the next ſeſſion of parliament, importing, that, in conſideration of the old company having directed Mr. Dubois to ſubſcribe the ſaid ſum in truſt for them, they ſhould continue a corporation, ſubject, nevertheleſs, to be determined upon redemption of the fund aforeſaid: which, being deemed a private act, is not printed in the ſtatute-book. It is intitled, an Act for continuing the old company, (called the governor and company of merchants of London trading to the Eaſt-Indies) a corporation till the redemption of the ſaid two millions.

In all this very material affair, there certainly was a ſtrange jumble of inconſiſtencies, contradictions, and difficulties, not eaſily to be accounted for in the conduct of men of judgement, unleſs they were purpoſely ſo intended for the ſervice of the old company. For it occaſioned a world of trouble afterwards to the new company, as will be ſeen, as far as is needful, in its proper place. And indeed the miniſtry were ſeverely handled in ſundry virulent pamphlets of that time. As, 1ſt, that three years before one company could be diſſolved, a new company ſhould be eſtabliſhed, with power to commence an immediate trade where they had no juſt right till three years after. 2dly, to ſuffer the old company to ſubſcribe ſo conſiderable a part of the new capital, whereby they were enabled to trade ſeparately from the new one, which was in effect eſtabliſhing two rival companies at once, beſides the ſeparate traders, who ſtill continued to act by themſelves. 3dly, after the old company's three years ſhould be expired, of what uſe could their forts, factories, lands, buildings, &c. be to them. Theſe, and other difficulties and abſurdities, might be enlarged on, were it neceſſary, after dwelling ſo long on this matter already. A coalition, therefor, of thoſe two companies ſeemed to be the only effectual expedient. For ſuch was, at this time, the force of party in a matter, which, one would think, ſhould be of no party, that thoſe two companies had divided almoſt the whole kingdom into the two oppoſite parties, of the old and new companies, the former generally favoured by the tory party, and the new one by the whigs. And in this condition we will leave them for a little while, for the ſake of the chronological order of our hiſtory.

* A moſt unaccountable miſtake, if not rather intentionally done. *A.*

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It was about this time that the king of France made his greateſt efforts for ſea-dominion, or a ſuperior naval ſtrength: and it cannot be denied, that he took very wiſe meaſures for that end. He erected academies for mathematical ſtudies, and for making expert engineers, bombardiers, ſhip-builders, and navigators; and he divided all his ſea-coaſts into departments, over which he placed proper intendants, who kept exact liſts of all ſeafaring people, obliging them by turns to ſerve in the royal navy for a limited term of years. By ſuch meaſures, he appeared quickly on the Ocean with a formidable navy, whereby for a while he bade defiance to both the antient maritime powers. Yet in the end he was effectually convinced, that they had ſtill an advantage over him on the watery element, after he had contracted an immenſe debt on that ſcore: and that, as all monarchies, as well as individuals, have certain limits in point of power and expenſe, he muſt either quit his new project of giving law on the Ocean, or elſe abandon his grand projects of conqueſts on the land by his vaſt armies. The later he could not think of giving up, and therefor he was forced to drop the former. So that, towards the cloſe of his reign, his navy was permitted to decline very much: yet his ſucceſſor has ſince attempted both again, with as little or leſs reaſon, and even with much leſs ſucceſs, all things being duely conſidered.

This year Louis XIV erected a new excluſive company for 50 years, named the royal company of St. Domingo, not only for the great iſland of Hiſpaniola, (the weſt end of which he had ſeized on and planted, though never as yet yielded to him by Spain in any treaty) but for all the other Weſt-India iſlands he laid claim to. This grant was confirmed in 1716.

The luſtring company now obtained an act of parliament, the preamble of which ſets forth, that the company have, with great labour and charge, brought that manufacture to perfection: but that, by reaſon of the fraudulent importation of foreign alamodes and luſtrings, they have not enjoyed the benefit intended them by the royal charter, but have waſted their time and ſtock in contending with many difficulties and obſtructions. And it now appearing that the manufacture cannot be conducted, and ſecured to England, by any other means than by eſtabliſhing an excluſive company for the ſame, it was enacted, that the ſaid company be a perpetual corporation, with the uſual powers, &c. of a body-politic, as in their charter, and that they enjoy the ſole uſe, exerciſe, and benefit of making, dreſſing, and luſtrating, plain black alamodes, renforcez, and luſtrings, in England and Wales, for fourteen years. [9, 10 *Gul. III, c.* 43.] But the faſhion changed; new fabrications drove out thoſe pretty and gloſſy ſilks; and the company ran out their ſtock, and were quite broke up before the expiration of their excluſive term, which therefor was not renewed.

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The Dutch Eaſt-India company's charter of privileges was this year renewed by the ſtates-general for 40 years; which gave that company great encouragement and weight for carrying on their commerce to India.

The Engliſh ſeparate traders to Guinea and other parts of the weſt coaſt of Africa, called interlopers by the royal African company, having a great advantage over that company by being at no part of the expenſe of forts, governors, factors, and other ſervants, on that coaſt, had by this time ſo far ſupplanted them in the negro trade, that they were rendered unable any longer to ſupport their forts, &c. without the aid of the legiſlature. An act of parliament was therefor paſſed in their behalf; the preamble whereof ſets forth, that as thoſe forts and caſtles, which are undoubtedly neceſſary for the protection of that trade, have hitherto been maintained at the ſole expenſe of the company, it is moſt reaſonable, that all who trade to that coaſt ſhould contribute to the ſupport of them: wherefor, it was enacted, that, for enabling the company to ſupport and maintain the ſaid forts and factories, all the king's ſubjects, as well of England, as America, trading to the coaſt of Africa between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope, as well as the ſaid company, ſhould pay 10 per cent *ad valorem* for all the goods and merchandize, which they ſhould export to that coaſt, either from England or from America. They ſhould pay alike 10 per cent outward, and alſo 10 per cent homeward, on all goods ſhipped from or to England or America, to and from any part of that coaſt between Cape Blanco and Cape Mount, (but redwood ſhould only pay 5 per cent) negroes excepted. Gold and ſilver brought from any part of that coaſt ſhould pay no duty at all, but might be freely landed without entry. And ſeparate traders (now no longer to be called interlopers) ſhould enjoy equal protection and aſſiſtance at thoſe forts with the company's own ſhips and people; and they might even, at their own coſt, ſettle factories and do all other matters there which the company might do. [9, 10 *Gul. III, c.* 26.]

Thus a trade, which had before been virtually open, was now made legally ſo; and, at that time, in every one's judgement, much to the benefit of the nation, more eſpecially with relation to the commerce to our ſugar colonies: for it was confeſſed by all, that the ſeparate traders had conſiderably reduced the price of negroes to our ſugar-planters; and, conſequently, had ſo far the better enabled them to underſell our rivals. Yet we ſhall hereafter ſee, that the proviſion made by this law, which was to endure for thirteen years, could not effectually ſupport the royal African company, who had the management of this duty, which, in the end, was abſolutely reduced to nothing.

In the meantime, the company proceeded to trade on their own bottom, by borrowing money by their ſealed bonds; and made calls on their members to the amount of L180,000 by way of additional ſtock,

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in hopes to find the parliament ſooner or later inclinable to grant them an excluſive trade; for which end they petitioned Queen Anne, in the year 1707, though without effect.

London at this time abounded with new projects and ſchemes, promiſing mountains of gold: there were alſo ſundry rational new projects introduced, moſtly by the French proteſtant refugees; the chief of thoſe projectors was one Dupin, who was inſtrumental in advancing the manufactures of fine linen, thread, tapes, lace, &c. and of fine white writing paper. He pretended, that the court of France was ſo much alarmed at his firſt ſetting on foot the paper manufacture, that Barillon, the French ambaſſador at London, obſtructed it to his utmoſt, and enticed the chief of our workmen into France, from the paper mills in England. But with reſpect to the linen manufacture, more eſpecially in the ſouth parts of England, it is probable it will never prove very ſucceſsful; neither, perhaps, is it for England's benefit that it ſhould ſucceed there, ſince it might not a little interfere with our antient and noble woollen manufactures, and alſo with the ſilk and ſteel ones, by diverting our workmen therefrom; ſince, in the opinion of many, the ſowing of much flax in England, and the neglect of the woollen manufacture, which would inevitably follow, might probably lower the price of lands; as, obſervers ſay, it requires about twenty acres of land to breed wool for ſetting on work the ſame number of hands which one acre of flax would employ: and yet, in the end, the woollen manufacture will be found to employ by far the greateſt number of hands, and yield the moſt profit to the public, as well as to the manufacturers. That even in the linen manufactures of Holland, the Dutch have only the eaſieſt and moſt profitable part thereof, viz, the weaving and whitening of it; for it is ſaid, that moſt of the yarn is ſpun in Germany, Pruſſia, &c. where the people, being poor, can ſpin cheaper than the people of Holland or England can do. But in countries where labour and lands are cheap, as in Scotland and Ireland, the linen manufacture has been found to be profitable to the community. The farther planting of the new colonies in America, with ſuch projects at home as inſurance offices, ſaltpetre works, copper-mines, penny-poſt project, and many more, were now much in vogue: 'ſo have I ſeen,' ſays the author of an Eſſay on projects, printed in the preceding year, 'ſhares of joint-ſtocks, and other 'undertakings, blown up by the air of great words, and the name of 'ſome man of credit concerned, to perhaps L100 for one five hundredth 'part or ſhare, and yet at laſt dwindle to nothing.' Writers about this time complain heavily, 'that the Royal exchange of London was crowd-'ed with projects, wagers, fairy companies of new manufactures and in-'ventions, ſtock-jobbers, &c. ſo that very ſoon after this time, the 'tranſacting of this airy trade of jobbing was juſtly removed from off

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'the Royal exchange into the place called Exchange-alley, where it is 'ſtill carried on *.'

This year the houſe of peers addreſſed King William to diſcourage the woollen manufactures of Ireland, the increaſe of which had given umbrage to the people of England: and to encourage the linen manufacture of that kingdom, purſuant to an act of parliament in 1696, already mentioned; which has ſince been brought to great perfection in that kingdom. The houſe of commons likewiſe addreſſed the king to induce the people of Ireland to cultivate the joint intereſt of both kingdoms; and that, as Ireland is dependent on, and protected by, England, the Iriſh would be content to apply themſelves to the linen manufacture; whereby they would enrich themſelves and be beneficial to England at the ſame time; both which points have ſince been effected in a great meaſure.

The French now began a ſettlement at the mouth of the river Miſſiſippi in the Spaniſh province of Florida; ſince grown up to be a conſiderable French colony. Their main intention herein, as has ſince plainly appeared, being to open a communication from thence to their colony of Canada, thereby to hem in the Engliſh colonies, ſo as to engroſs the whole Indian trade to themſelves.

Before we leave this year, it may not be amiſs to take notice of what D'Avenant has remarked concerning the increaſe of the people of England, in the ſecond part of his Diſcourſes on the public revenues and trade of England, (publiſhed in this year, *p.* 196, octavo) viz. 'that there 'are almoſt undeniable reaſons to be drawn from political arithmetic, 'that, ſince the year 1600, we are increaſed in number of inhabitants 'about 900,000, which could not be, if the plantations were ſuch a 'drain of the people, as is injurious to the commonwealth.'

We cannot forget two good ſtatutes of this ſeſſion for the benefit of inland commerce. The firſt was for determining differences by arbitration, whereby merchants, traders, and others, deſiring to end any controverſy (for which there is no other remedy but by perſonal action or ſuit in equity) by arbitration, might agree the ſubmiſſion of their ſuit to the award of any perſon or perſons, which ſhould be made a rule of any court of record; by which agreement, ſo made and inſerted in their ſubmiſſion, the parties ſhould be finally concluded by ſuch arbitration. [9, 10 *Gul. III, c.* 15.

The other, for the better payment of inland bills of exchange, enacts, that all bills of exchange, drawn in England, for L5, or upward, to any other place in England, and payable at a certain number of days, weeks, or months, after date, ſhall, after preſentation and acceptance, which ac-

* From Change-alley the trade in government funds has again removed to a building, erected by a ſubſcription among the ſtock-brokers, called the ſtock-exchange: and a great part of it is alſo tranſacted in the bank. *M.*

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ceptance ſhall be by under-writing the ſame under the party's hand ſo accepting. And after the expiration of three days after the bill ſhall become due, the party to whom the bill is made payable, his ſervant, agent, or aſſigns, may, and ſhall cauſe the bill to be proteſted by a notary public, or any other ſubſtantial perſon of the city, town, or place, in the preſence of two or more credible witneſſes, refuſal or neglect being firſt made of due payment, which proteſt ſhall be made and written under a fair-written copy of the ſaid bill, ſignifying, that I, A. B. on the —— day of ——, at the uſual place of abode of the ſaid C. D. have demanded payment of the bill of which this is a copy; which the ſaid C. D. did not pay: wherefor I the ſaid A. B. do hereby proteſt the ſaid bill. Dated at —— this day of ——. Which proteſt ſhall, within fourteen days after, be ſent, or otherwiſe due notice ſhall be given thereof, to the party from whom the bill was received, and who, upon producing ſuch proteſt, ſhall repay the bill, together with intereſt and charges: and, on default of ſuch proteſt, (for which 6*d* only ſhall be paid) or due notice, the perſon ſo failing ſhall be liable to all coſts, damages, and intereſt, acruing thereby: provided, that if any ſuch bill be loſt or miſcarried within the time limited for payment, the drawer ſhall be obliged to give another bill; the perſon to whom it is ſent giving ſecurity, if demanded, to the drawer, to indemnify him, in caſe the *loſt bill ſhall be found again.* [9, 10 *Gul. III, c.* 17.]

Private and fallacious lotteries were at this time become general, not only in London, but in moſt other great cities and towns of England, whereby the lower people, and the ſervants and children of good families, were defrauded: an act of parliament was therefor paſſed, for ſuppreſſing ſuch lotteries; even though they might be ſet up under colour of patents or grants under the great ſeal, ſuch grants or patents, againſt the common good, welfare, and peace, of the kingdom, being void, and againſt law: and a penalty of L500 was laid on the proprietors of any ſuch lotteries, and of L20 on every adventurer in them. [10, 11 *Gul. III, c.* 17.]

1699.—During the unſettled times of the Eaſt-India trade, the old Eaſt-India company's ſtock, by the management of ſtock-jobbers, had, in about nine or ten years paſt, been ſold on the exchange at from 300 per cent down to 37 per cent.

Captain Dampier, in the king's ſhip the Roebuck, having ſailed upon new diſcoveries, after various adventures found that the eaſtermoſt part of New Guinea did not join to the continent, but was, in fact, an iſland, which he therefor called New-Britain.

Complaints being ſtill loud concerning the wool and woollen manufactures of Ireland exported into foreign parts; and that even thoſe of our North-American plantations began to be likewiſe exported to foreign markets, formerly ſupplied by England; a law was thereupon

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made to prevent the exportation of wool out of the kingdoms of Ireland and England into foreign parts; and for the encouragement of the Engliſh woollen manufactures. Whereby, I) No wool, nor manufactures of wool, were to be exported from Ireland to any part of the world, but to England, and only to the ports of Biddeford, Barnſtaple, Minehead, Bridgewater, Briſtol, Milfordhaven, Cheſter, and Liverpool; and only from the Iriſh ports of Dublin, Waterford, Youghall, Kingſale, Cork, and Drogheda, under forfeiture of ſhips and cargoes, and alſo of L500 penalty. The like penalties were alſo inflicted on thoſe who ſhould carry wool or woollen manufactures * of the Engliſh plantations in America, by land or water, to any place out of the king's dominions. [10, 11 *Gul. III, c.* 10.]

Dr. Gemelli, who returned this year from his ſix years travels round the globe, treating of the Portugueſe conqueſts in Eaſt India, obſerves, that the remains of thoſe conqueſts are ſo very inconſiderable as ſcarcely to defray their own expenſe. At Goa, they have that ſmall iſland, with three or four other inconſiderable ones near it. On the north coaſt, the fortreſſes of Daman, Bazaim, and Chaul. In the kingdom of Guzarat, they have Diu. Near China, the iſlands of Timor, Solor, and the colony of Macao, ſubject to China. In Africa, they have Angola, Sena, Sofala, Mozambique, and Mombaza; many in number, but of no great value.

The admiſſion to the freedom of the Engliſh Ruſſia company was made more eaſy by an act [10, 11 *Gul. III, c.* 6] which directed, that after lady-day 1699 every ſubject deſiring admiſſion into that fellowſhip ſhould pay no more than L5 for the ſame. The commiſſioners of the cuſtoms were alſo required to lay before both houſes of parliament annual accounts of all naval ſtores, imported from Ruſſia into England. Though no reaſon is aſſigned for this order, it is more than probable, that the legiſlature had in their thoughts the encouragement of the importation of naval ſtores from our American plantations.

By another ſtatute, [*ſame ſeſſion, c.* 25] ſeveral regulations were made concerning the Newfoundland trade and fiſhery: ſuch as, its being made perfectly free for all ſubjects alike to trade thither, and to fiſh on its banks: that the firſt fiſhing ſhip arriving at any of the harbours or creeks of Newfoundland ſhall be deemed admiral there for that ſeaſon: the ſecond ſhip ſo arriving ſhall be vice-admiral; and the third ſhall be rear-admiral. Thoſe three admirals ſhall have power to decide controverſies concerning places or ſtations in harbours, ſtages, cook-rooms, &c. there. Moreover, every bye-boat-keeper there ſhall carry with him two freſh men in every ſix, viz. one that hath made but one voyage, and one that never was at ſea before. And every inhabitant ſhall em-

* This is the firſt mention in the ſtatute book of woollen manufactures in the American colonies. *A.*

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ploy two such fresh men for every boat kept by him. Also every master of a fishing ship shall carry with him one that never was at sea before, for every five men he shall carry. And, for the preservation of timber on the island of Newfoundland, no person shall rind any of the trees, nor shall set on fire any of the woods, &c.

Though the post-office revenue of England be not accountable annually to the parliament, as other branches are, it being properly part of the private revenue of the crown; yet (as has been elsewhere observed) that revenue being a kind of politico-mercantile pulse, whereby to judge of the increase or decrease of the nation's general commerce, we shall here therefor observe, that in a printed letter to a member of parliament, concerning the debts of the nation, (published in 1701) the net revenue of the post-office for the year 1699 is said to have been L90,504 : 10 : 6 *.

By D'Avenant's reports to the commissioners of accounts, [anno 1712, *part* ii, *p.* 71] there was exported from England this year, to all parts, - - - L6,788,166

Whereof in our woollen manufactures to the value of 2,932,292

This authentic view of the vast importance of our woollen manufacture exported highly merits the constant remembrance of the public, being considerably above two fifth parts of our whole exports.

The judicious Mr. Wood also, in his Survey of trade, [*p.* 46] tells us, that in the year 1662 the total exports from England were L2,022,812

Ditto anno 1699, as per D'Avenant - . 6,788,166

Vast increase of our exports since 1662 - 4,765,334

Several authors think that the value of all the wool shorn annually in England may amount to - - L2,000,000

The manufacturing whereof is computed to cost - 6,000,000

And that, when manufactured, its total value is increased to - - - 8,000,000

Of which many since that time think we annually export near one

* While the correspondence of England produced a considerable revenue (which however is here over-rated) to the sovereign, that of Scotland appears to have been unable to support its own expense. 'In 1698, Sir Robert Sinclair of Steven-'son had a grant from King William of the whole 'revenue of the post-office of Scotland, with a pen-'sion of L300 a-year, to keep up the post. Sir Ro-'bert, after deliberation, gave up the grant, as 'thinking it disadvantageous.' The revenue arising to government from the postages of Scotland soon became considerable. In our own times it has been very great; and of late years it has increased prodigiously. See Mr. Creech's letter in *the Statistical account of Scotland, V.* vi, *p.* 586. *M.*

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half; more eſpecially ſince the late increaſed demand from our own American plantations *.

1700.—The king of France at this time erected a new council of commerce, conſiſting of his principal miniſters of ſtate and finances, and of twelve of the principal merchants of his kingdom, viz. two of Paris, and ten from the cities of Rouen, Bourdeaux, Lyons, Marſeille, Rochelle, Nantes, St. Malo, Liſle, Bayonne, and Dunkirk; to meet at leaſt once in every week, for treating of all commercial matters, as well by land as by ſea, at home and beyond ſea: to receive propoſals, ſchemes, petitions, &c. and to determine commercial controverſies: alſo to encourage works, manufactures, &c. The twelve merchants to be annually elected by the magiſtrates of the cities.

From the very firſt erection of this famous new council, or board of commerce, we have good ground to date the great and almoſt ſurpriſing increaſe of the commerce, woollen manufacture, mercantile ſhipping, and foreign colonies, of France.

The wear of Indian wrought ſilks, ſtuffs, and calicoes, was become ſo univerſal in England at this time, and the complaints thereof ſo loud, that it was now thought high time to remedy ſo great an evil. The preamble to the ſtatute obſerves, that the continuance of the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, in the ſame manner and proportions as it hath been for two years laſt paſt, muſt inevitably be to the great detriment of the kingdom, by exhauſting the treaſure thereof, melting down the coin, and taking away the labour of the people, whereby very many of the manufacturers of this nation are become exceſſively burdenſome and chargeable to their reſpective pariſhes, and others are thereby compelled to ſeek for employment in foreign parts. This grievance was greatly heightened by the double importations by two Eaſt-India companies, which raiſed a great clamour in Spitalfields, Norwich, Canterbury, Coventry, &c. whereby alſo a double quantity of ſilver was exported to India.

A ſtatute was therefor paſſed for more effectually employing the poor, by encouraging the manufactures of this kingdom, enacting, that from michaelmas 1701 all wrought ſilks, Bengals, and ſtuffs, mixed with ſilk or herba, of the manufacture of Perſia, China, or Eaſt-India; and alſo all calicoes, printed, painted, dyed, or ſtained, there, ſhould be locked up in warehouſes appointed by the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, till re-exported; ſo as none of the ſaid goods ſhould be worn or uſed, in either apparel or furniture, in England, on forfeiture thereof, and alſo

* From a paper in the *Philoſophical tranſactions*, [*V.* xxi, *p.* 230] it appears that a veſſel which was thought 'a large ſhip,' was built at Inverneſs for the ſervice of Venice. The writer does not ſay, when ſhe was built; but the paper is dated 1699; and from Fletcher of Saltoun's ſecond diſcourſe concerning the affairs of Scotland, written in the year 1698, the Scots and the Venetians ſeem to have been then on friendly terms. In the thirteenth century a French nobleman had a ſhip built at Inverneſs, which for her bulk was eſteemed wonderful. [*M. Paris, p.* 771, *ed.* 1640.] *M.*

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of L200 penalty on the perſon having, or ſelling, any of them. [11, 12 *Gul. III*, *c.* 10.]

This wholeſome law greatly revived the drooping ſpirits of our own ſilk and ſtuff manufacturers.

By another ſtatute of this ſeſſion [*c.* 11] for making the laws more effectual againſt the importation of foreign bone-lace, needle-work, &c. they were again to be re-admitted three months after the prohibition of the Engliſh woollen manufactures in Flanders ſhould be taken off. The prohibition of our woollen manufactures in Flanders, which was found very detrimental to us, was occaſioned by our prohibition of their lace, &c. wherefor we were now obliged to repeal that law, in order that our woollen manufactures might be re-admitted into Flanders.

The ſtates of the United Netherlands, and the proteſtant princes of Germany, now adopted the new ſtile in all their deeds, acts, &c.

An act was paſſed [11, 12 *Gul. III*, *c.* 20] whereby our own woollen manufactures, corn, and grain, of all kinds, as alſo meal, malt, pulſe, and bread, were exempted from paying any duty on exportation.

In the month of November 1700 King Charles II of Spain departed this life. The French king had managed that weak prince's will abſolutely in favour of his grandſon the duke of Anjou, and thereupon ſeized on the entire Spaniſh monarchy, without regarding the laſt partition treaty. Hereby the greateſt part of Europe was juſtly alarmed, and moſt eſpecially the emperor, England, and Holland. By Louis's ſeizing on Milan, and other imperial fiefs in Italy, the emperor and empire were nearly concerned. By his ſeizing on the Spaniſh Netherlands the Dutch were deprived of a barrier againſt France. And by his poſſeſſion of Spain itſelf, both England's and Holland's great commerce in the Mediterranean lay much at his mercy, as did alſo their Weſt-India commerce, by his diſpatching ſhips of war to take poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh dominions in America. Yet both England and Holland found themſelves obliged ſo far to temporize, as at firſt to recognize his grandſon for king of Spain, being as yet in no condition to oppoſe his title, or openly to favour, what was more for their intereſt, the claim of the houſe of Auſtria to the Spaniſh monarchy. This grand event occaſioned much terror in England, and the prices of the national funds and public ſtocks were ſo deeply affected thereby, as to ſink ſo low as 50 per cent, whereby great diſtreſs enſued to many; and, on the other hand, it afforded great advantages to the monied men. Thereby alſo the credit of the bank of England was much ſhaken for a time.

This year King William concluded a defenſive treaty with King Charles XII of Sweden, for 18 years: ſtipulating, in ſubſtance, not to ſhelter the rebellious ſubjects of each other: to aſſiſt each other, when attacked, with 6000 auxiliary foot ſoldiers: and that, nevertheleſs, either party might lawfully carry on commerce with the country with

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which the other might be at war, and againſt whom the ſaid auxiliary forces may have been ſent.

1701—There were two particular points in the act for ſettling the Eaſt-India trade, which proved extremely embarraſſing, viz.

The leave given to all corporations (the bank of England excepted) to ſubſcribe in their corporate capacity; whereby the old Eaſt-India company got into the new one in the manner already related: and the inſertion of the words, 'or any', after the word 'all', in the clauſe giving the king a power to incorporate the contributors into a joint-ſtock company, which left room for ſome of the contributors of the general ſociety (as proved actually the caſe) to decline coming into the new joint-ſtock company, and inſtead thereof, to go on as ſeparate traders to India.

Both thoſe difficulties might eaſily have been prevented, eſpecially the firſt, ſeeing an equivalent might have been aſſigned to the old company for their forts, privileges, &c. and the ſeparate traders might alſo have been bought off, they amounting only to L7,200 principal, with their annual fund of L576 at 8 per cent, who choſe, by virtue of that act, to trade ſolely and ſeparately: whereby the capital ſtock of the new corporation was in fact but L1,992,800, and their annual fund but L159,424. Theſe ſeparate traders afterwards gave much trouble to the new company, till by a law of the next reign an end was put to them, and both companies conſolidated into the preſent united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies.

This year the conteſt between the two Eaſt-India companies became exceedingly hot, it being about the time that a new parliament was to take place; and both companies ſtrove to gain the court, as well as the new members of the houſe of commons. The ſpirit of this time may in ſome meaſure be ſeen, by many warm pamphlets then publiſhed; ſuch as, 'the Freeholders plea againſt ſtock-jobbing of elections of par-'liament-men, quarto, 1701:' 'the Villainy of ſtock-jobbers detected, '&c. quarto, 1701;' and many more. And at the two coffeehouſes near the Royal exchange, which ſtill retain the names of Garraway's and Jonathan's, affairs were in thoſe pamphlets made ſo important, as to be ſaid then to prepare and direct the greateſt buſineſs of the nation. The two companies were at this time reckoned to have no fewer than 60 ſhips at ſea; and great was the emulation at their public ſales. Theſe conſiderations made the government ſee the abſolute neceſſity of compoſing their fierce contentions by a coalition, which was at length complied with, though not formally concluded in King William's reign.

We may now ſee, how great a progreſs the French council of commerce had made, in about one year after their eſtabliſhment, in the knowlege of the true commercial intereſts of France. And as it will diſplay their great judgement, zeal, and diligence for the improvement

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of their commerce and colonies, it will, at the ſame time, afford us very uſeful and intereſting hints and notices, for putting us on our guard againſt the growing commerce of ſo active and enterpriſing a people.

'They juſtly remark, that the commerce to Guinea has ſo cloſe a re-
'lation to that of their Weſt-India iſles, that the later cannot ſubſiſt
'without the former.

'By thoſe trades we have deprived our competitors in traffic, of the
'great profits they drew from us *. And we may put ourſelves into a
'condition, by their example, to draw profit in our turn from them;
'and eſpecially from the Engliſh.

'That we may increaſe thoſe trades conſiderably, ſeeing that nation,'
(i. e. England) 'in their iſlands, with leſs advantage than we, and in
'territories of leſs extent, as well as in much leſs time, have found
'means to employ annually above 500 ſail of ſhips, whilſt we ſcarcely
'employ 100 in the ſame trade.

'Every one is ſenſible of the benefits of navigation; and that the
'happineſs and glory of a ſtate very much depend on it. No one is ig-
'norant, that the navigation of France owes all its increaſe and ſplen-
'dour to the commerce of its iſlands, and that it cannot be kept up
'nor enlarged otherwiſe than by this commerce, which is more bene-
'ficial than all others of the long voyages which are driven by the
'French; becauſe carried on without the exportation of money, as well
'as without the aid of foreign goods and manufactures; ſo as none
'but the ſubjects of France reap the profits of it †.'

Next follows a brief repreſentation of the preſent ſtate of the French American iſlands, viz.

'1. The ſmall iſland, with the terra firma, of Cayenne' (on the coaſt of Guiana) 'comes firſt in view. Its coaſt is about 60 leagues in ex-
'tent; though not above 12 are inhabited: its ſoil is very good, and
'its ſugars near equal to the white ſugars of Braſil: it has not above
'600 white people, and about 2000 negroes; ſo that this large tract of
'land is almoſt uninhabited. And being ſituated nearly in the parallel
'of the Moluccos, where the fine ſpices grow, it is believed it might be
'eaſy to cultivate them there, and thereby ſave the purchaſing of them
'from the Dutch: the rather, in that the Portugueſe on this ſide of
'the river of Amazons, in a ſituation more diſtant from the equinoctial
'line, have cinnamon ‡.'

'2. Granada is about 25 leagues in circuit. Its white inhabitants
'about 200, and negroes 600: produces ſugar, excellent indigo, cotton,

* Meaning our ſugar, cotton, and ginger trade. *A.*

† The great linen manufacture of France enabled them to make this remark. It is to be hoped that the manufactures of Britain and Ireland will ſoon be ſufficient to ſupply the aſſortments of linen-drapery for our Weſt-India iſlands. *A.*

‡ That cinnamon is a baſtard kind, and worth very little. *A.*

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'&c. Its ſoil *is* good; and the colony might be conſiderably augmented.'

'3. Martinique is the principal colony: about 60 leagues in circuit; has a good ſoil, abounding in ſugar and cacao, with ſome indigo, cotton, &c. It had formerly 3500 men bearing arms, and 16,000 negroes. It has three good harbours, ſundry good roads for ſhipping, and two ſmall unwalled towns, with a good fort at Cul-de-ſac-royal.'

'4. Guadaloupe has a pretty good ſoil, producing fine ſugar, cotton, and ginger. It is not peopled; though it had formerly 1500 men bearing arms, and 8000 negroes.'

'5. Marigalante has a pretty good ſoil, which produces ſugar, indigo, cotton, and ginger. It was taken in the laſt war by the Engliſh, who afterwards abandoned it; though it has not been able to recover itſelf, having but three or four ſugar plantations as yet.'

'6. Santa-Cruz had formerly 600 men bearing arms, and many ſugar plantations. It was abandoned laſt war, becauſe difficult to be kept; and its inhabitants tranſported to St. Domingo. Yet this is a very good iſland, producing ſugar, indigo, and cotton; has a good and ſafe harbour, and a very good baſon for careening ſhips.'

'7. The laſt colony of St. Domingo, or Hiſpaniola; about 500 leagues in circuit. The one half of it is poſſeſſed by France, from Cape François to the iſle of Vaches, and the Spaniards have the other half. At Cape François there is a good port, 900 men bearing arms, and 2000 negroes. The diſtrict of Leogane is conſiderable: it is the ſeat of the French governor and ſovereign courts: it has 2000 men bearing arms, and 15,000 negroes. Petit-guaves has a good port; has 600 whites, and 2000 negroes. There are ſome other iſles, as Les Saintes, St. Martin, and St. Bartholomew; but of very little importance, and almoſt uninhabited.'

After reflections on thoſe iſlands being badly conducted by a company, and of the ſelfiſhneſs, &c. of excluſive companies in general, they add, 'it is not the Canada company's fault too, that that colony is not entirely ruined. It is' (ſay they) 'a moſt certain maxim, that *nothing but competition and liberty in trade can render commerce beneficial to the ſtate; and that all monopolies or traffic, appropriated to companies excluſive of others, are inconceivably burdenſome and pernicious to it.*' Next they condemn the 'Guinea company, as enhancing the price of negroes. And that, in time of war, (like the dog in the manger) they would neither carry negroes from Guinea themſelves, nor ſuffer others ſo to do, being poſſeſſed of excluſive powers: that the many prizes, taken in the laſt war from the Engliſh, have ſhewn to France how rich and uſeful that commerce is. Wherefor they adviſe the abolition of all companies. Alſo to lower the duty on ſugar, and permit French ſhips to carry that commodity to foreign

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'ports directly. About forty years ago' (i. e. about the year 1661) 'the 'French were little verſed in commerce and navigation: it was there- 'for then thought neceſſary to form companies, to engage them to 'ſtrike out tracks of commerce for the king's ſubjects, which then were 'unknown to them. Yet ſuch excluſive grants ought only to be for a 'limited number of years*.' They go on to inveigh againſt ſuch excluſive grants; as, '1ſt, that to the port of Marſeille, for the 'ſole trade to the Levant; 2dly, the Eaſt-India company; 3dly, 'the prohibiting of foreign raw ſilk to be carried to Niſmes, Tours, 'Paris, &c. till it had paſſed through Lyons; thereby tending only to 'make it dearer; 4thly, divers farms of certain merchandize in trade, '&c. deſtructive to the freedom of commerce.'

In treating of France's trade to Spain, we learn the vaſt quantity of merchandize of all kinds then carried thither. Concerning which country, they truely remark, 'that the Spaniards, who have within them- 'ſelves wool, ſilk, oil, wine, with an excellent ſoil, producing many 'things proper for the ſuſtenance of life, and for the eſtabliſhment of 'noble manufactures, and are in no want of good ports, both in the 'Ocean and Mediterranean, do, nevertheleſs, neglect all thoſe advan- 'tages; whence it follows, that they ſtand in need of the aſſiſtance of 'all other nations, who thereby exhauſt them of their gold and ſilver, 'and fetch away their raw materials for their own manufactures, as the 'raw ſilk of Valencia, Granada, Murcia, &c. to France; the wool of 'Caſtile, Arragon, Navarre, Leon, &c. to England, Holland, France, 'and Italy, for the very manufactures with which they afterward ſup- 'ply Spain. That in return for the French manufactures, &c. ſhipped 'for Cadiz, and thence in the galleons to Peru and Mexico, they have 'cochineal, indigo, Vigonia wool, hides, &c. and, in peaceable times, 'over and above, before the laſt wars, they received in money a ba- 'lance of eighteen or twenty millions of livres, and by the flotas ſeven 'or eight millions more. But for ſome years paſt, ſince the Engliſh, 'Dutch, Hamburghers, and others, have imitated ſome of our manu- 'factures, it is certain that our returns' (i. e. the balance in France's favour) 'are reduce to a ſmall matter. They wiſh his Catholic ma- 'jeſty would lay aſide entirely the Spaniſh garb, and introduce French 'faſhions, and aboliſh the uſe of Engliſh bays, ſo much worn in his do- 'minions both in Europe and America, &c. for the benefit of France.'

In ſpeaking of the French Levant trade, they ſay, 'that the Engliſh 'carry on that trade to much more advantage than the French, their 'woollen cloths being better and cheaper. The Engliſh alſo carry to 'the Levant, lead, pewter, copperas, and logwood, which are goods 'they are maſters of, together with a great deal of pepper; and, that

* Several ſuch are, however, in force in France to this day. *A.*

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'they may not drain their country of its gold and ſilver, they alſo take 'in dry fiſh of their own catching, ſugar of their own colonies, and 'other goods of their own product, which they ſell on the coaſts of 'Portugal, Spain, and Italy, for pieces of eight, which they carry to 'the Levant, to make up a ſtock ſufficient for purchaſing their home-'ward cargoes. Upon this plan, it would be more advantageous for 'France to permit her ports on the Ocean to carry on this trade direct-'ly to the Levant, without being obliged, ever ſince the year 1669, to 'unload at Marſeille on their return, on the pretence of preventing 'their bringing in the plague, which has obliged them to relinquiſh that 'trade entirely. And by the edict of 1685, 20 per cent was laid on all 'Levant merchandize imported, for preventing the weſtern ports from 'being ſupplied therewith, as they before had been, from England and 'Holland. Thus Marſeille alone thrives in this commerce, though by 'its being a free port, by its nearer ſituation to the Levant, and by a 'ſettled correſpondence there, it would always have advantages enough 'over the ports of the Ocean, without the diſtaſteful and impolitically 'excluſive trade.'

To this the deputy from Marſeille replied, 1ſt, 'the towns on the 'Ocean can neither in themſelves, nor in their neighbourhood, find 'conſumption for divers groſs merchandize which the Marſeille ſhips 'are obliged to take in for making up their lading. 2dly, the duty of '20 per cent was laid for preventing the Engliſh and Dutch Levant 'goods from being run into France by the ports of Dunkirk and Rouen. '3dly, Marſeille has within itſelf and the neighbouring provinces all 'kinds of manufactures and aſſortments proper for the Levant trade, '&c. To this the deputies from the ports on the Ocean replied, by de-'nying moſt of the allegations of Marſeille.' And ſo the diſpute ended for that time. We have too much ground to lament the great increaſe of France's Levant commerce, and the decreaſe of our Turkey company's commerce ſince that council's memorial.

This new board farther repreſented to the king's council, (after declaring, that it was in no derogation from nobility, ('nobleſſe') * to be a wholeſale merchant, though not a retailer; and that gentlemen who are merchants ſhould for the future in all aſſemblies precede other merchants) 'that the appellation of merchant being too general and 'extenſive †, it is neceſſary to ſettle a diſtinction; and that thoſe who 'trade by wholeſale by ſea or land be named negociants, and that re-'tailers only be called merchants; and no retailer to take the name of

* *Nobleſſe* in France includes not only thoſe whom we call noblemen, but alſo the gentry. *A.*

† *Marchand*, unleſs the ſenſe be now narrowed by this new diſtinction, comprehends all dealers, from the higheſt to the loweſt, e. g. *marchand negociant*, a merchant; *marchand drapier*, a woollen-draper; *marchand d'oeufs*, a higgler of eggs. *A.*

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'negociant under a pecuniary penalty, and a like penalty on mechanics 'ſtiling themſelves merchants.'

That board farther propoſed, 'to take off the duty of 50 ſols per 'ton from the ſhipping of the northern crowns, in order to allure them 'to trade with France, on as advantageous a footing as the Dutch do, 'who had that duty remitted by the peace of Ryſwick. That the prin-'cipal end for laying on that duty, was to confine the coaſting naviga-'tion to French ſhipping alone, which had before been wholely carried 'on by foreign bottoms, much to the prejudice of France. But as it 'alſo affected the voyages of the Engliſh and Dutch to France, thoſe 'two nations were obliged to lay a like duty on French ſhips coming 'into their ports.

'It was very provident in the Dutch to obtain the remiſſion of that 'duty, ſeeing by the French cuſtom-houſe books it appeared that the 'Dutch had poſſeſſion of almoſt all the commerce from France to 'thoſe northern nations: that duty, before the Dutch were exempted, 'yielding 700,000 livres yearly, but now only 100,000. That the mo-'derate duties in Holland give the Dutch conſiderable advantages, as 'does alſo their good huſbandry in their navigation, ſcarcely imitable 'by any other nation. Thereby do they retain navigation and trade 'to themſelves, and get into their hands the effects of other nations 'ſelling them again to great profit. By ſuch methods they have made 'their provinces the ſtorehouſe of Europe, from whence other nations 'are obliged to furniſh themſelves. In brief, the Dutch having thus 'made themſelves maſters of the inland trade of France, by the help 'of the refugees, and by commiſſions from the new converts *, and 'the factors they have in all our ports, they there ſell goods cheaper 'than even the wholeſale merchants of France can do, and are enabled 'to ſupply the French retailers as well as the northern nations, with aſ-'ſortments of goods. So that while this is the caſe, no wholeſale buſi-'neſs can be managed by the French, nor any great commerce car-'ried on directly between the French and the northern nations.

'For all which reaſons this board propoſes to ſuppreſs the duty of '50 ſols per ton.

'Or elſe to prevent the entrance into France of all commodities of 'the north, which ſhall have been before landed in any other country, 'and ſhall not be brought hither directly from the place of their growth 'or manufacture. To this the deputies from Nantes replied, that the 'Dutch trade to the Baltic was ſo well ſettled, that they will ever go-'vern the prices of all merchandize going to, or coming from, the 'north. Becauſe, carrying thither their own manufactures and mer-'chandize, and eſpecially their ſpices, of which the northern people

* The proteſtants of France who *profeſs* the catholic religion. *A.*

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'are very *fond*, they can afford to take off the corn, timber, iron, cop-
'per, *flax*, hemp, &c. of the north at high rates, and yet they are ge-
'nerally cheaper at Amſterdam than in the places they were brought
'*from*, becauſe of the great gains they (the Amſterdammers) make
'by the aſſortments they carry to the north. And the Dutch com-
'merce to Portugal is likewiſe on the ſame footing. For theſe and ſuch
'reaſons,' ſaid the Nantois, 'we fear we cannot depend on being re-
'gularly ſupplied with every thing directly from the north. The Dutch,
'moreover, take off very great quantities of our wines and brandies,
'which they brew, mix, and fit, to the taſte of the northern people.
'Theſe reflections apply not only to Holland, but alſo to Hamburgh,
'which city is likewiſe a ſtaple or ſtorehouſe for all the trade of the
'north, and is uſually very helpful to us in taking off our commodities,
'and in ſupplying us with what we want. Another powerful reaſon
'is, the frequent alteration of our coin, which abſolutely prevents fo-
'reigners from ſending us their ſhips and merchandize *.'

The other deputies replied, 'that it was plain, thoſe of Nantes own-
'ed the evils which the board complained of, particularly that the re-
'tailers in France carry on a diſadvantageous trade with the Dutch;
'and that it is certainly more ſure and more profitable for us to ſell
'our goods at home, than to carry them to the northern people to ſell.
'In the firſt caſe, it is we who give the law; in the other, we receive
'it. No merchant is ignorant of the effects of this difference, the one
'being ever profitable, the other very uncertain and often very perni-
'cious, and the common ſource of bankruptcies.' They add a little further: 'we have heretofore ſeen 5000 foreign ſhips come into the
'kingdom to take them off, but our being deprived of trade with the
'Engliſh, and our duty of 50 ſols per ton, have interrupted this great
'commerce †.' In farther anſwer to thoſe of Nantes, the council 'diſ-
'allows, that corn and other commodities of the north are ſold cheaper
'in Holland than in the places from whence they are fetched. 'For,'
ſay they, 'this never happens, but when the quantities imported into
'Holland are ſo large that they exceed the conſumption or demand for
'them: in this therefor,' ſay they, 'there is nothing extraordinary,
'being the caſe everywhere elſe. As they plead only for having the
'northern goods brought in alone, and directly from the places of their
'growth and manufacture, without being firſt landed in any other
'country, they cannot believe that the Dutch will, on France's mak-
'ing ſuch a regulation, ſuffer above 4000 ſhips, which they employ

* The blind policy of altering the national currency has often been ruinous to France, which ought to be a leſſon to other nations to guard againſt it with the ſtricteſt vigilance. See *Le Blanc ſur les monoyes Francoiſes*. *M.*

† This *new* board of trade were not ſufficiently ſenſible of the value of the carrying trade. But it muſt be acknowleged that their arguments apply with greater force to periſhable goods (and ſuch moſt of the French commodities are) than to thoſe which can wait a reaſonable time for a market. *A.*

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'between France and the northern nations, to lie rotting in their ports: 'but rather than not be employed, will let them fetch the northern 'merchandize directly from thence into the ports of France, as now 'propoſed.'

Beſides the ſaid objections of the deputy of Nantes, he of Marſeille urged, 'that the voyage from Dantzick, or even from Copenhagen, to 'Marſeille, is too long for a ſhip to go and come with certainty in one 'ſeaſon, conſidering the ice and the long nights: and that therefor 'there is no avoiding the uſe of entreports,' (i. e. middle-way or half-way ports) 'for the trade of Marſeille *.'

The deputy from Bayonne objected, 'that their commerce with their 'neighbours of Spain could not be continued in competition with the 'Dutch, had they not the liberty of ſupplying themſelves from entre-'ports at ſeaſonable times, as they have occaſion, with wax, cacao-'nuts, &c.'

The deputy of Nantes, *inter alia*, farther replied, 'that it was to be 'feared this novelty may confirm the Engliſh in their obſtinacy of con-'tinuing their high excluſive duties on French goods; and that while 'that commerce ſubſiſted with England,' (for at this time the near approach of a war interrupted it), 'we conſtantly furniſhed them with 'the merchandize of France, to the value of many millions more than 'we conſumed of theirs. He alſo farther urged againſt this propoſed 'regulation the conſideration, that the productions of France are al-'moſt all periſhable, and that therefor we cannot be too circumſpect in 'cultivating a good underſtanding with foreign nations, which ſurely is 'not to be done by preſcribing laws to them.'

The board juſtly inveigh againſt the practice of their grand monarch, 'of granting monopolies or farms to particular perſons, to be the ſole 'venders of certain commodities, as being moſt ruinous to trade.

'As, I) lead from England, which ſupplied their own wants, and 'with which France alſo ſupplied Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, 'the Levant, and the French Weſt-Indies, granted ſolely, as to ſhot, 'to one perſon.

'II) The ſole making, furniſhing, and diſtributing, of ſaltpetre and 'gunpowder.

'III) Other monopoliſts for proviſions, &c. Theſe make themſelves 'maſters of all the good branches of trade, by means of their privi-'leges, to the great prejudice of the public. And we are of opinion, 'that it is for the good of the ſtate to ſuppreſs them all: and to lay 'open thoſe branches of trade, whereby our navigation will increaſe, 'and the king will receive much more duties than thoſe he gets by the 'monopolies.'

* The dread of a *long* voyage from the north to the ſouth parts of Europe contributed in a great meaſure to make Antwerp in former times the general magazine of Europe. *A.*

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Thus this otherwiſe-ſagacious monarch, for the ſake of an immediate ſum advanced by the monopoliſts and farmers, occaſioned incredible hurt to many thouſands of families, and the real loſs of much commerce to his kingdom: which practice he nevertheleſs continued to the end of his life. The remainder of the memorial relates to the regulation of their coin, and reducing the proportion of ſilver to gold to the ſame ſtandard as in England and Holland: 'whereas in France it 'approaches too near to that in Spain; which country, being the ſource 'of ſilver, does not trouble itſelf to uſe any arts to draw our coin 'thither; beſides that the Spaniards are always our debtors on account 'of the trade to the Weſt-Indies.'

The proportions are,

'I) In England and Holland, $14\frac{1}{1}\frac{3}{6}$; or near 15 marks of ſilver buys 'a mark of gold.

'II) In Spain, $16\frac{1}{4}$ ditto.

'III) In France, $15\frac{4}{1}\frac{5}{8}\frac{}{9}$, or very near $15\frac{1}{4}$.'

Againſt raiſing the nominal value of their ſilver coin higher than is contained in its intrinſic quantity of pure bullion, this board's reaſonings correſponded exactly with thoſe of our great Locke about ſeven years before. Upon the whole, their repreſentations to the royal council are ſo full of hiſtorical matter, not only for the commerce of France, but of England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, &c. that we could not excuſe ourſelves from giving a complete, though compendious, account of ſo uſeful and entertaining a ſubject.

We ſhall here only farther remark, that, had the French afterwards ſtrictly purſued all that is therein ſo judiciouſly laid down, they might have been much more conſiderable in commerce than they are even now. But to this very day they have continued many monopolies and excluſive grants, which the other commercial countries of Europe have no reaſon to find fault with; and their court has alſo frequently, and ſometimes ſhamefully, varied and enhanced the nominal value of their coin beyond its intrinſic value, to ſerve temporary expedients, though to the general prejudice of their people.

On the 12th of June 1701 was paſſed the ever-memorable act of the Engliſh parliament [12 *Gul. III*, *c.* 2] for the farther limitation of the crown, and better ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubject; whereby the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, now on the throne, was moſt happily eſtabliſhed.

On the 16th of September [N. S.] in this ſame year, 1701, King James II died at St. Germain in France; and thereupon the French king having declared his ſon king of the Britiſh realms, Lord Mancheſter, the Engliſh ambaſſador, was inſtantly recalled from France, and the French ambaſſador was ordered forthwith to depart the realm. Both

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ſides therefor prepared for war, though not formally declared till after King William's death.

The great elector of Brandenburgh and duke of Pruſſia, (Frederick William) for his ſervices and attachment to the common intereſts of the German empire, and of the grand alliance juſt formed againſt France, the common enemy of the liberties of Europe, was, by the intereſt of his kinſman King William of England, recognized by moſt of the princes and ſtates in Europe as king of Pruſſia in this year 1701; his large dominions and revenues very well ſuiting the high dignity he now aſſumed.

From a monthly Political ſtate of Great Britain for November 1721, we have the value of all the merchandize imported from, and exported to, the following countries of the north, from michaelmas 1697, after the peace of Ryſwick, to chriſtmas 1701, being yearly upon an average as follows, viz.

	Imported from	Exported to	Annual loſs.
Denmark and Norway,	L76,215	L39,543	L36,672
Eaſt country,	181,296	149,893	31,403
Ruſſia,	112,252	58,884	53,368
Sweden,	212,094	57,555	154,539
Total annual loſs to England on an average,			L275,982 *

On the 7th of September 1701, the grand alliance of the emperor Leopold, William king of Great Britain, and the ſtates-general of the United Netherlands, was concluded againſt France, for recovering the Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria, and for the ſecurity of England and Holland, and of the Hanover ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain, as well as for a ſafe barrier to the United Netherlands: and thus all things were prepared for war prior to the death of King William †.

1702.—King William died on the 8th of March (new ſtile) 1702, and

* This account will in ſome meaſure be confirmed by comparing it with another from the ſame author in the year 1716. *A.*

† From the returns to the circular letters of the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms it appears, that in January 1701-2 there belonged to all the ports of England 3281 veſſels, meaſuring (or rather eſtimated at) 261,222 tons, and carrying 27,196 men and 5660 guns. Of theſe there belonged to

	Veſſels.	Tons.	Men.
London, -	560	84,882	10,065
Briſtol, -	165	17,338	2,359
Yarmouth, -	143	9,914	668
Exeter, -	121	7,107	978
Hull, -	115	7,564	187
Whitby, -	110	8,292	571
Liverpool, -	102	8,619	1,101
Scarburgh, -	100	6,860	606

None of the other ports had 100 veſſels; but Newcaſtle had 63 veſſels meaſuring 11,000 tons, and Ipſwich had 39 meaſuring 11,170, being on an average 271 tons, if, indeed, there be no miſtake in the number. Of the Hull veſſels 80 were at this time laid up, which accounts for the ſmall number of men in that port. It is worth while to obſerve that the *fiſhing* town of Yarmouth was the third in England in the number of veſſels. *M.*

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was ſucceeded by his ſiſter-in-law Anne, the daughter of the abdicated king.

D'Avenant [in his *Eſſay on loans*, 1700] obſerves, that, 'when upon 'the revolution the parliament fell moſt willingly into the war, as a 'thing the enemy, by eſpouſing King James's intereſt, made abſolute- 'ly neceſſary, the firſt branch of our expenſe was carried on in the 'common road of levying taxes, and the money required for every 'year's expenſe was raiſed and paid within the year. The nation was 'rich, trade prodigiouſly great, paper-credit ran high, and the gold- 'ſmiths in Lombard ſtreet, &c. commanded immenſe ſums. Antici- 'pations were indeed in practice; they had been ſo of old; and bor- 'rowing clauſes were added to the bills of aid; but theſe laſted but a 'few months: the money came in of courſe, and they were paid off in 'their turn. Land-taxes, polls, additional duties of cuſtoms, exciſes, 'and the like, were the ways and means by which theſe things were 'done. The year generally ſupported its own demands. All the loans 'were ſuppoſed to be temporary, and to end with the collection.'

Happy had it been for poſterity had miniſters gone on to King William's death in the manner thus deſcribed in the former part of his reign; or had Queen Anne's miniſters reſolutely determined that King William's debt, which was above fourteen millions, ſhould on no pretence be increaſed, the nation could with great eaſe have born ſo moderate a burden. But the miniſters of every ſucceeding reign going on to accumulate the public burdens, is truely a very ſad proſpect, and moſt grievouſly affects the commerce, manufactures, and navigation, of the nation, and alſo the landed intereſt; which melancholy conſideration will, we hope, ſufficiently juſtify our preſent brief animadverſion thereon.

On the 4th of May Queen Anne declared war againſt the French king, not only on account of his ſeizing on the Spaniſh monarchy, as before mentioned, but 'for the great affront and indignity' (ſays the queen) 'offered to us and our kingdoms, in taking upon him to de- 'clare the pretended prince of Wales king of our realms.'

The ſtates-general's declaration of war ſets forth, in ſubſtance, that Louis had long ſince caſt his eyes on their provinces, and had twice attacked their republic (i. e. in the years 1672 and 1688) by moſt unjuſt war, in order to make his way to univerſal monarchy. That ſo far was he from deſigning to obſerve the treaty of Ryſwick, that he thereby ſolely aimed at lulling the allies aſleep, and particularly to ruin the commerce of the Dutch; ſince that treaty was ſcarcely ratified, before he began manifeſtly to encroach on their trade, which is the great ſinew of their ſtate, by openly refuſing the tarif promiſed by that treaty.

This year an attempt was made by the Engliſh from Carolina againſt St. Auguſtine, the capital of Spaniſh Florida; but though they took

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and held the town for a whole month, they were not able to take the caſtle for want of mortars (which they ought to have duely conſidered beforehand); they were therefor forced to withdraw on the arrival of two Spaniſh men of war, and to abandon their ſhips, ammunition, &c. to the enemy.

The land-proprietors of Eaſt and Weſt New-Jerſey in Engliſh America, who had purchaſed of the firſt proprietors, not readily finding purchaſers of under-ſhares thereof, and being likewiſe at variance amongſt themſelves, they agreed to ſurrender into Queen Anne's hands both the charters for thoſe two governments, reſerving their particular rights and properties of the lands and ſettlements therein; whereupon the queen conſolidated the two provinces into one, and appointed Lord Cornbury to be the firſt royal governor. This colony of New-Jerſey has ſince proſpered very well, and has been extremely uſeful in ſupplying our ſugar colonies with proviſions, lumber, &c. Its two beſt towns are Burlington and Elizabeth-town; but that of Perth-Amboy is reckoned to have the beſt harbour, and to be moſt commodious in point of ſituation.

We have ſeen under the preceding year the indiſpenſable neceſſity there was for uniting the old and the new Engliſh Eaſt-India companies, even if it had been for no other reaſon but for the ſake of the public tranquillity. This coalition was made on the 22d of July 1702, by an indenture tripartite between the queen and the two companies, in ſubſtance as follows, viz.

	Stock.
The old company, being poſſeſſed (in the late ſubſcription) of - - - - - -	L315,000
And the new company of - - -	1,662,000
And the ſeparate traders (now diſcovered to amount to the ſum) of - - - - -	23,000
Making in all the ſubſcription for - -	L2,000,000

I) It was now agreed by both companies, that the old company ſhould purchaſe of the new one at par L673,500 of their ſtock, whereby their whole ſtock will be - - - - L988,500
Leaving the like ſum for the new company, viz. - 988,500
And the ſeparate traders, as above, have - - 23,000
L2,000,000

II) That the whole trade to India ſhould be carried on for the ſaid two united ſtocks for ſeven years, for the benefit of all the members of the new or Engliſh company; the ſaid old company to have a right and

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power, equal to all the reſt of the members, in the management of the trade during the ſaid ſeven years, but to keep their ſtock in their politic or corporate capacity for the ſaid term, without transferring it to their particular members.

III) The old company's dead ſtock (viz. forts, factories, buildings, &c.) being valued at L330,000, and that of the new company but at L70,000, the new one ſhall therefor pay L130,000 to the old one, to make up L200,000 for their moiety of the whole dead ſtock, being now L400,000, intended to be a new additional ſtock on the joint bottom.

IV) But the old company, during the ſaid ſeven years, ſhall have the uſe of their dead ſtock at home, (i. e. their office and warehouſes in Leadenhall ſtreet, &c.) which ſhall then go to the united one, comprehending the proprietors of both companies.

V) During the ſaid ſeven years (from the date hereof) each company ſhall hold their diſtinct courts *; ſhall have diſtinct courts of directors: may raiſe money two ways, viz. either for their reſpective moieties of the united trade, or to tranſact their own ſeparate affairs, (ſuch as paying their own ſeparate debts, &c.); but debts contracted for the joint trade ſhall be diſcharged out of the united company's ſtock.

VI and VII) Both companies ſhall forthwith bring home their ſeparate eſtate, dividing the ſame amongſt their reſpective members; after which, neither company ſhall ſend out any ſhips, goods, &c. on their ſeparate account, but all ſhall be on the joint account, by ſuch orders as ſhall be made by the general courts of both companies, in the name of the Engliſh company trading to the Eaſt-Indies, by direction of twelve directors out of each company, ſubordinate to both the general courts.

VIII and IX) Both companies ſhall bear an equal proportion of the united trade, and the members of each may transfer their nominal ſtocks in the books of their reſpective company, but ſo as the old company ſhall keep their moiety of ſtock entire in their corporate capacity for the ſaid ſeven years.

X) Both companies covenant with her majeſty that the joint account ſhall export annually to India, of the growth, product, or manufacture, of England, at leaſt one tenth part of the whole ſum they ſhall trade for; an account whereof ſhall be annually delivered to the privy council; hereby releaſing both companies from all former covenants, ſaltpetre excepted: of which merchandize they ſhall be obliged to deliver to the office of ordnance 494¼ tons, at L45 per ton in time of peace, and at L53 in time of war; the retraction thereof ſettled at 15 per cent.

' XII) The queen agrees to take the company's ſealed bonds for all

* The new company's office was at Skinners hall on Dowgate hill. *A.*

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'the cuſtoms on their merchandize, the 15 per cent on muſlins only excepted.

'XIII, XIV, XV, and XVI) Nothing to be tranſacted in the joint trade without the concurrence of both companies: and only ſervants and free merchants, or other corporations, the bank of England excepted, may be licenced to trade for themſelves in the company's ſhips, &c.

'XVII) The queen grants that the general courts of both companies and their ſub-managers ſhall have the ſole government of their forts: may coin foreign money in India; and the old company may convey to the new one Bombay and St. Helena.

'XVIII, XIX, XX) The old company, at or near the expiration of the ſaid ſeven years, ſhall transfer into the new company their moiety of the joint ſtock to their reſpective members. And ſhall alſo, ſome time before the expiration, aſſign to her majeſty all the debts due to them; which debts ſhe engages to re-aſſign, in ten days after, to truſtees, for anſwering the old company's debts, and afterwards for the benefit of their members. And they alſo covenant to reſign their charter, in two months after the expiration of the ſaid ſeven years, into the queen's hands: *whereupon the new company* ſhall thenceforward be called *The united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies;* whoſe affairs ſhall thenceforth be conducted by their own ſole directors, agreeable to their charter of the 10th of King William. And laſtly, the queen promiſes that this indenture ſhall be conſtrued in the moſt favourable ſenſe for the advantage of both companies *.

Thus a prudent ſtop was put to much contention.

Upon advice received by General Coddrington, governor of the Leeward iſlands, that war was declared by England againſt France, he attacked the French part of the iſland of St. Chriſtophers, and reduced it with very little trouble; ever ſince which time that fine iſland has been ſolely poſſeſſed by Great Britain.

Poſſibly the origin of the preſent great production of the fine rice of South-Carolina might have happened about this time. What the anonymous author of the Importance of the Britiſh plantations in America (London 1701) has ſaid thereon is well worth recording, though he has not given us the exact year of its origin. It is a ſeaſonable leſſon for men never to deſpair of many more new productions in our colonies, and is therefor ſubmitted to the honourable ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. 'A brigantine' (ſays that author) 'from the iſle of Madagaſcar happened to put in at Carolina, 'having a little ſeed-rice left, which the captain gave to a gentleman

* The remaining articles are merely temporary. *A.*

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'of the name of Woodward. From part of this he had a very good 'crop, but was ignorant for ſome years how to clean it. It was ſoon 'diſperſed over the province, and by frequent experiments and obſer- 'vations they found out ways of producing and manufacturing it to ſo 'great perfection, that it is thought to exceed any other in value. The 'writer of this hath ſeen the ſaid captain in Carolina, where he receiv- 'ed a handſome gratuity from the gentlemen of that country, in ac- 'knowlegement of the ſervice he had done the province. It is like- 'wiſe reported, that Mr. Dubois, then treaſurer of the Eaſt-India com- 'pany, did ſend to that country a ſmall bag of ſeed-rice ſome ſhort 'time after, from whence it is reaſonable enough to ſuppoſe might 'come thoſe two ſorts of that commodity; the one called red rice, in 'contradiſtinction to the white, from the redneſs of the inner huſk or 'rind of this ſort, although they both clean and become white alike.'

Before this important new production, Carolina was not a little puzzled to ſupply the mother-country with merchandize ſufficient to pay for all the neceſſaries conſtantly wanted from England. That fine grain, we ſhall ſee, has ſince been exported in immenſe quantities, as have alſo been the pitch, tar, turpentine, &c. of Carolina, in no inconſiderable quantities and value.

1703.—The neceſſity which all maritime trading nations lie under of being ſupplied with naval ſtores, and more eſpecially England's very great need thereof, as well for the royal navy as for her numerous mercantile ſhipping, has often put it in the power of the northern crowns to diſtreſs ſuch nations as had none of their own. This eminently appeared in the year 1703 from the tar company of Sweden, who abſolutely refuſed to let the Engliſh nation have any pitch or tar, although ready money was always paid for it, unleſs England would permit it all to be brought in Swediſh ſhipping, and at their own price, and likewiſe only in ſuch quantities as that company ſhould pleaſe to permit. This diſappointment (as the late ingenious Mr. Gee likewiſe obſerves in his *Trade and navigation of Great Britain conſidered, p.* 82) 'put the govern- 'ment and parliament on the method of allowing bounties for raiſing 'pitch, tar, hemp, flax, and ſhip-timber, in our own North-American 'colonies; as particularly in Carolina, (the ſouthernmoſt parts of which 'lying near the latitude of Lower Egypt, and the northernmoſt nearly 'in thoſe of Ancona and Bologna in Italy, in which parts the beſt hemp 'and flax grow).' The firſt ſtatute of this kind was the act for encouraging the importation of naval ſtores from her majeſty's plantations in America, judiciouſly ſetting forth, 'that as, under God, the wealth, 'ſafety, and ſtrength, of the kingdom, ſo much depend on the royal 'navy and navigation thereof, and that the ſtores neceſſary for the ſame 'being hitherto brought in chiefly from foreign parts and by foreign 'ſhipping, at exorbitant and arbitrary rates, which might be provided

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'in a more certain and beneficial manner from her majesty's plantations in America, where the vast tracts of land lying near the sea and on navigable rivers may commodiously afford great quantities of all sorts of naval stores, by due encouragement, which may likewise tend to the farther employment and increase of English shipping and seamen, and also of the trade and vent of the woollen and other manufactures and product in exchange for such naval stores, now purchased of foreign countries for ready money: it was therefor now enacted, that whoever shall (in ships and with sailors qualified as by the acts of navigation) import from the English plantations in America the under-named naval stores, shall be entitled to the following bounties, viz.

'For good and merchantable tar and pitch, per ton of 8 barrels, - - - - - L4 0 0
'——— rosin or turpentine, per ton, 3 0 0
'—— hemp, water-rotted, bright and clean, per ton of 20 cwt. - - - - - - 6 0 0
'For all masts, yards, and bowsprits, per ton, of 40 feet each ton, - - - - - - 1 0 0

'1. Proviso, that for the particular benefit of the royal navy, the preemption or refusal of the said naval stores shall be tendered to the commissioners of her majesty's navy upon landing the same; and if within twenty days the navy board shall not bargain for the same, then the proprietors may dispose of them to their best advantage.

'2. That none within the colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachuset's bay, Rhode-island, and Providence-plantation, the Narraganset-country or King's-province, and Connecticut in New-England; and in New-York, and New-Jersey, shall presume to cut, fell, or destroy, any pitch-pine trees, or tar trees, not being within any inclosure, under the growth of twelve inches diameter, at three feet from the earth, on forfeiture of L5 for each offence. Nor, 3dly, shall wilfully set fire to any wood or forest, in which are any such trees prepared for making pitch or tar, without first giving notice to the owners thereof, or to a magistrate, under the penalty of L10.'

'This to be in force for nine years, from the 1st of January, 1705, old stile.' [3, 4 *Ann. c.* 10.]

The good consequence of this seasonable law was soon after felt: and the colonies, at this time import into England great quantities of merchantable pitch and tar, fit for most uses in the navy, and which may in time be probably brought to serve for all uses, so as to render us absolutely independent on Sweden for those two most necessary articles. Of late also good hemp and flax are raised in our colonies, where there are immense quantities of excellent lands proper for raising those commodities. Mr.

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Gee was of opinion, that Ruſſia exported annually to Britain and other nations hemp and flax to the value of one million ſterling. How noble, how rational, a proſpect is this, of ſaving great ſums annually paid to foreign nations, who are frequently, too, in a very oppoſite intereſt to Great Britain.

Upon this occaſion there were computations laid before the government of the following quantities of foreign pitch and tar, annually conſumed in Europe, viz.

By Britain and Ireland, annually about - -	1000 laſts
By Holland, as well for their home uſe, as for what they export to Spain, Portugal, and up the Mediterranean,	4000
By France, - - - - - - - -	500
By Hamburgh, Lubeck, and other German ports, -	500
In all,	6000 laſts

Of which four fifth parts conſiſted of tar, and one fifth of pitch *.

By the act 8 *Ann*, *c.* 13, §. 30, the queen was empowered to apply L10 000, out of the ſupplies granted in that ſeſſion of parliament, for the ſubſiſtence and employment of a number of ſkilful people, and for furniſhing fit utenſils and materials for effectually carrying on the good and profitable deſigns of raiſing ſuch naval ſtores from the growths and products of the ſaid plantations.

By another act, 9 *Ann*, *c.* 17, a penalty of L100 was inflicted on any perſon cutting down white, or other, pine trees, (not private property) in thoſe plantations, of twenty-four inches diameter, or upwards, twelve inches from the earth. And the queen's ſurveyor-general of her woods in America was directed to mark all ſuch trees as are fit for the navy royal with a broad arrow, for the uſe of the public.'

By another act, 12 *Ann*, *c.* 9, the above act was renewed, and the like bounties are allowed for naval ſtores brought from Scotland, though to little or no benefit hitherto; though it be true, as the ſtatute remarks, that there is in ſeveral parts of Scotland great ſtore of pine and fir trees, fit for maſts, and for making pitch, tar, roſin, and other naval ſtores. But the act itſelf aſſigns the true reaſon, why they cannot be eaſily or cheaply brought to England, viz. becauſe the lands and woods which may yield ſuch naval ſtores are moſtly in parts mountainous and remote from navigable rivers. This the York-buildings company experienced to their coſt ſome years after this time, the timber, they felled in ſome of thoſe woods at a great expenſe, being left to rot on the ground, the carriage of it to the neareſt places of navigation being found imprac-

* Tar and pitch are produced in Norway and in Sweden, whence the greateſt quantity is brought; and alſo in Ruſſia, whence it is ſhipped at Archangel. *A.*

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ticable *; which will probably ever be the caſe as to Scotland; notwithſtanding the bounties allowed by that act, or any larger bounties to be reaſonably granted.

The czar of Ruſſia, Peter the Great, having conquered from Sweden the fine provinces of Livonia, Ingria, and Carelia, now formed a grand project for opening a free communication between Ruſſia and the Baltic ſea: his great genius had diſcovered, that the iſlands near the mouth of the river Neva, at the head of the Findland gulf, might be ſo fortified as to prove to Ruſſia of equal benefit for war or for commerce: hence ſprung up the fort of Cronſtadt, now a commodious haven for his ſhips of war; by which all ſhips muſt paſs: he alſo viewed the adjacent country with ſatisfaction, and, in ſhort, determined to erect a new metropolis and emporium at the mouth of the Neva, from whence he might awe his enemies of the north, and open a naval communication with the reſt of Europe, by a much ſhorter and ſafer courſe than from Archangel. He conſidered alſo, that by erecting a royal city and port there, though in the 60th degree of latitude, he ſhould acquire a greater influence, by means of his navy, both in the Baltic, and even in the Northern and German oceans. He therefor brought thither labourers and artificers from all parts of his vaſt empire; many thouſands of whom are ſaid to have periſhed through cold, hunger, and diſtempers, in that damp place, which gave him little concern. Yet, in the end, he ſurmounted all obſtacles; and having, by his deſpotic ſway, obliged his nobility, merchants, artizans, &c. to erect and inhabit houſes in this new city; and, encouraging many ſeafaring people and others from Livonia and other parts, to ſettle in it, he gave it the name of St. Peterſburgh; and it very ſoon became a large and populous city. It was objected by the people of Wologda, a city in 59 degrees of latitude, that, ſhould their handicrafts be removed from that city, where three German merchants alone employed upwards of 25,000 perſons in dreſſing hemp and flax for the Archangel market, their proviſions at Peterſburgh would come much dearer, and ſo they ſhould loſe their trade; yet the czar overruled even this point.

Mr. De Dieu, the Dutch reſident with the czar in the year 1720, acquaints his principals, that Peterſburgh might then contain about 300,000 ſouls; a thing ſcarcely credible to be effected in theſe modern times, and much more reſembling the power of the antient oriental monarchs than any modern potentate. There he eſtabliſhed his admiralty, his mathematical ſchools, his royal academies, founderies, &c. His docks, powder-mills, paper-mills, &c. are at Cronſtadt, where alſo there is a good town built, and where he eſtabliſhed rope-walks, anchorſmiths, &c. At the ſaid new city of St. Peterſburgh he likewiſe eſta-

* Could they not ſaw it into boards? Surely boards can be carried wherever a man can walk; to ſay nothing of the facility of floating them, even by the ſmalleſt ſtreams when ſwelled by floods. *M*

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bliſhed manufactories of woollen, linen, &c. and every uſeful art for the improvement of the trade and navigation, as well as the general knowlege, of his people, obliging them alſo to ſend their children thither for that end. And, in conſequence of theſe vaſt ſchemes, and of his poſſeſſing the fine port of Revel in Livonia, we have, ſince the building of Peterſburgh, ſeen the new ſpectacle of a Ruſſian fleet triumphant in the Baltic ſea, obliging the fleets of their opponents there, to ſhelter themſelves under the cannon of their fortreſſes. By the erection of this new city the port of Archangel in the White ſea, to which formerly there uſually reſorted yearly 100 or more ſhips, Engliſh, Dutch, French, Hamburghers, &c. is conſiderably declined in its commerce, its former cuſtoms having by ſome been reckoned to amount to L100,000 ſterling, annually: Riga alſo, and Narva, will probably be more and more impaired in their commerce, if Peterſburgh continues to flouriſh, as the later is ſo commodiouſly ſituated for the tranſportation of Ruſſian merchandize, by the river Neva, and the great lakes Ladoga and Onega, as well as by land carriage, to and from the interior parts of the Ruſſian empire; from whence, and from Livonia, &c. that city is well ſupplied with whatever it has need of. The watery ſituation of Peterſburgh, and the overflowings of the Neva, are the principal inconveniencies attending it.

Peter alſo ordered a canal to be made between the river Woronitz and another ſmall one falling into the great river Volga, whereby a communication was to be opened between the later and the river Don, the one falling into the Caſpian, and the other into the Black ſea, under the direction of Captain John Perry, an Engliſhman, who likewiſe, by that great prince's order, had partly executed a much greater work, being a grand canal between the Volga and the Don, nearer the mouths of thoſe two huge rivers; but the taking of Aſoph from him by the Turks put a ſtop to that vaſt deſign.

The almoſt unparalleled tempeſt, which happened in November 1703, more eſpecially round the ſouthern coaſts of Great Britain, was undoubtedly a great calamity, by the loſs of many fine Engliſh ſhips of war, and a great number of merchant ſhips with their valuable cargoes, as well as of many lives; and was doubtleſs ſome obſtruction to the increaſe of the nation's wealth: nevertheleſs it appears by D'Avenant's * report to the commiſſioners of accounts in the year 1712, that the exports of England in this ſame year, to all parts of the world, amounted to L6,644,103 of which there was exported to Holland alone L2,417,890, being above one third of the whole †.

* D'Avenant was then inſpector-general of the cuſtoms. *A.*

† Sir Charles Whitworth, from the inſpector-generals accounts, ſtates the exports to Holland in 1703 at L2,405,599: and we muſt remember that the ſum of L473,750, the amount of coin and bullion exported, ought not to be included in the exports, to ſwell the total of a favourable balance by a fallacious ſtatement, whereas it is in fact quite the contrary, the payment of an unfavourable balance. *M.*

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In this ſame year John Methven Eſquire concluded, on the part of the queen of Great Britain, a famous, though conciſe, treaty of commerce with Peter king of Portugal, much to the benefit of both nations, viz.

Article I) 'The king of Portugal, on his part, ſtipulates, for himſelf 'and his ſucceſſors, to admit forever hereafter into Portugal the wool-'len cloths, and the reſt of the woollen manufactures of the Britons, as 'was accuſtomed till they were prohibited by the laws; nevertheleſs, 'upon this condition:

II) 'That her royal majeſty of Great Britain ſhall, in her own name 'and that of her ſucceſſors, be obliged for ever hereafter to admit the 'wines of the growth of Portugal into Britain; ſo that at no time, 'whether there ſhall be peace or war between the kingdoms of Britain 'and France, any thing more ſhall be demanded for theſe wines, by the 'name of cuſtom or duty, or by whatſoever other title, directly or indi-'rectly, whether they ſhall be imported into Great Britain, in pipes, or 'hogſheads, or other caſks, than what ſhall be demanded for the like quan-'tity or meaſure of French wines, deducting or abating one third part 'of the cuſtom or duty. But if at any time this deduction or abate-'ment of cuſtoms, which is to be made as aforeſaid, ſhall in any manner 'be attempted and prejudiced, it ſhall be juſt and lawful for his ſacred 'majeſty of Portugal again *to prohibit the woollen cloths and the reſt of* 'the Britiſh woollen manufactures*.' [Dated at Liſbon, 27th December 1703.]

By this treaty, ſays Mr. King, the editor of the Britiſh merchant, in his dedication to Sir Paul Methven, the ſon of the miniſter who negotiated it, 'we gain a greater balance from Portugal than from any 'other country whatever. By it alſo we have increaſed our exports 'thither, from about L300,000 yearly to near L1,500,000.

It was by no means the intereſt of Britain, during a war with France and Spain, to uſe the wines of thoſe countries, which, doubtleſs, could have been imported by neutral ſhips: and as Portugal's red wines were therefor become in ſome ſort the only kind we could then conveniently and reaſonably come at, this treaty was beneficial to both countries, though perhaps ſomewhat exaggerated by the above author, eſpecially as Portugal has, in return for our taking ſuch vaſt quantities of their wines, conſtantly taken off a greater quantity of our manufactures, ſo as to occaſion a conſiderable yearly balance in our favour. And our palates being long ſince ſo well reconciled to Portugal wine, the Portugueſe, for our ſupply, have turned great quantities of their lands into vineyards.

The bullion exported from England to Eaſt-India in ſix years, viz. from 1698 to 1703, both years included, was in ſilver L3,171,404:17:8,

* Theſe are pretty nearly the very words of this famous treaty, as it is publiſhed from a copy in the books of the board of trade, by Mr. Chalmers in his *Collection of treaties*, *V.* ii, *p.* 303, *ed.* 1790. *M.*

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in gold L128,229, total L3,299,633 : 17 : 8; being on an average, per annum L549,938 : 19 : 7⅓ *.

1704.—By a law, made about the beginning of this year, for the public regiſtering of all deeds, conveyances, and wills, in any honours, manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, within the weſt riding of the county of York, a memorial of all deeds and conveyances, and of all wills and deviſes in writing, whereby any honours, manors, &c. in the ſaid weſt riding, may be in any way affected in law or equity, may, at the election of the party or parties concerned, be regiſtered, as is herein after directed. And that, after ſuch regiſter, every ſubſequent deed or conveyance of the honours, manors, &c. ſo regiſtered, or any part thereof, ſhall be adjudged fraudulent and void, unleſs a memorial thereof ſhall alſo be regiſtered; and the like of wills, &c. The regiſter's office to be kept at Wakefield. This act not to extend to copy-hold eſtates, nor to leaſes at rack-rent, nor to any leaſe not exceeding 21 years.

The very good reaſons aſſigned for this law, in its preamble, were, that this weſt riding is the principal place in the north for the cloth manufacture: and that moſt of the traders therein are freeholders, and have frequent occaſions to borrow money upon their eſtates for managing their trade; but, for want of a regiſter, find it difficult to give ſecurity *to the ſatisfaction of the lenders*, although the ſecurity they offer be really good, by means whereof their trade is very much obſtructed, and many families ruined. [2, 3 *Ann. c.* 4.]

What pity it is, that ſuch a regiſter could not be rendered practicable all over England, ſince thereby undoubtedly many frauds might effectually be prevented, and this too, without expoſing gentlemen's circumſtances farther than the nature of ſuch regiſters abſolutely require.

N. B. By an act [5 *Ann. c.* 18] for enrolment of bargains and ſales in the weſt riding, ſeveral additional proviſions were made for enrolling all bargains, ſales, &c. needleſs herein to be particularized.

The former part of the year 1704 ſeemed at firſt to portend much hazard to the liberties and commerce of the greateſt part of Chriſtendom: France was in actual poſſeſſion of the whole Spaniſh monarchy; the German empire powerfully invaded on the ſide of Bavaria by the French, where, as well as in Italy, their ſuperiority gave them great

* Along with the account given by Mr. Anderſon, I here lay before the reader the following official accounts.

According to the account made up by the accountant of the Eaſt-India company for the houſe of commons, the bullion carried to India (partly from Cadiz) from 25th December 1698 to 25th December 1703, being five years, was,

In ſilver, 5,160,225 ounces, at 5ſ per ounce,	L1,290,056	5	0
In gold almoſt 19,170 ounces at L4 per ounce,	76,680	0	0

Total value at the prices of bullion rated by Davenant L1,366,736 : 5 : 0.

Agreeable to the account made up by Doctor Davenant, inſpector-general of the cuſtoms, alſo for the houſe of commons, the Eaſt-India goods, re-exported from England in the four years from Chriſtmas 1698 to Chriſtmas 1702, amounted to L2,538,933 : 11 : 10½. If the re-exportation of the year 1703 was in the ſame proportion, it was more than double the value of the bullion exported by the company, and ſtrongly ſupports what is urged by the advocates for the India trade. *M.*

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advantages, as did alſo an inſurrection in Hungary. All theſe appearances were very melancholy conſiderations in England, and therefor occaſioned a great fall in the prices of the parliamentary funds and public ſtocks. The bank of England therefor found themſelves obliged again to iſſue their ſealed bills for a large ſum, bearing intereſt, in order to keep up their credit: and the Eaſt-India company were obliged to create a conſiderable ſum in their bonds, to enable them to fit out their ſhips. Yet, ſuch is the fluctuating ſtate of things in time of war, two very great pieces of good fortune happened to the allies before this year ended, viz. the famous and moſt complete victory of the confederate army, on the 13th of Auguſt, at Blenheim or Hockſtadt, over the French and Bavarian army, on which, it may be truely ſaid, the fate and liberty of Europe, as well as more particularly of Germany, in a great meaſure depended: and the taking of the moſt important fortreſs and port of Gibraltar; both which gave a moſt marvellous turn to public affairs all over Europe, and particularly to England's hopes and public credit. Gibraltar, having been confirmed to Great Britain by the peace of Utrecht, has proved of very ſignal advantage to us; as it is not only a bridle on moſt of the chriſtian ſtates we may be at war with, a ſure ſtation for our ſhips of war, a ſafe retreat in war for our merchant ſhips, a refreſhing place for both, and a curb on the piratical ſtates of the oppoſite Barbary ſhores; in every view, therefor, highly meriting all the expenſe we can beſtow for preſerving it in our poſſeſſion. It was alſo thought ſo dangerous a thorn in the ſide of Spain, that the French and Spaniards formally beſieged it in October this ſame year; but it was twice ſeaſonably relieved: and the like happened again in the year 1727, ſince which its fortifications have been much improved *.

The ſtatute [15 *Car. II*] for the encouragement of trade, ſtiled by way of eminence the act of navigation, having enacted, that no merchandize of any part of Europe ſhall be imported into any part of Aſia, Africa, or America, belonging to his majeſty, but what ſhall be carried from England, except as is therein excepted; an act of this year [3, 4 *Ann. c.* 8] ſo far repeals the ſame, as to permit the exportation of Iriſh linen cloth to the Engliſh plantations. Its preamble ſets forth, that for as much as the proteſtant intereſt in Ireland ought to be ſupported by giving the utmoſt encouragement to the linen manufactures of that

* To Mr. Anderſon's opinion of the *immenſe benefit* of Gibraltar, it may not be amiſs to contraſt that of Dr. Adam Smith, who, ſpeaking of it and Minorca, ſays, 'I would not, however, be underſtood to inſinuate, that either of thoſe expenſive garriſons was ever, even in the ſmalleſt degree, neceſſary for the purpoſe for which they were originally diſmembered from the Spaniſh monarchy. That diſmemberment, perhaps, never ſerved any other real purpoſe than to alienate from England her natural ally the king of Spain, and to unite the two principal branches of the houſe of Bourbon in a much ſtricter and more permanent alliance than the ties of blood could ever have united them.' [*Inquiry into the wealth of nations, V.* iii, *p.* 122, *ed.* 1793.] Whatever may be the value of Gibraltar in a political view, which I do not pretend to appretiate, there cannot be a ſhadow of a doubt, that the retention of it muſt be hurtful to the trading intereſt of Great Britain (notwithſtanding the pretended ſecret advantages) exactly in the ſame manner, that a quarrel with a very good cuſtomer is hurtful to a ſhopkeeper, *ſi liceat magnis componere parva*. *M.*

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kingdom, *Iriſh linen* therefor might thenceforward be exported from any port of Ireland directly to any of the Engliſh plantations, in Engliſh-built ſhipping, navigated according to law. The linen manufacture of Ireland was then, and in a great meaſure ſtill is, principally carried on in the province of Ulſter and parts adjacent, where the proteſtants are by far the majority of the people; but in moſt other parts of that kingdom it is well known to be otherwiſe.

For the encouragement of trade, a ſtatute was made, [3, 4 *Ann. c.* 9] whereby promiſſory notes were enacted to be aſſignable by indorſement; and actions might be maintained thereon, in like ſort as was enacted on inland bills of exchange in the year 1698. And whereas in the act of 1698 no proviſion was made for proteſting inland bills of exchange, in caſe the party on whom ſuch inland bill ſhall be drawn ſhall refuſe to accept the ſame, it was now enacted, that if hereafter, upon preſenting any ſuch bill, the party on whom it ſhall be drawn ſhall refuſe to accept the ſame by underwriting it under his hand, the perſon to whom the ſaid bill is made payable, or his ſervant, agent, or aſſigns, may, and ſhall, cauſe the ſaid bill to be proteſted for non-acceptance, as was by the ſaid law of 1698 to be done, when due, for non-payment, and as is the caſe of foreign bills of exchange. Yet no ſuch proteſt ſhall be neceſſary for non-payment of ſuch inland bill of exchange, unleſs drawn for L20 or upwards; and alſo that the proteſt for non-acceptance ſhall be made by ſuch perſons as are appointed by the ſaid act of 1698 (i. e. a notary-public, or &c. as already therein recited) to proteſt inland bills for non-payment. Alſo, that if any perſon doth accept (i. e. receive and take) any ſuch bill of exchange for, and in ſatisfaction of, any former debt, the ſame ſhall be accounted and eſteemed a full and complete payment of ſuch debt, though the receiver of it doth not take his due courſe to obtain payment thereof, by endeavouring to get the ſame accepted and paid, or elſe by proteſting, as aforeſaid, either for non-acceptance or non-payment thereof. Laſtly, nothing in this act ſhall diſcharge any remedy which any perſon may have againſt the drawer, accepter, or indorſer, of ſuch bill.

It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that two ſuch ſalutary and important regulations as this law has made in promiſſory notes and inland bills of exchange, were not ſooner enacted in a country of ſuch conſiderable mercantile tranſactions as England has long been. But to ſay the truth, what many have remarked of our national ſlowneſs in reforming abuſes and defects ſeems but too well grounded.

This law was made perpetual by an act 7 *Ann. c.* 25.

Queen Anne this year granted a charter of incorporation to Thomas duke of Leeds, Pawlet earl of Bolingbroke, Francis lord Guildford, Sir Thomas and Sir Humphry Mackworths, and other gentlemen, ‘ for ‘ working and managing mines and minerals, and ſmelting, refining, ‘ and manufacturing, the ſame; to be forever a body-politic, by the

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'name of the governor and company of the mine-adventurers of Eng-
'land; the duke of Leeds to be governor for life; and a deputy-go-
'vernor and twelve directors, to be elected by their general courts, who
'are alſo empowered to make bye laws, &c. as cuſtomary in other royal charters. Hereupon, in the ſame year, Sir Humphry Mackworth and William Waller, who had before purchaſed ſundry leaſes, for terms of years, of certain mines in different parts of Wales, conveyed them to this new corporation, on certain conditions mentioned in that conveyance. The company, principally, if not ſolely, under Sir Humphry Mackworth's direction, (who was elected deputy-governor for life) went on in a pompous manner, adding ſo many new ſhares as made the whole number amount to 6012; purchaſing freſh mines, and raiſing vaſt quantities of lead, copper, and litharge, from which they made a great deal of red lead; and from the lead they extracted conſiderable quantities of ſilver; and they iſſued caſh notes, which they cauſed for ſome time to be circulated throughout a great part of Wales. They alſo erected themſelves into a money bank, and circulated their ſealed bills and caſh notes for ſome time in London, till reſtrained by a clauſe in an act of parliament, of the year 1708, in favour of the bank of England. Sir Humphry Mackworth went on impoſing on the proprietors, for five years from the date of the charter, by falſe and ſham calculations of their profits; by purchaſing lead and litharge from other people's mines, and declaring them to be digged from the company's mines; buying alſo the ſilver extracted from other men's lead, and getting it to be coined in the king's mint, as coming from the company's mines, while, at the ſame time, he was not able to go on without freſh artifices and calls on the proprietors, nor to pay the vaſt expenſe of workmen, &c. whoſe wages were ſuffered to run in arrear; and his ſchemes being too extenſive for the company's abilities, he was obliged to ſtop payment of their ſealed bills and caſh notes, being by ſuch wild management run greatly in debt, while, at the ſame time, he was erecting charity ſchools in Wales with the company's money, to draw in well-meaning people.

1705.—The French burnt and deſtroyed many of the plantations in the iſland of St. Chriſtophers, at this time ſolely poſſeſſed by England, as alſo the neighbouring iſland of Nevis, yet they were not able to take the forts of either of thoſe iſlands. The damage done to the planters was afterward made good by debentures granted by parliament.

The Engliſh arms proving proſperous both by ſea and land againſt France, the ſupplies were raiſed with the greateſt eaſe for the current ſervices of this and ſeveral ſucceeding years; particularly the annuities of 99 years at 6½ per cent, the capital, or principal, of 2½ millions for the enſuing year's ſupply, to be ſunk at the expiration of that term. This way of raiſing money, we are ſenſible, has ſince been cenſured by

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many, (though reſumed during the laſt and preſent expenſive wars): yet contemporary writers were not of that opinion, and they alſo unanimouſly obſerve very truely, that the national or public credit of England was never before at ſo high a pitch, nor more ſacredly maintained. Nothing indeed ſeemed amiſs, either with regard to our foreign commerce, or colonies, both which were in a proſperouſly-increaſing ſtate, as well as our home manufactures.

1706.—The parliament enacted, that, after midſummer 1706, any bankrupt who ſhould not, within thirty days after public notice, ſurrender himſelf, and diſcover his effects, ſhould ſuffer as a felon, unleſs the lord-chancellor ſhould enlarge the time. Five per cent was allowed to the bankrupt, unleſs his eſtate ſhould not produce 8/ per pound to his creditors. Bankrupts who have, within one year preceding their bankruptcy, loſt L5 at once at any kind of game, or L100 in all, receive no benefit by this act. And thoſe not diſcovering all their eſtates were to ſuffer as felons, without the benefit of clergy. [4 *Ann. c.* 17.]

The moſt important tranſaction that ever happened in Great Britain was finally and legally completed at the cloſe of the year 1706, viz. a conſolidating union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, 104 years after their crowns had been united in the perſon of King James I. This great and happy union had been ſeveral times before attempted in different reigns, but had been as often obſtructed by various objections ſtarted, and not ſeriouſly and ſteadily combated. Nothing certainly could be more obvious, than that it was the true intereſt of two nations ſolely inhabiting and poſſeſſing the ſame iſland, perfectly to unite for their common defence againſt all attacks from the continent; for, by ſuch a cloſe union of hearts, as well as conſtitution, a people ſo ſituated, and ſo warlike, and ſo numerous, as to amount to about nine millions of ſouls, could be always able to defend themſelves againſt any foreign attacks; but, remaining disjointed, they had their different, and often contrary, intereſts to purſue, not only in matters of trade and commerce, product, and manufactures, but even in friendſhip and affection, with regard to different nations on the continent. Religion, or rather the mere external mode of it, alſo contributed its ſhare in keeping up the difference; and what had, perhaps, the greateſt influence of all, antient, ill-judged, national prejudices on both ſides ſtill remained too ſtrong to be eaſily conquered. Finally, the great hereditary officers of the ſmaller kingdom, and the poſſeſſors of many other lucrative ſtate offices there, which muſt neceſſarily be ſunk upon ſuch an incorporating union with England, had no ſmall influence in obſtructing it. But an able miniſtry in both nations, more eſpecially in England, joined to a more moderate way of thinking than formerly, of many wiſe men in both parliaments, among the commiſſioners for this ſolemn treaty, at length got the better of all obſtructions. And, as preparatory laws were made in both kingdoms, the parliament of Scotland having firſt

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agreed to the articles, they were finally ratified by a moſt ſolemn act of the Engliſh parliament, [5 *Ann. c.* 8] intitled, an Act for an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The articles are 25 in number; but, as it is foreign to our ſubject, and alſo ſuperfluous, to recite what is to be found in all our hiſtories at large, it will be ſufficient for our particular purpoſe briefly to note, that by the 4th article it was enacted, that all the ſubjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain ſhould, from and after the union, have full freedom and intercourſe of trade and navigation to and from any port or place within the ſaid united kingdom, and the dominions and plantations thereunto belonging: and that there ſhould be a communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, which do, or may, belong to the ſubjects of either kingdom, except where it is otherwiſe expreſsly agreed in theſe articles.

By the 15th article it was ſtipulated, 'that whereas, by the terms of 'this treaty, the ſubjects of Scotland, for preſerving an equality of trade 'throughout the united kingdom, will be liable to ſeveral cuſtoms and 'exciſes now payable in England, which will be applicable towards 'payment of the debts of England contracted before the union, it is 'agreed, that Scotland ſhall have an equivalent for what the ſubjects 'thereof ſhall be ſo charged towards payment of the ſaid debts of Eng-'land;' which equivalent is herein ſtipulated to be L398,085: 10 ſterling, to be granted by the parliament of England, and to be applied, 1ſt, for indemnifying private perſons for any loſſes they may ſuſtain by reducing the coin of Scotland to the ſtandard and value of the coin of England; 2dly, for indemnifying the ſufferers in the late African and Indian company of Scotland *; 3dly, for diſcharging the public debts of Scotland; 4thly, for improving the manufacture of the coarſe wool of Scotland; and, 5thly, for encouraging and promoting the fiſheries, and ſuch other manufactures and improvements in Scotland as may be moſt conducive to the general good of the united kingdom; for which ends commiſſioners were to be appointed, &c.; for which end alſo, the laws of England, relating to coin, and weights and meaſures, as well as concerning the regulation of trade, cuſtoms, and exciſes, were, by the three ſucceeding articles, to take place in Scotland. This is the ſubſtance of all the articles that immediately relate to our ſubject.

But before we treat of the actual commencement of this union, which was not till the ſucceeding year, we muſt, in order of time, remark, that by an act of the Engliſh parliament, [5 *Ann. c.* 13] for continuing the duties upon houſes, to ſecure a yearly fund for circulating exchequer bills, whereby a ſum not exceeding L1,500,000 was intended to be raiſed, &c. the bank of England's fund and privileges, which had

* The Scots were ſo generally enraged at the deſtruction of the Darien company, that nothing leſs than a complete reimburſement of their capital, with intereſt, could bring them to agree to the union.

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been limited to one year's notice after the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1705, were farther prolonged, upon their now undertaking to circulate the exchequer bills at L4 : 10 per cent per annum. By this act, therefor, the bank was empowered to call in money from their members, to enable them to circulate the exchequer bills, in proportion to their reſpective ſtocks in that company; whence there aroſe another temporary addition to their old capital, which had before been reduced to its original ſum of L1,200,000 by government gradually paying off the principal and intereſt of L5,160,459 : 14 : 9¼, which had been ſubſcribed into the bank in tallies, orders, &c. as has been fully related under the year 1697. The temporary addition to bank ſtock was L1,001,171 : 10, which, with the L1,200,000 original capital, made the whole now amount to L2,201,171 : 10. And by this act the bank was to remain a corporation till the redemption of all the L1,500,000 in exchequer bills. This was the firſt time that the bank of England undertook the circulation of exchequer bills, whereby they rendered themſelves favourites of the government; and they have ever ſince made agreements with the public for that purpoſe annually, on eaſy or moderate terms. This year the bank again iſſued ſealed bills for enabling them to perform their contracts, at an intereſt of 2*d* per cent per day, or about three *per cent per annum.*

1707.—The moſt important, wiſe, and happy, incorporating union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland took place on the 1ſt day of May, 1707. And though the two rebellions ſince that period were both originally propagated from Scotland, through the violence of party zeal, and of clanſhip and ſuperiorities; yet a peaceable, loyal, and induſtrious ſpirit having ſince univerſally prevailed, the great benefits accruing to both nations by this union do now dayly appear more and more conſpicuous. From that country England has her American plantations very much increaſed in people: from Scotland likewiſe the navy and armies have been ſupplied with many thouſands of ſtout and well-affected men, as has very lately and very effectually been experienced. By an union with Scotland ſhe has the more abſolute uſe of many good ports, of a more extenſive fiſhery, of a ſupply of very good, though ſmall, cattle, and of ſundry other benefits. Scotland, on the other hand, receives ineſtimable advantages by her incorporating union with England, 1ſt, by gradually and very viſibly enriching herſelf from a participation of commerce with England's foreign plantations, factories, &c. 2dly, By her union with England, ſhe gradually learns the melioration of her ſoil, which in many parts is now known to be much more capable of improvement than was formerly imagined. 3dly, By this union, Scotland's coarſe woollen ſtuffs and ſtockings, and her more valuable linen manufactures, now of many various, beautiful, and ingenious kinds, have a prodigious vent, not only in England, but for the American plantations, as well as the conſumption of ſo many of her black

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cattle in England, and of her peltry, &c. And great pity it truely may be ſaid to be, that two nations, ſprung from the ſame original ſtock, ſpeaking the ſame language, eſſentially profeſſing the ſame religion, and whom nature ſeems to have deſigned for one, by being ſeparated by the great ocean from the reſt of mankind, ſhould not have ſooner purſued their true and evident mutual intereſts, and thereby have much ſooner increaſed in wealth, ſecurity, and power. If, upon the death of King Alexander III, and of his grand-daughter ſtiled the maid of Norway, Scotland had voluntarily united itſelf to England, (about 500 years ago) how much more populous, powerful, and rich, would both parts of the iſland have been at this time, freed from much of the cruel bloodſhed and devaſtations occaſioned by their many wars ſince that period.

Conſidering the much fewer people and the greater poverty of Scotland, compared with England, it may not be improper to remark the quantity of gold and ſilver coin of all ſorts, which, in conſequence of this union, was brought into the mint at Edinburgh to be recoined into the pieces and denominations of ſterling money, and of coin not then brought in. We have it from the accurate Ruddiman, in *p.* 84, of his *moſt curious* and learned preface to Anderſon's *Theſaurus diplomatum et numiſmatum Scotiæ;* being no leſs than L411,117:10:9 ſterling, actually then brought to that mint: beſides, perhaps, as much more hoarded up by the whimſical, diſaffected, and timorous, who were ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt the union, and were far from believing it could laſt any long time: beſides, alſo, what was then exported, and what was retained by ſilverſmiths for plate, &c. So that our author was of opinion, that there was then in gold and ſilver coin about L900,000 ſterling in Scotland *.

The act of parliament [13, 14 *Car. II*] prohibiting the importation

* It will be doubtleſs agreeable to the reader to ſee the amount of the commercial intercourſe by water carriage between England and Scotland, when they were ſeparate kingdoms. The following is a ſtatement of it from the commencement of the inſpector-general's accounts till the union.

	England received from Scotland merchandize to the value of	Scotland received from England merchandize to the value of
1697 -	L 91,302 16 10	L73,203 6 0
1698 -	124,835 1 11	58,043 17 9
1699 -	86,309 19 1	66,303 15 8
1700 -	130,087 9 10	85,194 1 3
1701 -	73,988 18 11	56,802 2 2
1702 -	71,428 18 11	58,688 2 2
1703 -	76,448 8 3	57,338 15 5
1704 -	54,379 16 8	87,536 9 8
1705 -	57,902 12 0	50,035 13 2
1706 -	50,309 0 10	60,313 3 7
1707 -	6,733 1 8	17,779 0 1

Of the goods carried by land then, as now, there could be no account. Though no cuſtom-houſe account is now kept of the amount of the trade between the two Britiſh kingdoms, it may be preſumed to be now a pound for every ſhilling it was before the union. Mr. Knox (I know not upon what authority or calculation) has ſtated the value of goods received by Scotland from England in the year 1775 at L2,000,000. [*View of the Britiſh empire, p.* 93.] *M.*

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of foreign bone-lace, cut-work, embroidery-fringes, band-ſtrings, buttons, and needle-work, being found to obſtruct the vent of Engliſh woollen manufactures in the Spaniſh Netherlands, was now repealed, as far as relates to that country. [5 *Ann. c.* 17.]

By an act [5 *Ann. c.* 22] to explain and amend an act of the laſt ſeſſions of parliament, for preventing frauds frequently committed by bankrupts, it was enacted, 'that bankrupts who ſhould, after the 25th 'of April 1707, remove, carry away, or embezzle, any part of their 'effects, ſhould ſuffer as felons. A bankrupt ſhould not be diſcharged, 'unleſs his certificate were ſigned by four fifths in number and value 'of his creditors. Commiſſioners of bankrupts might appoint aſſig-'nees, whom a majority of the creditors might afterwards remove. 'No commiſſion of bankruptcy ſhould be iſſued by the application of 'any creditor, unleſs his ſingle debt amounted to L100, or of two cre-'ditors, ſo petitioning, to L150, or of three or more creditors to L200. 'This act was to continue for two years, and from thence to the end of 'the next ſeſſion of parliament, and no longer.'

By an act [6 *Ann. c.* 2] for better ſecuring the duty on Eaſt-India goods, the ſecurity thereafter to be given, purſuant to the act of the 9th of King William, that the Eaſt-India company ſhould cauſe all the merchandize in any ſhip from India to be brought to ſome port of England, without previouſly breaking bulk, was directed to be after the rate of L2,500 for every 100 ton of each ſhip ſent to the Indies, (neceſſary proviſions, ſtores, and merchandize, for the people and garriſon of St. Helena, for their own proper conſumption only, excepted) and except alſo, where the breaking of bulk, or landing of goods, ſhould happen by the danger of the ſeas, enemies, reſtraints of princes, &c, under penalty of forfeiting ſuch goods or their value, &c.

For the advancement of our woollen manufacture, and for encouraging the dreſſing and dying of woollen cloths before exportation, a duty of 5*s* was laid on every white woollen cloth exported. And it was alſo enacted, that ſuch white cloths, commonly called broad cloth, ſhipped before the duty be paid, ſhould be forfeited. [6 *Ann. c* 8.]

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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especially sold at monstrous prices, in consequence of the very crowded state of the towns, which had almost no back country, acknowleging the British government, to supply them.

An estimate was made, by order of the congress, of the numbers of inhabitants in the United states, in order to proportion the assessments upon each state, which was as follows.

New Hampshire -	82,200	inhabitants, being	34 thousandth parts of the whole.
Massachusets bay -	350,000	- -	147
Rhode island -	50,400	- -	21
Connecticut -	206,000	- -	86
New York - -	200,000	- -	84
New Jersey - -	130,000	- -	54
Pennsylvania - -	320,000	- -	134
Delaware - -	35,000	- -	15
Maryland - -	220,700	- -	92
Virginia - -	400,000	- -	167
North Carolina -	200,000	- -	84
South Carolina -	170,000	- -	71
Georgia - -	25,000	- -	11
Total of inhabitants of all ages, colours, and conditions,	2,389,300 *	- -	1,000

December 23d—The harvest having been dreadfully deficient this year, the parliament allowed the importation of all kinds of grain, upon payment of low duties, which was to continue till the 25th of August 1783 in England, and till the 25th of September 1783 in Scotland. [23 *Geo. III, c.* 1.]

A view of the increase of the Scottish herring fishery from the year 1751 to the year 1776, has already been given; and the decline of it after that year has also been noticed [pp. 395, 633.] The following view of its declining state during the war, and also of the exportation of

* This estimate was censured as too high by Lord Sheffield, who observes, that the best accounts state the number of whites in the American states as not exceeding 1,700,000 [*Considerations on the commerce of America, p.* 239, *sixth ed.*] He does not say any thing of the number of negro slaves: but if the estimated proportion of 10 negroes to 11 whites be nearly true, it makes the total number in the estimate correspond very well with that number of whites. Mr. Coxe shows, apparently upon good grounds, that the estimate was rather under, than above, the truth: and Mr. Jefferson makes it exceedingly probable, that the number in Virginia this year was 567,614, of whom 270,762 were slaves. Succeeding enumerations, more accurately taken, show, that the numbers have increased in all the states with astonishing rapidity. [See *Coxe's View of the United states, pp.* 197, 280.—*Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p.* 143.—See also *Tatham's Political economy of inland navigation, p.* 36.]

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herrings and cod from Scotland, is taken from the official accounts, made up in the cuſtom-houſe at Edinburgh by Mr. Boyd, examiner of ſalt and fiſhery accounts.

Years	Busses.	tunnage.	men.	Barrels of herrings taken.	Exported						Bounties paid to busses, and on exportation of fish.
					Herrings			Cod			
					red, bar.	white, bar.	total barrels.	cwt.	bar.	number, hundreds.	
1777	240	11,727	2,600	43,313	800	41,217½	42,017½	12,302		441	25,104 8 1
1778	220	10,877	2,504	40,958	843	35,620	36,463	8,727		110	22,475 18 4
1779	206	10,191	2,343	29,367	334	32,110	32,444	6,583		63	20,600 17 0
1780	181	8,963	2,061	19,885	119	25,122	25,241	13,703	6	789	19,058 19 11
1781	136	6,449	1,494	16,593	190	14,082½	14,272½	14,485		16	13,746 0 1
1782	147	7,291	1,667	13,457		12,522½	12,522½	14,038	184½	144	14,414 12 10

It muſt be obſerved that the numbers of barrels taken, here ſtated, include only thoſe taken in the firſt voyage in each ſeaſon, called the *bounty voyage*. But, as the buſſes often made a ſecond, and ſometimes even a third, voyage, and as the herrings taken in thoſe after voyages are believed to be, one year with another, equal to thoſe taken in the bounty voyages, the real quantity of herrings caught and cured by the buſſes may be fairly eſtimated at double the quantity here ſtated. The number of herrings taken by boats, and conſumed freſh, or ſlightly ſalted, in the country, of which no account is taken, muſt alſo be prodigiouſly great; eſpecially when an extraordinary plenty, and conſequently low price, encourages the cadgers (higglers) to carry them as far as poſſible into the inland parts of the country.

The precarious nature of the fiſhery appears very ſtrongly from the great inequality of the exportation from the ſame port. Campbelltown, which in the year 1755 exported 24,436 barrels, and has been generally one of the chief ports of Scotland for the exportation of herrings, exported this year only 396 barrels. Stranrawer in the year 1758 exported 13,121 barrels, and has in ſome years exported none at all. Cod is chiefly exported from Shetland, next to which Campbelltown, and of later years ſometimes Stornoway and Aberdeen, have been the chief fiſhing places for the exportation of cod *.

The exportation of ſalmon, which formerly uſed to be a very conſiderable branch of Scottiſh trade, is now almoſt entirely annihilated by the demand for the conſumption of London: and it is thought that the method of conducting the fiſhery in the rivers is annually diminiſhing the breed of ſalmon.

The following view of the trade of England in herrings and cod,

* Theſe comparative remarks are taken from Mr. Boyd's account, which is too bulky to be inſerted entire.

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during the ſame years, is extracted from accounts laid before the houſe of commons.

Years	Herrings exported			Herrings consumed at home		Cod exported, cwt.	Total of bounties paid on veſſels, and on exportation of herrings and cod †.
	red, barrels.	white, barrels.	total barrels.	red, thouſands *.	white, barrels.		
1777	12,115	11,775½	23,890½	12,898,357	6,765	3,473	4,024 0 0
1778	12,703½	11,738	24,441½	11,235,909	5,814	3,539	3,666 4 6
1779	18,942½	13,829	32,771½	19,327,045	8,352	495	3,583 15 0
1780	24,083½	7,697½	31,781	13,350,544	3,744	4,139	3,925 10 0
1781	19,386	12,513	31,899	12,769,786	4,394	6,905	4,493 12 6
1782	21,091	14,268½	35,359½	12,944,130	1,563	1,341	3,970 10 0

The fiſhery of pilchards on the coaſt of Cornwall is alſo a conſiderable object, affording employment to above 3,000 fiſhermen beſides the ſeamen employed in carrying the fiſh to foreign markets, which are chiefly the ports in the Mediterranean, and in importing ſalt, ſtaves, and other materials for the fiſhery, and four or five thouſand people employed in the buſineſſes connected with it on ſhore. Pilchards are ſo much in requeſt in the Italian ſtates, that the orders from them for lead, tin, copper, leather, &c. have been often conditional, that if ſuch a quantity of pilchards could not be ſent, the other articles could not be received: and the Venetian government allowed Britiſh veſſels importing a certain proportion of pilchards to take in currants at their iſlands, though the carriage of that fruit was reſtricted to their own veſſels. The annual export of this fiſh on an average of ten years 1747-1756 was about 30,000 hogſheads; but it had now declined to 12,000 or 13,000.

The herring fiſhery on the Yarmouth coaſt has alſo declined very much. At this time it employed only 94 veſſels; whereas in the year 1760 it employed 205 of from 30 to 100 tuns, and gave employment to about 6,000 men, women, boys, and girls, beſides 30 or 40 veſſels from Folkſtone, Haſtings, &c. which have now deſerted it entirely. For about twenty years preceding 1760 the annual capture of herrings on the Norfolk coaſt was above 47,000 barrels, of which about 38,000 were exported. The fiſhery, which the people of Yarmouth, with the aſſiſtance of the Shetland fiſhermen, uſed to carry on, in about two hundred veſſels of from 40 to 60 tuns, in the neighbourhood of Iceland, where the cod moſt ſaleable in the Spaniſh and Italian markets are

* The numbers here given are the totals of each year, according to the account made up at the ſalt office in July 1784 by order of the committee of the houſe of commons. But they appear unaccountably great, being, independent of the barrels, far beyond a thouſand red herrings for every perſon, young and old, in all England and Wales; whereas, I think, it may be doubted, whether every individual, one with another, conſumes twenty red herrings in a year. Quere, if for *thouſands* we ſhould not read ſingle *herrings*?

† For the ſums in this column I am indebted to Doctor Anderſon. See his *State of the Hebrides* (Weſtern iſlands) *p.* 446.

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caught, has been annihilated by the operation of the ſalt laws. Several gentlemen from Yarmouth informed the committee of the houſe of commons that they would willingly revive that fiſhery, if it ſhould be relieved from the oppreſſion of thoſe laws.

In conſequence of the liberal encouragement, given to the fiſheries by the parliament of Ireland, [ſee above, p. 405] the herring fiſhery of that country was now conſiderably advanced. The Iriſh, however, ſtill continued to import herrings to anſwer the great demand for the Weſt-Indies. The following is a view of the progreſs of their trade in that article.

	Imported.			Exported.
	from Great Britain.	from the East country.	Total.	
Annual average number of barrels from 1756 to 1764 i. e. before the bounty	23,201	1,847	25,048	
D°. from 1764 to 1773	16,657	25,365	42,022	
D°. from 25th March 1763 to 25th March 1767			32,824	4,672
D°. from 25th March 1779 to 25th March 1783			12,277	24,273
In the year ending 25th March 1773			4,324	48,481½
of which there were for the West-Indies				35,960

Such have been the decreaſe of the imports, and the increaſe of the exports, ſince the commencement of the public encouragement.

The other articles of fiſh exported from Ireland to any amount, in the year ending 25th March 1783, were - cod 272 barrels, hake 1,367 cwt, and ſalmon 253 tuns,

In the year 1780 the herring fiſhery in Loch Swilly employed 130 bounty veſſels, which expended 1,708 tuns of ſalt, wherewith they cured, by computation - - - 51,240 maize *.

In the ſame ſeaſon 71 veſſels from Liverpool and Mann purchaſed in the ſame loch - - 39,000 for making red herrings, at 10*d* per hundred, amounting to £8,125.

In 1781 there were 147 bounty veſſels in Loch Swilly, which expended 1,914 tuns of ſalt, and cured 57,420

And 117 veſſels from Liverpool and Mann bought 49,950 for which they paid £12,487 : 10 : 0.

The total taken in the two years - 197,610 maize, or 98,805,000 herrings, beſides what were uſed freſh in the adjacent country.

* A maize contains 500 herrings.

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A great proportion of the herrings imported from Scotland is conſumed in the country, being preferred on account of their ſuperior curing; the reſt are repacked in Iriſh barrels of 28 gallons for exportation. Thoſe from the Eaſt country, which uſed to be ſold in Ireland ſo low as 14ſ a barrel, are alſo repacked for exportation to the Weſt-Indies in Iriſh barrels *.

The Iriſh have great advantages in the herring fiſhery. The arrival of the herrings, ſo precarious upon the extenſive weſt coaſt of Scotland, is certain on the north-weſt coaſt of Ireland; and they ſwim cloſe to the ſhore. The fiſhery is free from reſtrictions, and the adventurers either fiſh themſelves, or purchaſe from the fiſhers, as they find moſt convenient, whereby they are often enabled to complete their loading in two or three days, and to make ſeveral trips during one fiſhing ſeaſon, which generally laſts ſix weeks, or two months. And thus they can obtain a much greater quantity of fiſh in the ſame ſpace of time, and alſo run their cargoes much earlier to a market, than the Britiſh fiſherman, who is tied down by reſtrictive laws to loſe a great deal of time, and ſupport a very heavy expenſe, that he may be entitled to the bounty.

The certainty, and great abundance, of herrings have induced many of the fiſhermen of England and Scotland to prefer the Iriſh fiſhing grounds to thoſe of their own coaſts. But there is an unneighbourly jealouſy upon the ſubject of the fiſheries between the Iriſh and the Scots, greatly againſt the true intereſts of both. There are ſurely herrings enough in the ſea for both: and, if the fiſhery is wiſely and harmoniouſly conducted, markets may be found, notwithſtanding the decline of popery, ſufficient to employ the induſtry of both to great advantage.

Upon the whole, the Iriſh fiſhery may be conſidered now as but in its infancy. But if Nature and the legiſlature ſhall continue to favour it, as they have hitherto done, it muſt undoubtedly in a few years ſurmount all rivalſhip, at leaſt in Great Britain, unleſs an entire new ſyſtem of fiſhery laws ſhall be adopted.

As the fiſh trade of Ireland was formerly ſo much connected with that of Sweden, it may be proper here to give ſome account of the later. For above twenty years paſt about 200,000 barrels had been annually cured on the Swediſh coaſt in the neighbourhood of Gottenburgh. The exports from thence to Ireland, which uſed to be very conſiderable, were now, as we have juſt ſeen, greatly reduced by the improved ſtate of the Iriſh fiſhery. Several cargoes of Swediſh herrings were ſent to S^t. Euſtathius in the years 1779 and 1780, whence they found their way into the various ſugar iſlands. In the French Weſt-

* The legal meaſure of herring barrels in Britain is 32 gallons; and it appears to be the ſame in Sweden; but the information reſpecting their meaſure varies.

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Indies they were not admitted, and few went to France. The principal markets were within the Baltic ſea, as will appear by the following

Account of exports of herrings from Gottenburgh

in the years - -	1775	1776	1777	1779	1780	1781
To Cork and other ports in Ireland	25,836	56,400	19,267	7,313	13,243	
Madeira, and the West-Indies (chiefly S^{t}. Euſtathius)	6,278	7,437	5,826	20,849	7,281	2,700
France and the Mediterranean	300	4,267	5,413	8,369	12,615	24,225
Different ports in the Baltic not ſubject to Sweden	41,552	37,091	64,465	58,069	44,747	80,474
Different ports of Sweden	20,627	23,272	37,075	40,485	28,778	29,250
Totals of barrels meaſuring 32 gallons*, and containing about 900 herrings each	94,593	128,467	132,046	135,085	106,664	136,649

So ſuperabundant was the capture of herrings on the Swediſh ſhore, that it exceeded every poſſible demand for them; and they were obliged to boil many millions of them for oil, one barrel of which was obtained from eighteen barrels of herrings. In the year 1781 they exported to the *Baltic, Holland, and Spain*, 14,542 barrels of herring oil of about 42 gallons each; and from 1,000 to 1,500 barrels were annually conſumed in the country. But the herring oil is greatly inferior to whale oil, or even liver oil, and is liable to congeal in cold weather to a conſiſtence ſomething like honey †.

The herring fiſhery of Holland, once ſo pre-eminently great and flouriſhing, employed now only 200 buſſes of about 26 tuns burthen.

The French for ſome few years paſt had caught ſome herrings of an indifferent quality upon their own coaſt, part of which they dried for the Mediterranean trade, but the greateſt part was ſhipped for their Weſt-India ſettlements.

The war was of ſome ſervice to the city of Dantzik in reviving its commerce. In the courſe of this year 549 veſſels ſailed from that port, many of which were employed to great advantage in carrying timber for the uſe of the Britiſh navy; and 502 arrived, not one of which was under Dutch colours, though many of them were, probably, Dutch property.

* So the ſize of the barrel is ſtated by the author of this information. But from a number of other authorities the Swediſh barrels appear to contain *thirty-ſix* gallons.

† The oil-makers uſed to throw the refuſe of the herrings into the ſea, which practice, being thought prejudicial to the fiſhery and to navigation, was prohibited by an edict from the king. The oil-makers remonſtrated, and were permitted to make ſome experiments, which, as they alleged, proved, that the fiſhery was improved by throwing the refuſe into the ſea. Strange, that it ſhould not occur to them, how valuable ſo vaſt a quantity of animal ſubſtance muſt be as a manure!

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The official value of the imports and exports of Great Britain from Chriſtmas 1781 to Chriſtmas 1782 was as follows.

Countries, &c.	Imported into		Exported from	
	ENGLAND.	SCOTLAND.	ENGLAND.	SCOTLAND.
Africa	£68,475 16 5		£351,734 18 5	
Canaries	1,341 12 11			
Denmark and Norway	73,038 9 2	£31,640 10 7	164,732 2 4	£34,575 11 5
East country	332,738 7 2		130,524 7 9	
East-India	626,319 8 5		1,467,844 10 11	
Flanders	1,083,092 6 5	92,300 4 2	2,069,983 7 1	65,559 8 2
France	4,783 13 6		8,153 11 2	
Germany	524,882 14 2	13,636 15 8	1,549,745 11 8	19,417 17 2
Greenland	39,536 1 2	1,420 16 0	91 4 0	
Holland	2,485 12 7	6,522 6 8	90,933 17 4	
Iceland		37 10 0		
Ireland	1,348,510 11 10	149,889 19 4	1,715,889 0 7	201,182 19 10
Mann	15,644 9 6	253 4 0	28,059 12 8	176 19 1
Italy	177,698 8 8		488,163 10 4	975 0 0
Madeira	3,867 7 6		50,256 13 2	
Poland		12,695 13 9		43 11 0
Prussia		14,863 5 10		3,325 2 2
Portugal	280,654 14 6	8,657 13 1	687,324 11 10	2,800 15 10
Russia	1,185,844 14 4	203,804 14 8	196,577 9 10	11,165 8 8
Spain	144,541 12 5			
Gibraltar	21 9 2		4,046 19 4	
Straits	344 3 4		9,451 10 0	
Sweden	163,219 7 11	22,698 12 0	56,083 2 7	7,629 18 6
Turkey	41,325 10 7		4,248 3 0	
Venice	53,540 16 4		42,113 4 0	
Guernsey, &c.	69,684 10 9	7,171 1 1	87,809 1 10	1,782 0 2
America in general		110,637 10 5		73,311 4 0
Hudsons bay	6,801 18 8		8,188 8 11	
Newfoundland	68,825 4 10		125,388 16 5	
Quebec	144,291 7 10		496,579 8 3	
Nova Scotia	2,943 5 10		71,505 5 2	
New York	7,690 3 2		186,242 4 5	
Carolina	14,182 4 2		69,742 15 8	
Georgia	6,804 1 10		339 15 0	
Florida	30,935 13 6		4,707 0 11	
West Indies in general		132,791 18 5		231,762 17 10
Anguilla	48,239 18 6		5,297 7 2	
Antigua	231,019 5 5		131,438 9 2	
Barbados	176,999 2 5		201,314 13 5	
Bermuda	880 15 11		16,649 9 8	
Jamaica	1,157,121 0 11		670,669 7 7	
Montserrat	47,695 14 9		428 14 10	
Nevis	47,386 16 9		4,387 2 5	
New Providence	1,034 14 4			
St. Christophers	248,916 0 4		23,304 17 8	
St. Croix			850 0 0	
St. Eustathius	7,637 18 7			
St. Lucia	258,141 16 11		139,853 6 9	
St. Martins	40,580 16 1		442 7 5	
St. Thomas	3,952 10 5		222,632 10 7	
Tobago	4,109 7 10		1,893 5 10	
Tortola	161,388 1 2		92,720 12 2	
Demararay	47,913 1 4			
New Orleans	4,426 11 10		14,318 3 1	
Southern fishery	94 5 0			
Prize goods	521,007 3 1		663,089 7 9	
Imp. and exp. of England	9,532,606 19 8	809,021 15 8	12,355,750 0 1	653,708 13 10
Imp. and exp. of Scotland	809,021 15 8		653,708 13 10	
Total, Great Britain	10,341,628 15 4		13,009,458 13 11	

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There belonged this year to all the ports

of England	6,495	veſſels of the reputed burthen of	537,257 tuns;
and of Scotland	1,441	- - -	78,024
Total	7,936		615,281

There were entered this year in all the ports of Great Britain, from and to foreign countries, including repeated voyages,

	British		Foreign		Total.	
	Veſſels.	Tuns.	Veſſels.	Tuns.	Veſſels.	Tuns.
Inward -	4,652	496,907	2,582	280,346	7,234	777,253
Outward -	6,973	625,731	2,314	225,781	9,287	851,512

The net amount of the cuſtoms, including the Weſt-India four-and-a-half-per-cent duty, paid into the exchequer in the courſe of the year, was

from the cuſtom-houſe in London	£2,801,563	0	9
and from the cuſtom-houſe in Edinburgh	60,000	0	0
Total net revenue of the cuſtoms of Great Britain	£2,861,563	0	9

There were coined at the mint in the courſe of the year

14,940 pounds of gold, value	£698,074	7	0
and no ſilver.			

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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